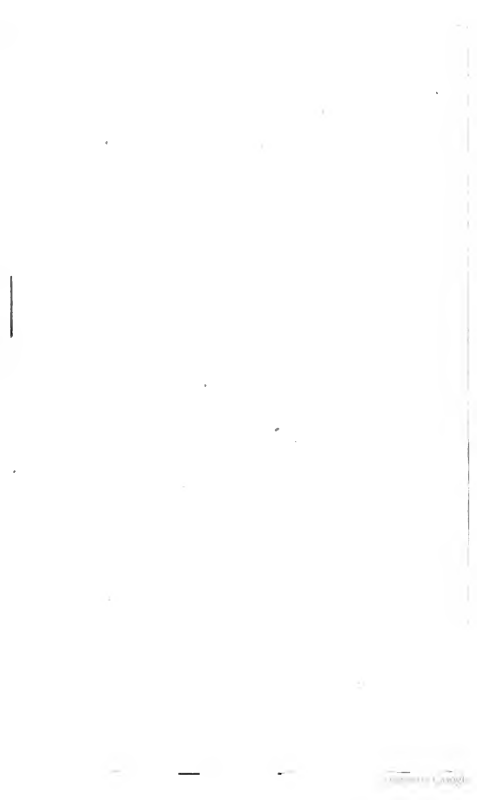


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THE HISTORY
OF
SPAIN AND PORTUGAL.



FROM B. C. 1000 TO A. D. 1814.



*PUBLISHED UNDER THE SUPERINTENDENCE OF THE
SOCIETY FOR THE DIFFUSION OF
USEFUL KNOWLEDGE.*

LONDON:
BALDWIN AND CRADOCK, PATERNOSTER-ROW.

MDCCCXXXIII.

VA1 1518515

LONDON:
PRINTED BY WILLIAM CLOWES,
Stamford Street.

P R E F A C E.

THIS History is offered to the Public, without preclusion, on the part of the Writer, to any other merit than diligence and impartiality. Authors of different nations, ages, religions, and politics, have been carefully read, compared, and, as far as might be, employed for reciprocal correction. Where contradictory statements have involved particular points in uncertainty, the different prejudices and partialities of different Historians have been weighed; the agreement or disagreement of their several accounts, as well with universally admitted facts, as with the general tenor of their own and their antagonists' relations, has been examined; and, according to the result of such inquiries, the narrative has been compiled from the various Authorities consulted, as each has appeared to be most consonant with truth or probability.

The task, though laborious, has brought with it its own reward; inasmuch as the History of the Spanish Peninsula affords a variety of interest, unparalleled in the annals of most other countries. The lofty and daring character of the people, as it presents itself, from their early struggle against the Carthaginians and the Romans, down to their universal insurrection against the modern Despot of the European continent, commands our admiration: the seven centuries of Arab domination and contest teem with interest, such as the pages of fiction can scarcely surpass: whilst the philosopher and the politician may find matter for research and meditation in the developement and overthrow of national liberty, in the concomitant prosperity and decline of the Peninsula, and in the remarkable illustration, offered by the latter periods, of the brutalizing effects of bigotry and tyranny upon the human mind. In a History so extensive, compressed within limits narrow as those of the present publication, much of this can, of course, be little more than indicated. It is hoped, however, that enough of peculiar character may have been shown, to tempt many readers to pursue the study at greater length; and those who shall feel themselves thus tempted, may rest assured that they will never regret the time or the pains bestowed upon the deeper investigation of the History of Spain and Portugal.

M. M. BUSK.

Osnaburgh Terrace, Dec. 29, 1832.



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ERRATA.

Page 33, line 1 from bottom col. 1, for Thouloute read Toulouse.

" 44, line 10, col. 2, for Sancho III. read Sancho IV.

" 116, note 3 from bottom, for former read latter.

" 212, line 7 of note omit *de*.

" *Ibid.* for 2 read 4.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

Dates.	Orizaba.	Nasawa.	Cordoba.	Spanish March.	Castile.
837	.	Count Sancho casts off French vassalage.			
845	Ramiro I.				
850	Ordoño I.		Mohammed.		
852	.	.	.		
853	.	García.			
857	.	García I. first King.			
863	Alfonso III.	.	.	Wifrid, first hereditary Count of Barcelona, in French vassalage.	
880	.	.	.		
885	.	Fortun Ximenes.			
886	.	.	Almondhir.		
888	.	.	Abdallah.		
900	García.				
903	Ordoño II. takes the title of King of Leon.				
905	.	Sancho I.		Miro.	
911	.	.	Abderrahman III.	.	Murder of the Vassal Counts. Republic.
912	.	.	.	.
922	.	.	.	.
923	Fuella II.				
924	Alfonso IV.				
925	.	García II.			
927	Ramiro II.	.	.		
928	.	.	.	Sanchofred.	
933	.	.	.	.
950	Ordoño III.				
955	Sancho I.	.	Alhakem II.		Fernan Gonzalez, first independent Count.
961	.	.	.		
966	.	Sancho II.	.		
967	Ramiro III.	.	.	Borel.	
970	.	.	Hişam II.	.	García Fernandez.
976	.	.	.	.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

Dates.	León.	Navarre.	Córdoba.	Barcelona.	Castile.	Aragon.
982	Bernardo II.	.	.	Raymond I.		
993	.	García III.	.			
994	.	.	.			
999	Alfonso V.	Sancho III.	.	Bernenger.	Sancho Garcías.	
1000	.	.	.	.	García Sánchez.	
1005	.	.	.	.	Elvira Nuña, Queen of Navarre.	
1017	.	.	.	.
1022	Bernardo III.	.	.	.		
1023	.	.	.	.
1031	.	.	End of the Caliphate, and division into petty kingdoms.			
1035	Sancha, Queen of Castile.	García IV.	.	Raymond II.	Ferdinand I. first King.	Ramiro I. first King.
1037	.	.	.			
1054	Alfonso VI.	Sancho IV.	.	.	Sancho II.	Sancho.
1055	Sancho II.	.	.	.	Alfonso VI.	
1070	Alfonso VI.—United to Castile.	.	.	.		
1072	.	.	Musulman Spain.			
1076	.	Murder of Sancho IV., and Sancho of Aragon proclaimed as Sancho V.	.	Raymond III.		
1082	.	.	Subjected to the Almoravides.	Raymond IV.	.	Pédro I.
1094	.	.		.	.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

Dates.	León.	Navarre.	Muslim Spain.	Barcelona.	Castile.	Aragon.	Portugal.
1095	Henry and Theresa Counts.
1104	
1109	Urraca. Alfonso VII.	Alfonso I.	
1126	
1131	.	.	.	Raymond V.	.	Ramiro II. Petronilla.	
1133	.	Garcia V.	.	Marries Petronilla.	.	.	Alfonso I. proclaimed King.
1137	
1139	
1147	.	.	End of Almoravide Empire.	.	.	.	
1150	
1157	Ferdinand II.	Sancho VI.	.	.	Sancho III. Alfonso VIII.	.	
1158	.	.	.	Alfonso	.	.	
1162	.	.	.	Finally united to Aragon.	.	Alfonso II.	
1163	
1165	.	.	Almohade reigns.	.	.	.	Sancho I.
1185	
1186	Alfonso IX.	.	.	.	.	.
1194	.	Sancho VII.	.	.	.	.
1196	Pedro II.	Alfonso II.
1211	.	.	Defeat of <i>las navas</i> <i>de Tolosa</i>.	.	.	.
1212	
1213	James I.	
1214	Henry I. Ferdinand III.	.	
1217	
1223	Sancho II.
1224	.	.	Again divided.	.	.	.	

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

ix

Date.	Leon.	Navarre.	Musliman Spain.	Castile and Leon.	Aragon.	Portugal.	Granada.
1230	Ferdinand III.— United to Castile.	Thibault I.	.	.	.	.	Kingdom founded by Mohammed I.
1234
1238	.	.	.	Alfonso X.	.	Alfonso III.	.
1248
1252
1253	.	Thibault II.	.	.	.	.	.
1266	.	.	Subdued, all but Granada.	.	.	.	.
1270	.	Henry.	.	.	.	.	Mohammed II.
1273
1274	.	Joanna I.	.	.	Pedro III.	.	.
1276	Great Charter.	Dennis.	.
1279
1283	.	.	.	Sancho IV.	Alfonso III.	.	.
1284
1285
1291	.	.	.	Ferdinand IV.	James II.	.	Mohammed III.
1295	Nazar.
1302	Ismael I.
1305	.	French Kings— Lewis Hutia.	.	.	.	.	.
1309	.	.	.	Alfonso XI.	.	.	.
1312
1313
1316	.	Philip the Long.	.	.	.	.	.
1322	.	Charles the Fair I.	.	.	.	.	Alfonso IV.
1324
1325	Mohammed IV.
1326	.	Severed from France.	.	.	.	.	.
1328	.	Joanna II.	.	.	Alfonso IV.	.	.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

Dates.	Navarre.	Castile and Leon.	Aragon.	Portugal.	Granada.
1333	.	.	Pedro IV. Majorca united to Aragon.	.	Jusef I.
1336
1344
1349	Charles II.	Pedro.	.	Pedro I.	Mohammed V.
1350	Ismael II.
1354	Abu Said.
1357	Mohammed V.
1359
1360
1361	.	Henry II.	.	.	.
1366	.	Pedro.	.	Ferdinand.	.
1367	.	Henry II.	.	.	.
1369	.	John I.	.	Beatrice—Civil War.	.
1379	.	.	.	John I.	.
1383
1385	.	.	John I.	.	.
1386	Jusef II.
1387	Charles III.	Henry III. and Catherine of Lancaster.	.	.	Mohammed VI.
1390	Jusef III.
1391	.	.	Martin.	.	.
1394
1396
1399
1406	.	John II.	Contest for the Crown. Ferdinand I.—Sicily united. Alfonso V.	Beginning of maritime dis- coveries.	Mohammed VII.
1410	Mohammed VIII.
1412	Mohammed VII.
1416	Jusef IV.—Mohammed VII.
1418	.	.	.	Edward.	.
1423
1427
1429
1432
1433

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

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Dates.	Navarra.	Castile and Leon.	Aragon.	Portugal.	Granada.
1435	Blanche, and John of Aragon.	.	.	Alfonso V.	
1438	Charles IV. called Prince of Viana.	.	.	.	Mohammed IX.
1441	.	.	.	.	Mohammed X.
1444	.	.	.	.
1450	.	Henry IV.	.	.	
1454	.	.	.	.
1461	Blanche, Princess of Viana.	.	.	.	
1463	.	.	.	.
1464	Leonora, Regent for John of Aragon.	.	.	Death of Don Henry.	
1466	.	.	.	.
1468	.	.	John II.—Naples secured.	.	Muley Aly Abul Hassan.
1469	.	Isabella marries Ferdinand, King of Sicily.	.	.	
1474	.	Isabella—her title contested. Generally acknowledged.	Ferdinand II.	.	
1479	Leonora Queen.—Francis Phœbus.	Inquisition established.	.	.	
1480	.	.	.	.
1481	.	War with Granada.	.	John II.	Abu Abdallah proclaimed.
1482	.	.	.	.	Abdallah el Zagal—Muley Aly Abul Hassan abdicates.
1483	Catherine.	.	.	.	
1484	.	.	.	.
1487	.	.	.	Cape of Good Hope discovered.	Abdallah el Zagal abdicates. Abu Abdallah capitulates.
1490	.	.	.	.
1492	.	Conquest of Granada.	.	.	
1495	.	West Indians discovered.	.	.	
1498	.	.	.	Manuel. Vasco de Gama reaches India.	
1499	.	Continent of South America discovered.	.	.	

Dates.	Navarre.	Castile and Leon.	Aragon.	Portugal.
1500	.	.	.	Brazil discovered.
1503	.	.	.	.
1504	.	.	.	.
1507	.	Joanna, Ferdinand Regent.	.	.
1512	Conquered.	Conquest and incorporation of	Navarre.	Extensive Empire in India esta-
1515	.	.	.	blished.
1516	.	.	Joanna.	.
Spain.				
1517	Joanna and Charles I.	.	.	Portugal.
1519	Charles Emperor.	.	.	.
1520	Comarcera's insurrection.	.	.	.
1521	War with France—Conquest of Mexico.	.	.	.
1523	.	.	.	John III.
1524	Battle of Pavia.	.	.	Inquisition established.
1529	Peace of Cambray.	.	.	.
1534	Conquest of Peru.	.	.	.
1535	Expedition to Tunis.	.	.	Greatest extent of Indian Empire.
1550	Philip II.	.	.	Sebastian.
1555	.	.	.	.
1557	.	.	.	.
1559	Peace of Cercamp.	.	.	.
1563	Moorish insurrection.	.	.	.
1569	Insurrection of the Netherlands.	.	.	Battle of Alenquer-quivir—Cardinal Henry.
1571	Battle of Lepanto.	.	.	Philip II. acknowledged.
1578	.	.	.	.
1580	Annexation of Portugal.	.	.	.
1581	United Provinces proclaim their independence.	.	.	.
1588	Invincible Armada.	.	.	.
1592	Aragonese rebellion subdued and rights curtailed.	.	.	.
1597	Peace of Vervins.	.	.	.
1599	Philip III.	.	.	.
1602	.	.	.	.
1609	Treaty with the Seven United Provinces—Expulsion of the Moors.	.	.	Colonies attacked by the Dutch.
1613	Italian wars.	.	.	.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

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Dates.	Spain.	Portugal.
1618	Disgrace of Lerma.	
1621	Philip IV.	
1622	War with the United Provinces.	
1635	France.	
1640	Catalonian rebellion—Portuguese revolution.	John IV. proclaimed.
1648	Peace with the United Provinces.	
1652	Catalonian rebellion subdued and rights curtailed	
1654	"	
1656	"	Brazil recovered.
1659	Peace of the Pyrenees.	Alfonso VI.—Queen-mother Regent.
1662	Charles II.—Queen-mother regent.	Compulsory resignation of the Regent.
1665	Louis XIVth's pretensions to the Netherlands.	King compelled to abdicate—Pedro Prince-Regent.
1667	Peace with Portugal—Peace of Aix la Chapelle.	Peace with Spain.
1668	Don John of Austria, prime minister.	
1676	Peace of Nimègue.	
1678	Death of Don John.	Reconciled to Rome.
1680	"	Pedro II. King
1683	"	
1684	Treaty of Ratisbon.	
1697	Peace of Ryswick.	
1698	First partition treaty	Gold mines discovered in Brazil.
1699	"	
1700	Second partition treaty—Philip V.	Joins the Grand Alliance.
1701	Succession war.	Catherine, Queen-dowager of England, Regent.
1705	"	John III.
1706	"	
1707	Battle of Almanza—Aragonese constitution abrogated.	
1713	Peace of Utrecht.	
1714	----- of Rastadt—Catalonian constitution abrogated.	
1715	----- with Portugal—Alberoni minister.	Peace with Spain.
1719	Alberoni dismissed.	
1724	Abolition—Lewis king—Philip resumes the crown.	
1726	Ripperda's ministry.	
1731	Prince Charles Duke of Parma.	
1736	----- King of the Two Sicilies.	Dissensions with Spain in America.

Dates.	Spain.	Portugal.
1739	War with England.	
1746	Ferdinand VI.	
1748	Peace of Aix la Chapelle—Don Philip Duke of Parma.	
1750	Disasters in Paraguay.	Joseph—Pombal Minister.
1759	Charles III.	Jesuits expelled.
1761	Family Compact signed.	
1762	War with England and Portugal.	War with France and Spain.
1763	Peace of Paris.	
1766	Tumults of Madrid.	
1767	Jesuits expelled.	
1775	Florida Blanca minister.	
1777		Maria.
1778	American disensions finally settled.	American disensions finally settled.
1779	War with England.	
1781	American rebellion.	
1783	Peace of Versailles.	
1788	Charles IV.	
1789	Beginning of the French Revolution.	Queen insane.
1792	Godoy Prime Minister.	Prince of Brazil governs in Maria's name.
1793	War with France.	Rupture of negotiations and war with France.
1795	Peace of Basle.	Prince of Brazil Regent.
1796	War with England.	War with Spain—Peace of Badajoz and of Madrid.
1797		
1799	War declared against Portugal—Peace of Badajoz and of Madrid.	
1801	Peace of Amiens.	
1802	War with England.	
1804	Battle of Trafalgar.	
1805	Secret negotiations with Portugal.	
1806	Disensions in the royal family.	Negotiations for detaching Spain from France—French threatens invasion.
1807	Seizure of fortresses by the French—Abdication of Charles—Ferdinand VII. compelled to abdicate—Insurrection—Battles of Rio Seco, and of Baylen—Napoleon takes Madrid—Battle of Coruña.	French invasion, and flight of the royal family to Brazil.
1808		Insurrection—English land—Battles of Roliza and Vimero—French evacuate the country—Prince Regent's authority re-established.
1809	Battle of Talavera—Garratosa—Siege of Cadiz.	Openly taken—Recovered.
1810	Insurrection of the Colonies—The Cortes assembled.	Masena's invasion—Battle of Busaco—Full power given to Wellington.
1811		French retreat.

Dates.	Spain.	Portugal.
1812	Recovery of Ciudad Rodrigo and Badajoz—New Constitution—Battle of Salamanca—Siege of Cadiz raised.	
1813	Battles of Vittoria and of the Pyrenees—Invasion of France.	
1814	Ferdinand released—General Peace—Constitution abrogated, and Cortes dissolved.	
EVENTS, SUBSEQUENT TO THE CONCLUSION OF THE HISTORY.		
1815	Insurrections—Morillo sent with troops to South America—Struggle there violent.	Commerce flourishing—Brazil declared an integral part of the United Kingdoms of Portugal, Brazil, and the Algarves.
1816	Conspiracies—Marriage of the King and Infante with Portuguese Infantas—Jesuits restored—Inquisition reformed by Pius VII.—American proclamation of independence.	John VI.
1817	Conspiracies—Italian provision for the King of Etruria—Treaty for abolishing the slave trade.	Capture of Monte Video—Disturbances at home and in Brazil—Cessions to France on the Brazilian frontier recovered.
1818	The indulgences granted to Porto Rico extended to Cuba.	
1819	Death of Charles IV.—Military insurrection quelled—Ferdinand marries a Saxon Princess.	
1820	Military insurrection—Constitution of 1812 proclaimed—Ferdinand swears to the constitution—Convocation of the Cortes—Armistice between Bolivar and Morillo.	Insurrection at Oporto—Convocation of the Cortes—Regency deposed and a supreme Junta chosen by the troops and people—Constitution proclaimed.
1821	Violent measures of the Cortes—Dissatisfaction of the Nobles and Clergy—Democratic disorders—Discussions with the Holy Alliance.	Excessive democracy of the Cortes—John VI. swears to the Constitution and returns to Portugal—Don Pedro Regent of Brazil—Dissatisfaction in Brazil.
1822	Disorders, both revolutionary, and counter-revolutionary—Violence of the Constitutional government—Interference of the Congress of Verona.	Discussions with Brazil—Don Pedro proclaimed Constitutional Emperor—John VI. swears to the new Constitution—Disturbances.
1823	Rejection of all foreign interference—Violence to the King—Invasion and success of the Duke d'Angoulême—The King released, disavows all acts under the Constitution—His violence and revenge—Disorders in America—Spaniards expelled from every part except Peru, and St. John de Ulloa.	Insurrection—Counter-revolution effected—Enmity between Portugal and Brazil—Discussions between the Emperor and Congress—Triumph of the Emperor.
1824	Extensive and sanguinary punishments—Disorders—Financial difficulties—Counsils sent by England to the new American States.	Moderation of the King—Rebellion of the Queen and Don Miguel suppressed—Don Miguel allowed to travel—The Queen banished from Court—New liberal Constitution sworn to in Brazil.

Dates.	Spain.	Portugal.
1825	Ferdinand declares against all reform—Plots and conspiracies, revolutionary and fanatical—Spaniards expelled from St. John de Ulloa—England concludes treaties with the new States.	John ceases Brazil to Don Pedro, recognizing its independence.
1826	Continued disorders, revolutionary and ultra-royalist—Portuguese disorders fomented—Ferdinand acknowledges Maria II.—Spaniards expelled from Peru.	Death of John VI.—Donna Isabella Regent—Pedro III. resigns the crown to his daughter—Maria II. and the new Constitution sworn to by the nation and by Don Miguel—Acknowledged by all Europe except Spain—Rebellion—English troops sent to assist against Spain.
1827	Carlist and Apostolic insurrections.	Insurrection quelled—Disorders—Ministerial intrigues—Interference of the Emperor of Brazil—Don Miguel appointed Regent.
1828	Departure of the French troops—Pecuniary discussions with English subjects settled.	Disorders encouraged by Don Miguel—Departure of English troops—Don Miguel assumes the crown—His rapacity and cruelty.
1829	Ferdinand acknowledges Miguel—Cadix declared a free port—Financial difficulties—Marriage with a Sicilian Princess.	Arbitrary executions and confiscations—European powers break off all diplomatic intercourse—Tercera adheres to Maria II.
1830	Repeal of the Salic law, and restoration of the old Spanish law of succession—Carlist plots—Refugee attempts—Quelled.	Continued political persecutions.
1831	Insurrection in the South—Quelled.	Satisfaction of English complaints—Seizure of the fleet by France—Disorders in Brazil—Don Pedro abdicates in favour of his son, returns to Europe, and prepares to support Maria II.'s claim to Portugal.

HISTORY OF SPAIN AND PORTUGAL



BOOK I.

CHAPTER I.

Description of Spain—Invasion and partial Conquest by the Carthaginians—Alliance of the Spaniards with the Romans—Expulsion of Carthaginians—Romans turn their arms against Spaniards—Long resistance—Virgatus—Sertorius—Final conquest.*

Few histories afford lessons of greater value than those of Spain and Portugal. They teem with proofs that independence and liberty are not less important to the wealth and political power of a country, than to its happiness; that neither natural advantages nor the character of the inhabitants, neither increase of territory nor external peace and domestic tranquillity, can in any measure counterbalance the destructive effects of a foreign yoke, or of a despotic government. But this is not all; they likewise teach us, what is not so immediately obvious, that a theoretically perfect constitution is not always indispensable to practical freedom, or the paralyzing influence of intolerant bigotry always the necessary concomitant of intolerant tenets.

The Spanish peninsula, considered as a whole, combines most of the advantages of an insular, with those of a continental, position. Almost entirely surrounded by the sea, Spain is an island with regard to trade and fisheries; whilst the neck of land that connects her with France, at once furnishes in the Pyrenees a mountainous barrier against that country, and preserves her from entire dependence upon winds and waves in her external relations. In the climate, the genial warmth of the south of Europe is tempered by sea-breezes, in nearly every direction,

and the fertile soil yields equally the necessities and the luxuries of life; corn, fruit, wine, fine merino wool, and olive oil. The mountains abound in mineral treasures, and afforded in early times one of the principal supplies of gold and silver. The natives of this favoured land are brave, sober, hardy, and enterprising. Yet notwithstanding all these sources of prosperity, Spain, which in the sixteenth century startled Europe with the first fears of universal monarchy, now is, and has long been, the most enslaved, oppressed, ignorant and indigent, of civilized countries.

The harvests, mines, and sea-ports of the Peninsula early attracted the attention, and excited the cupidity, of the

From B.C. 1009
to A.D. 135.

Phœnicians and Carthaginians, who were distinguished amongst ancient nations for commercial activity and boldness in navigation. The Phœnicians are believed to have founded the city of Cadiz, one thousand years before the birth of Christ; and many colonies were subsequently planted upon the sea-coast by them, the Carthaginians, and the Greeks. How a footing was obtained for such settlements is not known; but it seems probable that the barbarous Celtic tribes, constituting the original population, willingly allowed traders, who brought them useful articles in exchange for their gold and silver, to establish factories, from which they apprehended no evil consequences. That such concessions were neither wrung from the weakness, nor purchased from the apathy, of the natives, is abundantly proved by their fierce and prolonged resistance to the Carthaginians, when the latter, having thus insidiously possessed themselves of the southern coast, proceeded to attempt the conquest of the country. The Carthaginians never fully succeeded. The Romans, during their Punic wars, sought and found allies amongst the Spanish tribes; but for many years they neglected to afford those allies sufficient help, to support

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* The authorities principally relied upon in this chapter are *Livy*, *Plutarch*, *Polyb.*, 9 vols. 12mo. Leipzig, 1813. *Ancient Universal History*, 20 vols.

them against the disciplined troops of the invaders. The Carthaginian generals, Hamilcar, his brother Asdrubal, and his far more celebrated son, Hannibal, successively, by hard fighting and crafty policy, reduced the southern half of the Peninsula under the Carthaginian yoke. The first of these leaders fell in battle, the second was murdered, and in the Spaniards' contests with the third, one of the most memorable examples of invincible resolution recorded in history was exhibited. Hannibal besieged Saguntum with his whole force. The inhabitants defended their town so long as any, even the most loathsome, means of sustenance could be found. Overpowered at length by famine, they made a funeral pile of all their most valuable effects, set it on fire, and flung themselves with their wives and children into the flames. Hannibal's conquest was only a mass of ruins.

The Romans, either alarmed by the progress of Hannibal, or becoming aware of the value of such allies as the Spaniards, now sent larger armies to their assistance, headed by their ablest generals. Spain was the theatre of the first exploits of Publius Cornelius Scipio, afterwards surnamed Africanus, from his victories over the Carthaginians in Africa. In Spain, Scipio gained the hearts of the natives by his great and good qualities, not the least of these being his self-command; one instance of which has ever since been a favourite theme with painters, poets, and moralists. The charms of a beautiful captive had touched his young heart, and the laws of the age made her in every respect his slave. He respected her undefended loveliness, and restored her, in unsullied purity, to her betrothed bridegroom. In cordial co-operation with the Spaniards, Scipio finally expelled the Carthaginians from Spain two hundred and ten years *n. c.*

The object of the Romans, in assisting the Spaniards against Carthaginian oppression, had not been the emancipation of their gallant allies. They immediately proceeded to reduce the Peninsula to the condition of a Roman province, governed by their prætors. This was not easily or speedily accomplished. The natives resisted their new, as they had done their former invaders. Numantia, besieged by a second Scipio, emulated the heroism of Saguntum. The Cantabrians who inhabited the north-western part of the Peninsula,

were not even nominally subdued during the continuance of the Roman republic. The other portions, Celtiberia in the north, Bætica in the south, and Lusitania in the west, were conquered after a long struggle, and constituted the Roman province, but remained the scenes of constantly-recurring warfare. The natives revolted against the extortion and tyranny usually practised by the Roman governors of subject states; and the leaders of republican factions, when defeated everywhere else, often found in Spain abundant means of making head against the masters of the world. The most remarkable of the native insurrections was that organized in Lusitania by Viriatus. This extraordinary man was bred a shepherd; he turned robber, became the captain of a band of outlaws, and raising a standard to which all the disaffected flocked, he defeated several Roman armies. He was vanquished by treachery; the consul Servilius having bribed three of his followers to assassinate him in his sleep. After his murder, the rebellion, as the haughty conquerors termed every insurrection for self-defence, was speedily quelled. Spain was soon afterwards the theatre of the last struggle of the horrible civil wars with which Marius and Sylla desolated the Roman world. When Sylla had finally triumphed at Rome, Sertorius, a leader of the defeated party, fled to Spain, and there long bade defiance to the dictator's power. He was at length vanquished by Cneius Pompeius Magnus, familiarly called Pompey the Great, and, like Viriatus, was murdered by his own treacherous partizans. Pompey, during his command in Spain, merited the good will of the nation, which subsequently espoused his cause in his contest with Julius Cæsar. After Pompey's death his party still held out in Spain. But Cæsar repaired thither in person; his military skill prevailed, and the province was shortly pacified. Disturbances, however, again broke out, and it was only under Cæsar's successor, Augustus, that it was finally and completely subjugated, even the Cantabrians being then at last subdued.

Once reduced to submission, Spain appears to have slumbered for ages in the tranquillity of servitude, under the despotic sway of the Roman emperors. It was esteemed one of the most valuable and flourishing provinces of the empire, containing, as we learn from Pliny, not less than three hundred and sixty

cities. During her subjection to a thralldom, shared with all the then known world, Spain boasts of having given birth to the celebrated Roman poets Lucan and Martial, to the philosopher Seneca, and to two of the very few good Roman emperors, Trajan and Hadrian; as well as to many other men of distinguished character, though of somewhat inferior note.

CHAPTER II.

Invasion of the Alans, Vandals, and Suevi; and of the Visigoths under Ataulf, who founds the Gothic monarchy in Catalonia—His successors subdue the Alans, expel the Vandals, make the Suevi tributary—War with the Huns—Euric conquers the southern provinces of France—War with the Franks—Loss of many French provinces—Line of Ataulf extinct in Amalric—Elective and hereditary kings—Athamigild acknowledges a dependence upon the Eastern Roman empire, which Leovigild throws off, and incorporates the kingdom of the Suevi with his own—Recared renounces the Arian heresy—Wamba—Roderic—Count Julian invites the Arabs into Spain.*

SPAIN, from her position, seems long to have suffered less than the other provinces by the internal and external disorders that convulsed the empire. In the very beginning of the fifth century, however, when the northern barbarians, like a torrent bursting the banks that have confined its waters, swept away all existing forms of southern polity

and civilization, Spain did not escape the general fate. The warlike tribes that overwhelmed Gaul, reached the Pyrenees. For a while the Spaniards (much as they had lost, in a long continued state of slavery, of the martial spirit by which their ancestors had been distinguished) defended their mountain barrier; but in the year of our Lord 409 the Roman Emperor Honorius sent an army for their protection, to which the natives were compelled to resign their military functions. These perfidious or cowardly imperial troops, betrayed or deserted their post, and the Alans, the Vandals, and the Suevi poured into the Peninsula, encountering little further resistance from the inhabitants, who, perhaps, thought a change of masters an event of no moment to them. They found it, however, as is generally the case, a greater evil than they might have apprehended. The northern tribes, instead of contenting themselves with exacting heavy tributes, settled in the country, and took possession of the greater part of the land. The share they usually appropriated to themselves was two-thirds of the soil, with a proportionate number of slaves for cultivation. The first invaders were speedily followed by a host of Visigoths, led by their king Ataulf, who had constrained the imbecile Honorius to give him his sister Placidia in marriage, and professed to act under the imperial authority. Ataulf established himself in what is now the province of Catalonia, and there founded the Gothic monarchy in Spain, acknowledging a nominal dependence upon his Roman brother-in-law.

The ambition of Ataulf appears to have been satisfied with the small kingdom he had conquered. He refused to invade the territories of his neighbours; and his turbulent followers, impatient of peace, soon put him to death. Singeric, one of the conspirators, seized the throne of his murdered master, but immediately fell, like him, by assassination. Wallia, a distinguished Goth, was then proclaimed king, and obtained from Honorius the confirmation of his title, upon condition of his reducing the Spanish provinces, held by the Vandals, Alans, and Suevi, to dependence upon the Roman empire. This Wallia promptly effected. The Alans as a separate nation were destroyed; the Vandals quitted Spain for Africa; and the Suevi submitted to the imperial sceptre.

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* This authorities principally relied upon in this chapter are, *Compendio de la Historia de España* por Don Tomas Yllustré. 8vo. London, 1822. *Synopsis Historica Chronologica de España*, por Don Juan de Ferreras, 16 tom. 4to. Madrid, 1796. Ferreras is esteemed nearly the best authority amongst Spanish historians, from the judgment and diligence with which he has studied, compared, and sifted the works of his predecessors. *Historia de la Dominacion de los Arabes en España*, sacada de varios *Notarios* y *Memorias Arabicas*, por el Doctor Don Josef A. Conde. 8 tom. 4to. Madrid, 1800-1. *Histoire de la domination des Arabes et des Maures en Espagne et en Portugal, depuis l'invasion de ces peuples jusqu'à leur expulsion définitive*, rédigée par l'histoire traduite de l'Arabe en Espagnol, par M. J. Conde. Par M. de Marlis. 3 tom. 8vo. Paris, 1820. The work of Conde is valuable as affording Arab authorities. The French work is little more than an abridgement of Conde, modified and altered according to the opinions of M. de Marlis. Gibbon's Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, 12 vols. 8vo. London, 1807. History of Spain from the earliest times to the close of the year 1609, by J. Hagedorn. 2 vols. 8vo. London, 1810.

About the year 451 the noble barbarians from the north, who were established in the provinces they had wrested from the Roman empire, were, together with that tottering empire itself, threatened by an inundation of eastern savages, who are described by historians as alike hateful in mind and body. These were the Huns, under their monarch Attila, who bore the terrific title of the Scourge of God. Ætius, one of the few Romans who, "in those degenerate days," retained anything of the spirit or prowess of their forefathers, and on that very account an object of suspicion and hatred to the feeble emperor Valentinian, was in this emergency placed at the head of the imperial army. He sought the desolating horde in Gaul, which Attila had already half overrun and destroyed. There Ætius united his forces with those of the frank chieftain Meroveus, (from whom the first race of French kings take the name of Merovingians,) and with those of Theodoric or Theodoric, Wallia's successor. The allied army

From A. D.
451—581.

engaged the Huns in the Catalaunian plain near Chalons, and gained a complete victory. This is the only defeat Attila is said ever to have sustained. It checked his course westward, and Spain took no concern in his subsequent operations. The Gothic monarch fell in the battle.

The annals of these early ages are confused, uncertain, and more interesting to the poet than to the historian. For a length of time they offer us nothing but a succession of conspiracies, rebellions, and murders, originating solely in personal ambition, frequently rendered more revolting by the relationship of the parties, and but seldom relieved by important revolutions, by intervals of good government, or by really great kings. Theodoric left three sons, who successively ascended the throne; the eldest, Torismund, being assassinated by the second, Theodoric, who in his turn fell by the hand of the youngest, Euric. The two last, nefariously as they acquired supreme power, used it well. Theodoric subjugated the Suevi, (who occupied part of the western coast,) but allowed their king Resimund, to whom he gave his sister in marriage, to reign as a dependent prince. Euric made himself master of the eastern coast, which had hitherto remained in the hands of the Romans, and of the southern provinces of France. He fixed his royal residence

at Bourdeaux. In 477 he concluded a treaty with Odoacer king of the Heruli, who, after the deposal and death of Augustulus, the last Roman* emperor, assumed the title of king of Italy, and in that character recognized the absolute independence of the Visigothic monarchy in Spain.

Clovis, the first Christian king of France, was about this time engaged in conquering that country; and had no sooner made himself master of the northern provinces, than he naturally desired to add those held by the Goths in the south to his kingdom. Alaric, the son and successor of Euric, fell in the defence of that portion of his dominions. His illegitimate son, Gesalaic, who usurped the throne, was driven by Clovis across the Pyrenees. But the all-powerful Ostrogoth, Theodoric, king of Italy, and maternal grandfather of Amalric, Alaric's lawful son and heir, interfered in behalf of his infant grandson. Theodoric placed the boy upon his father's throne, committed the government, during his minority, to Theudes, a stout warrior and honest man, and concluded a marriage for the young king with Clotilda, the daughter of Clovis: the Frank conqueror, in honour of the wedding, restoring or confirming to his son-in-law the provinces south of the Garonne, beyond which river the Gothic dominions never afterwards extended. The royal residence was transferred into Spain. This marriage did not prove fortunate. The Goths had been Arians ever since their conversion to Christianity; the Franks had adopted the Catholic faith; and the young queen endeavoured to prevail upon her husband to abandon his own creed for hers. Amalric not only persisted in his heresy, but offended, perhaps, at such an assumption of superiority by a wife, treated his fair mistress with a savage inhumanity, that provoked the vengeance of her brother, king Childebert. A war was the consequence. Amalric fell in battle with the French monarch, A. D. 531, and in him the royal line of the Goths ended.

From this period the Gothic monarchy appears to have been either elective or hereditary, according to circumstances. The first king chosen was Theudes, whose administration as regent had me-

* The Roman empire had been divided into the Eastern and Western Roman empires: the Western, which was more properly Roman, ended with Augustulus. The Eastern Roman empire is also, and more commonly, called the Greek Empire.

rited the esteem of his countrymen. His reign was harassed with wars, and terminated by his assassination. One private individual then followed another upon the throne, none of whom occupied it long, or died a natural death. In 550 Athanagild, one of the candidates for this perilous exaltation, purchased the assistance of Justinian, emperor of the East, by surrendering to him the sea-coast of what is now Andalusia, Granada, and Murcia, acknowledging himself a dependent or vassal of the empire. Supported by Justinian, Athanagild triumphed over his competitors. He fixed his court at Toledo, thenceforward the capital of the Gothic kingdom, and governed well: but Spain was not again emancipated from her dependence upon the empire until the accession of Leovigild. This prince conquered most of the towns held by the Romans of the eastern empire in Spain, and shook off the imperial yoke. He subdued the rebellious Suevi, and incorporated that vassal state with his own kingdom; which thus, in the year 584, embraced very nearly the whole Peninsula. Leovigild was one of the greatest of the Gothic kings. He effected essential reforms in legislation and finance, was sagacious, brave, and inflexibly just. The faults ascribed to him are cruelty and avarice. His reign was disturbed by religious dissensions in his own family. His first wife was Theodosia, the sister of three men canonized by the Catholic church for their great piety, namely, St. Isidore, St. Fulgentius, and St. Leander; and though we do not hear in this instance of any conjugal attempts at conversion, his sons grew up imbued with the orthodox opinions of their holy uncles. Hermengild, the eldest, married Ingunda, a Catholic princess of Austrasia, one of the kingdoms into which France was then divided, about the time that his father, becoming a widower, espoused Goswinda, the widow of one of his predecessors. Goswinda was a bigoted Arian, and fiercely persecuted Ingunda, who displayed a Christian meekness under her ill usage, that confirmed Hermengild's preference of her creed to his step-mother's. This prince has been canonized by the papal see; and the religious zeal of historians, on both sides probably, has discoloured and distorted the account of his subsequent conduct: some writers representing him as an humble and persecuted martyr, others as an ambitious and rebellious fanatic. The

only facts that can be stated with confidence, are, that he rebelled against the father he deemed a heretic, was vanquished, and put to death. His widow fled with her infant son to Africa.

Hermengild's brother, Recared, was like him, a Catholic, but, through deference to his father, concealed his opinions. Upon Leovigild's death, A. D. 586, he publicly renounced the Arian heresy, and induced the majority of the nation to follow his example. A conversion so important has procured him the surname of the Catholic. Recared's reign was more glorious than peaceful. The king of Austrasia attacked him in revenge for Ingunda's sufferings, and his own subjects revolted. He triumphed over all. His peace with Austrasia was sealed by his marriage with Ingunda's sister Clodosinda, and his rebellious subjects submitted. He died, A. D. 601, generally esteemed and regretted. His natural son Liuva succeeded, to the prejudice of his younger lawful offspring, but was presently murdered by his general Witeric; and for twenty years Spain was a prey to confusion and disorder, a series of usurpers snatching the sceptre from each other's grasp. Of these, one only appears worthy of notice, Sisebert, who added Mauritania, as the north-western part of Africa was then called, to the Gothic realm. He is not less valued, by monkish chroniclers, for the religious fanaticism which impelled him to persecute both heretics and Jews.

In 622 the race of Leovigild was recalled to the throne, in the person of Suintila, a legitimate son of Recared's. Suintila began his reign prosperously, by the final expulsion of the Greeks from the few places they had hitherto retained upon the south-western coast; but afterwards, falling into dissolute and tyrannical courses, was, in 631, deposed by Sisenard. Again was Spain for forty years distracted by the contests of a rapid succession of kings, raised to the throne by factious cabals, or by open violence. One of these transitory kings, Chintila, expelled the Jews from Spain; under another, Receswinth, intermarriages between the Goths and their subjects of the original Spanish blood, were first allowed. During this period Ardebastus, St. Hermengild's grandson, came over to Spain, and was highly favoured by king Chindaswinth, who gave him his niece in marriage.

In the year 672 the crown was offered

to Wamba, a noble Goth, distinguished alike by his virtues and his abilities. He long declined the honourable invitation, until, as is reported, a patriotic noble threatened him with instant death, if he should persist in sacrificing the public good to his own love of retirement. Having yielded, he was crowned with ceremonies previously unaccustomed. Wamba reigned usefully and gloriously, but not peaceably. The French provinces were in open rebellion. He quelled the insurrection; unhesitatingly pardoned the great body of the rebels, tried the ringleaders by legal process, and committed the sentence of death, pronounced by their judges, for monastic seclusion. The Mahometan Arabs had recently begun to alarm the coasts of Spain and Mauritania. Wamba fitted out a fleet, and defeated them in the first naval action recorded in the annals of Spain. His internal government was equally admirable, and appeared to open a new era to the country by the establishment of many good laws. Neither Wamba's brilliant achievements, nor the happiness he had diffused throughout

From A.D.
672—710.

his dominions, seem to have reconciled him to the toils of sovereignty. After a reign of nine years he retired to a monastery, recommending as his successor Erviga, the son of Ardabastus. It has been asserted, that Wamba was compelled, by an artifice of Erviga's, to take this step; but it is in such perfect harmony with his former reluctance to accept the crown, that we may be allowed to hope so excellent a monarch's virtues were not rewarded with either violent or fraudulent dethronement; especially as Erviga made too good a use of the royal power to be suspected of having acquired it unworthily. He reigned happily for eight years, and then followed the example of his predecessor, voluntarily retiring to a monastery, and resigning the crown to Egiza, a nephew of Wamba's, said to have been designated by him as Erviga's successor, and married to Erviga's daughter, Cixilona. Egiza successfully repulsed the attacks of the Arabs, but is best known by his legislative labours. He blended the Roman with the Gothic laws, and made his new code binding alike upon the Goths and the original inhabitants, who thenceforward jointly bore the name of Spaniards. In 700 Egiza left a prosperous kingdom to his son Witiza.

Witiza had been for some years his

father's colleague in the government, and as such had enjoyed a high character for justice, beneficence, and piety, which he continued to deserve during the early part of his separate reign. But whether power turned his head, or those virtues had been only assumed as a disguise to please his father, he subsequently abandoned himself to the very opposite vices. He not only trampled upon the laws of religion, of morality, and of his country himself, but he sanctioned their general violation by his subjects. He committed unexampled cruelties; and, amongst other acts of wanton barbarity, he, without a shadow of pretext, murdered Favila, and blinded Theodofred, his kinsman, and the sons of Chindaswinth, to whom his own grandfather, Ardabastus, had been so much indebted. His profligate and savage tyranny wearied the patience of the people, and they were therefore easily instigated to rebellion by Roderic, the son of the blinded Theodofred. Witiza fell during the civil war that ensued, and Roderic was proclaimed king.

Witiza's depravity and misgovernment had reduced the country to a state of weakness, which could only have been remedied by a successor endowed with extraordinary talents and energy. These Roderic certainly did not possess; and it is said, he further precipitated the downfall of the Gothic monarchy by an act of licentious violence. The story runs thus: having conceived a criminal passion for one of the noble virgins who attended upon his queen, and being repulsed by her virtue, he resorted to force for the gratification of his wishes. The outraged damsel fled from the court, found her way to Mauritania, of which her father, count Julian, was then governor, prostrated herself at his feet, related the story of her wrongs, and implored revenge. The count, exasperated at the ruin of his child, and at the indignity offered to his house, forgot his duty as a Spaniard and a Christian. The ARABS, having overrun the coast of Africa, from Egypt westwards, were then threatening to invade Maoritania. He threw the fortresses in his charge open to them, and besought their aid against his guilty sovereign. This tale has been disputed by modern authors. Some, adopting a favourable opinion of Roderic, have ascribed the outrage to Witiza, with whose known character it is consonant, and suppose that count Julian had so deeply involved himself

with the Arabs during the continuance of that criminal monarch's life, having perhaps already placed Mauritania and himself in their hands, that he had no longer the power of breaking his engagements upon the accession of Roderic, the avenger of the count's injuries, as well as of his own and the nation's. Others have gone further, and ridiculed the idea of any such outrage having been committed by either monarch; supporting their doubts upon our uncertainty as to the name of the unfortunate lady, who is called La Cava by Arab, and by some Spanish writers, and Florinda by others. But no author has ventured to deny that count Julian, who had previously repulsed Muza's attack upon his province, introduced the Arabs into Spain; and it is surely more reasonable to think that he was provoked to an act of such detestable treachery, by some deep offence, than to believe that the first noble and highest dignitary in Spain destroyed his native land, and sacrificed his own exalted station, without any rational motive. And why arbitrarily substitute supposititious motives to that recorded in the tradition of the country, since tradition, although it may colour and embellish facts, is seldom altogether founded on fiction?*

CHAPTER III.

The Arabs; Mahomet; Mahometanism—Battle of the Guadalete—Arabs conquer Spain—Pelayo resists in the North; is proclaimed king, first of Gijon, afterwards of Oviedo—Wars of the Arabs in France—Their defeat by Charles Martel at Poitiers—Alfonso the Catholic extends his dominions—Abderrahman I. separates Mahometan Spain from the eastern Caliphate—Fruela of Oviedo becomes his tributary—Garcia Ximenes founds

the first kingdom of Navarre or Sobraves—Invasion of Charlemagne; his conquests; establishes the Spanish March—His defeat at Roncesvalles—Arabs reconquer the March—Alhakem I.—Alfonso II.—Second French invasion; recovery of the whole Spanish March.*

PREVIOUS to relating the consequences of count Julian's flagitious alliance, for such, however provoked, it undoubtedly was, a few words will be requisite concerning the Arabs themselves, and the circumstances that had brought them so dangerously near to Spain.

The Arabs, from the earliest of our knowledge of them, have been warlike, pastoral tribes, whose sole wealth consisted in their flocks and herds. They were never subdued by Rome; but their exemption from the yoke of the queen of the world, might perhaps be as much owing to the uninviting character of their sandy deserts, as to their own martial prowess. They were idolaters, and barbarians, as it has always been customary to term nations unacquainted with the refinements of civilization; but they possessed the virtues and the knowledge adapted to their condition. They were hospitable, faithful, when they had plighted their word, and no mean proficient in astronomy and poetry. Amongst this people, in the very beginning of the 7th century, arose Mohammed, or, according to the received corruption of his name, Mahomet;—a man to whom only the prejudice of narrow bigotry can deny superior genius. Mahomet took the Holy Scriptures, both the Old and the New Testament, as the foundation of the religious system of which he was the author, and which, from his name, has usually been called Mahometanism. He represented our Saviour as the greatest of prophets prior to himself, and himself as the greatest and last of the whole series, in whose person the work of revelation was finally consummated. He reclaimed his countrymen from idolatry, and if he indulged them in the continuance of some vices, he prohibited others, and enjoined the practice of many virtues. But the most important part of his doctrine to the rest of the world, was, that he made

* Ferreras, the most critical of Spanish historians, says upon this subject, "Pedro Mantuano, D. J. Pellicer, and others hold this tale of Don Julian's daughter ill introduced into our history, because they do not find it in Isidorus Pacense, in don Alfonso el Magno, or the Chronicon Albalense, which are the three oldest monuments of those times. But, as the excellent scior Marqués de Mondejar observes, those authors wrote the loss of Spain with the utmost brevity, omitting all details. * * * And in virtue of the continuous tradition, and with the common consent of the Arab historians, the monk of Hilon began to narrate it, and has been followed by others. And as the count don Julian had defended Ceuta, and its vicinity, against Muza, with great valour, it is not to be imagined that he would have invited the Saracens against don Roderic without some very strong motive."

* The authorities principally relied upon in this chapter are *Vizcarre Ferreras*, Comte, Mariti, Gibbon, Bigland, *Histoire des Français*, par Sismondi, 12 vols. 8vo. Paris, 1829—1831; *Universal Modern History*, 44 vols.

his disciples essentially conquerors, inculcating the propagation of his unitarian creed by the sword, as a principal religious duty, and promising eternal happiness to those who should fall in his holy wars. In the first ardour of enthusiasm, the success of the belligerent missionaries he had thus formed was incredible. Western Asia and Persia were subdued within a few years after Mahomet's death; and the early sovereignties of the Mahometans,—who assumed the title of caliph, a word implying civil and religious supremacy,—abandoning their native Arabian deserts, fixed their court at Damascus. Thence they sent their armies into Africa, where Egypt, and part of the northern coast were quickly overrun; the conquerors meeting with no obstacle to their triumphant career, till they reached the Spanish province of Mauritania. Muza, the Arab general, had abundantly recruited his numbers amongst the vanquished and converted native tribes, and was meditating a renewed invasion of Mauritania, when he received count Julian's offer of alliance, and was admitted into his fortress as a friend.

Muza thought it necessary to apply for the caliph Walid's sanction, ere, according to count Julian's proposal, he invaded

a third quarter of the globe. The caliph, whose views of pious ambition were boundless, approved; and Muza, not trusting his ally's professions sufficiently, perhaps, to risk his whole army, sent over his lieutenant, Taric, with a body of troops, to make the first attempt upon Spain. Taric, accompanied by count Julian, crossed the Straits, and landed at the rock of Gibraltar: which thence derives its name, now somewhat corrupted, Gebal Taric, meaning in Arabic, the mountain of Taric. From this strong position, Taric rapidly conquered the adjacent districts; whilst Roderic, who seems to have been surprised totally unprepared, was assembling an army, with which to battle for his crown, his people, and his faith. He encountered the invaders near Xeres, upon the banks of the Guadalete, a few miles from Cadiz. The conflict was long, obstinate, and sanguinary. It is said to have been decided in favour of the invaders, after three days of hard fighting, by the desertion, at a critical moment, of Opas, bishop of Seville, and his nephews, the brother and sons of Witiza, with all

their friends and followers. Towards the end of the engagement, king Roderic disappeared. Arab historians assert that Taric slew him with his own hand, and sent his head to Muza. Spanish writers maintain that his body never was discovered, and conjecture that he was drowned in attempting to cross the river. The uncertainty of his fate excited the romance of Spanish imagination; and Roderic's escape, with his subsequent penitence and penance, have furnished subject matter for some delightful ballads. The exact date of the battle of the Guadalete has been disputed, but it was fought between the years 711 and 714.

Muza, jealous of his deputy's unexpected success, ordered Taric to suspend his operations until he should join him with reinforcements. Taric, unwilling to be thus robbed of his lawful honours, found means to be compelled to disobedience by the unanimous opinion of his officers. He rapidly prosecuted his conquests, enriching himself and his troops with the plunder of the towns, but acting with the utmost lenity towards the agricultural population. Muza speedily arrived, with a larger army, threw Taric into prison for disobedience, and proceeded with the subjugation of the Peninsula. The only opposition the conquerors experienced, after the battle of the Guadalete, was in the present kingdom of Murcia, where a noble Goth, named Theodomir, held out with equal skill and valour. When at last compelled to surrender, in the town of Orihuela, he is said to have obtained favourable conditions, by making the women appear in armour upon the walls, to give himself the show of a numerous garrison. His stratagem might seem to have been superfluous, for the Christian inhabitants of the country were everywhere treated according to the terms granted to Theodomir, and to the city of Toledo, which capitulated without resistance.

The Mahometans imposed heavy tributes upon their Christian Spanish subjects, but left them the undisturbed enjoyment of their property, laws, and religion, under no further restrictions than that every sentence of death should be sanctioned by Mahometan authority; that no new churches should be built; and that all religious ceremonies should be celebrated with closed doors. In less than three years from their first landing, the Arabs had subdued and occu-

pied the whole of Spain, with the single exception of a small mountainous district in the province of Asturias, a part of that north-western region so long the stronghold of the Cantabrians against the Romans: a district which appeared, perhaps, too insignificant to have attracted the notice of the conquerors. Of count Julian's ultimate fate nothing is known: it has been conjectured that he fell a victim to the evils he had brought upon his country.

When the hardy and warlike character of both the Goths and the original Spaniards is considered, their easy and almost unresisting subjugation after a single battle, appears at first sight scarcely credible. Its cause must be sought in the existing circumstances and prior history of the country. The Peninsula, owing to its geographical situation, and the civil broils and distractions of the only adjoining country, France, had, since the complete establishment of the Gothic monarchy, been little engaged in foreign war.

Like other earthly goods, the blessings of peace are not exempt from alloy; and one of their worst consequences is the very natural effect of unfitting a nation for bearing arms, when called upon so to do in self-defence. That the Goths and Spaniards had thus degenerated, is proved by their having betrayed such a want of energy upon occasion of the piratical incursions of the Danes, or Northmen, who then ravaged all European sea-coasts, as induced the passing a law to render those who should fly from the pirate invaders inadmissible as witnesses in courts of justice. Half the nation is stated, by old chroniclers, to have incurred this penalty. The internal disorders that weakened the monarchy had long been productive rather of murder, intrigue, and conspiracy, than of such civil wars as might have counteracted the enervating influence of foreign peace. But in those unenlightened times peace was attended with various other evils; and of these, despotism was neither the least nor the rarest. War rendered king, nobles, and people necessary to each other, and enabled the nobles to acquire a power, that constituted them in other Gothic monarchies, a check upon the sovereign's arbitrary authority. In the history of Spain under the Goths, we meet with no mighty barons, such as those who controlled the kings of France and England; and what

power the nobles did possess they employed not in curbing, but in dethroning their kings, whose tyranny was varied, rather than relieved, by intervals of anarchy, during which rival usurpers struggled for the sceptre. The only real check upon the king, and that a very insufficient one, was found in the priesthood. Eighteen national councils were held in the course of the three centuries of Gothic sovereignty. These councils, which equally regulated civil and religious affairs, were originally composed of the clergy, the nobles, and the commons. The commons were very soon excluded; and latterly, even of the nobles, only such as were appointed by the king, or held court offices, were permitted to share in the deliberations of these assemblies. Of course, bodies so constituted became, if not utterly insignificant, at least indifferent, to the great mass of the people; and loyalty to the sovereign, which, as a principle of action, has often proved a substitute for patriotism, was incompatible with the constant recurrence of usurpation. A wealthy nation, unused to arms, and without natural leaders or rights to defend, was not likely to struggle hard against formidable conquerors, who held out the promise of kind treatment.

The dissensions between Muza and Taric induced the caliph Walid to recall both:—Taric had previously been restored to liberty, by orders from Damascus. Both obeyed, repairing separately to the foot of the throne. To his eldest son, Abdelaziz, the partner of all his toils and triumphs, Muza, at his departure, committed the command in Spain; where, having married Roderic's widow, Egilona, Abdelaziz was almost as acceptable to the conquered Christians as to the conquerors. His two younger sons, Muza appointed governors of Africa—which name the Arabs limited to the northern coast from Egypt to Mauritania—and of Almagrab, as they denominated the latter province. Taric's conduct was approved by his master. Muza, in return for his services, was fined and imprisoned; and, lest his sons should avenge their father, Walid's brother and successor, Suleiman, despatched orders for their death. These orders were everywhere implicitly obeyed. In Spain, the odious office of executioner, or murderer, was committed to Habb, the intimate friend of both Muza and Abdelaziz. With the un-

questioning submission to his temporal and spiritual sovereign, enjoined by the Mahometan creed, he merely observed, 'Is it possible that Muza's enemies should so quickly have obliterated the memory of his exploits and of his famel' and then adding, 'But God is just, and commands obedience to the caliph,' proceeded to discharge the task imposed upon him. This was a matter of some difficulty, so universally and so deservedly was Abdelaziz beloved. Halib took advantage of his marriage with the Christian queen, to represent him as a bad Mussulman, and thus rob him of the general esteem that formed his security. So debased in the eyes of his fellow-soldiers, Abdelaziz was easily put to death, and his head was sent to Damascus, where, by the caliph's express orders, it was shown to Muza, with an inquiry whether he knew the features. The wretched father could only imprecate curses upon the authors of his son's fate. In Spain, Ayub, a kinsman of Abdelaziz, was chosen *emir*, or governor, in his stead by the army; the caliph, it should seem, not having provided a successor to his victim. Ayub's government was exempt from reproach; but his nomination was annulled as soon as it was known at Damascus, on account of his relationship to those whom their ungrateful master had murdered; and Alhaur was appointed to replace him. Alhaur was a harsh and ambitious ruler; he irritated all subject to his authority; and considering Spain as too thoroughly subdued to offer hope of further wealth or fame, he crossed the Pyrenees, and invaded France.

The various circumstances just related proved favourable to the Christian refugees in the Asturian mountains. At the head of these was Pelayo, said by most of the early Spanish writers to have been the son of that Favila, whom Witiza had murdered, and the cousin of Roderic, under whom he had fought upon the banks of the Guadalete. After the defeat, he had retired to that remote and naturally strong province, accompanied by a few brave and pious friends and followers. This gallant little band, reinforced by the hardy natives, took advantage of the *emir's* absence with his army, and of the dissatisfaction prevailing amongst the domiciliated Arabs, to extend their limits; and in 718 they proclaimed Pelayo king of Gijon, the first town they occupied, and which was securely situated upon a small peninsula

jutting out into the sea. Alhaur, who despised the insurrection of a few mountaineers, prosecuted the French enterprise, which promised to gratify his ambition, only sending a body of troops, under Alxaman, one of his officers, against the Asturians. Pelayo, by judiciously availing himself of the difficulties of his country, defeated Alxaman. This victory brought great accessions to Pelayo's numbers, gave him an authority that enabled him to discipline his troops, and opened to him the gates of several adjacent towns—when the title of king of Gijon seems to have been exchanged for that of king of Oviedo. Alhaur was returning to Spain, to avenge the misfortune of his lieutenant, when, in consequence of the many complaints urged against him, orders arrived from Damascus displacing him, and naming Alsama *emir* of Spain. Alsama, like his predecessor, preferred attempting the conquest of France to putting down a handful of obscure rebels; who, thus neglected, increased hourly in strength.

Spain was next included in the government of Africa, and her *emirs* placed under the control of the African *emir*, who appointed and removed them at his discretion. This double dependence irritated the fierce tempers of the Arab leaders; whilst the great distance of the seat of supreme government, Damascus, gave free scope to individual enmity and ambition; and *emirs* now contended with and supplanted each other, as Gothic kings had done before them; whilst such as succeeded in establishing their authority, devoted all their energies to the invasion of France.

These trans-pyrenean schemes were checked in the year 732, when Abderrahman, the eleventh or twelfth *emir*, who had extended his conquests as far as Tours, was defeated and slain by Charles Martel, the French *maire du palais*, (mayor of the palace,) in the celebrated battle of Poitiers; which, by confirming the high fortunes of the victor, enabled his son Pepin to assume the crown, and thus placed the Carlovingian dynasty upon the French throne.

During this period of Arab inattention to Spanish affairs, Pelayo had maintained and enlarged his mountain kingdom; and the broils that continued to divide the Mahometans when confined within the limits of Spain, afforded him similar advantages. He died A.D. 737, and was succeeded by his son, Favila.

Oviedo,
from A.D.
718—737.

This prince reigned only two years, when he was accidentally killed by a bear, on a hunting party. Favila's successor was his sister's husband, Alfonso, surnamed the Catholic,—a lineal descendant of Recared the Catholic. Alfonso triumphed repeatedly over the Arabs, from whom he took many towns in Asturias, Galicia, Leon, and Castille. These successes were favoured by the usual dissensions of rival *emirs*, and by a rebellion of the Barbary tribes in Africa, which compelled the African *emir* to summon his subordinate Spanish brethren to his aid.

Spain had, in the space of less than forty years from her subjugation, been harassed, rather than ruled, by twenty different *emirs*, when a revolution at Damascus effected a great change and amelioration in her destiny. A race called the Ommeyades, from Ommeyah, the first of the family who attained the caliphate, had governed the Faithful, as the Mahometans term themselves, with undisputed and uncontrolled authority, until, degenerating from the virtues and energies of their ancestor, they incurred the contempt of their subjects. In 750, Abul Abbas Azefah, who boasted affinity with the Prophet by his descent from Abbas, Mahomet's uncle, took advantage of this feeling to depose the Ommeyade caliph, Merwan, and assume his place. A general massacre of the Ommeyade family ensued, at a banquet given by Abdallah, a kinsman of the new caliph's. In Spain the *emir* Jusuf, acknowledged Abul Abbas Azefah; but most of the *walis* and *alcaydes*, or governors of provinces and towns, were attached to the Ommeyades, and a civil war was upon the point of breaking out, loyalty being on both sides, perhaps, put forward as a cover in the desire of independence. Some of the principal *walis* assembled at Cordova, to deliberate upon the means of preserving peace; when it was proposed to elect a separate and independent Spanish caliph. The suggestion was approved; but where should a candidate for that high dignity be found, whose claims might command general submission? This difficulty was obviated by information that Abderrahman, a grandson of Hixem, the tenth Ommeyade caliph, had survived the slaughter of his kindred, and was then living in Africa. This youth had, with his brother Suleiman, been prevented from attending the fatal

banquet by a casual absence from Damascus; and though assassins were sent after them, who slew Suleiman, Abderrahman effected his escape, and sought refuge with a tribe of Bedoween, or wandering Arabs. Traced thither by the enmity or the fears of the Abbasides, and actually asleep in a tent which his pursuers entered in search of him, he was saved by the address of his friendly hosts. The caliph's emissaries were by them persuaded that he had accompanied a distant hunting party, whose intended course was carefully pointed out; and they followed the Arab hunters in one direction, whilst the object of their pursuit fled in another. Abderrahman now repaired to the tents of another Arab tribe, the Zeneta, to whom he was related on his mother's side, and who had migrated to the northern, or Barbary coast of Africa. With the Zeneta the royal fugitive had ever since remained, sharing all the toils and hardships of their mode of life. This heir of the Ommeyades was forthwith invited to assume the independent caliphate of Spain; and with the sanction of the *scheiks*, or heads of the Zeneta tribe, who assigned him 750 of their noblest youths as his body-guard, he accepted the invitation.

Abderrahman immediately crossed over to Spain, with his band of kindred Arabs; and upon landing, was joined by his principal friends in that country, at the head of 20,000 men. This army he led towards Cordova, which was held against him by the *emir* Jusuf. He first encountered Jusuf's son, whom he defeated, and drove back upon the town, and next gained a complete victory over the *emir* himself, notwithstanding his own great inferiority in numbers to his adversary. Cordova now rose upon and expelled the Abbaside faction, and joyfully received the conqueror;—who not only made that city his metropolis, but took his title from its name, calling himself caliph, not of Spain, but of Cordova. Jusuf raised another army, and continued his opposition to Abderrahman; but another defeat compelled him to submit. The new monarch was soon afterwards much strengthened by the arrival of many adherents of his family from Asia. His government was, nevertheless, for many years disturbed by the rebellions of Jusuf, his sons, and connexions, and by the efforts of the *emirs* of Africa and Almugrab, partizans of the Abbas-

Musculman
Spain
from A.D.
718—759.

side caliphs, to reduce Spain to her former dependent condition. Abderrahman triumphed over all these foes; but they prevented his turning his attention as energetically as might have been apprehended from his character, against the Christian states rising up in the north-western corner of his dominions.

Frúela, who, in 757, had there succeeded to his father, Alfonso the Catholic, took advantage of these circumstances to add Galicia to his kingdom. But civil discord checked his prosperous career, and so weakened him, that, in 759, he was glad to make peace with the caliph of Cordova, and obtain his recognition of his title as king of Asturias and of Galicia, upon condition of paying him an annual tribute. Früela afterwards forfeited the affection of his subjects, put his brother, Bimareno, to death upon groundless suspicion, and, in 768, fell by the hand of his cousin, Aurelio, who obtained the crown to the exclusion of Früela's infant son, Alfonso. Aurelio was followed by his brother-in-law, Silo.

Both these princes, insecure perhaps as usurpers, quietly paid the stipulated tribute; and their successor, Mauregato, a natural son of Alfonso the Catholic, by a Mahometan slave, is said to have ascended the throne only through the aid of Abderrahman, purchased by adding to the former annual tribute one hundred virgins, half of noble and half of ignoble birth. The truth of this base and criminal sacrifice of female purity has been disputed, like most of the romance of Spanish annals, by some modern writers. Its chief Spanish authority is tradition; but that is confirmed by Arab history.

Whilst these events were passing in the kingdom of Oviedo, a second Christian state was rising into existence in the recesses of the Pyrenees. In the year 758, according to the best Spanish authorities, the nobles of the mountain country, meeting, to the number of 600, at the cell of a hermit far renowned for his sanctity, resolved to elect a king. Their choice fell upon García Ximenes, a wealthy noble of the original Spanish blood, married to a lady named Iniga, of descent similar to his own. The new king proceeded to conquer a kingdom—and his first acquisitions were made in the country of Sobrarve. His son García Iniguez, who succeeded to him, greatly enlarged his dominions, extending them

into Navarre on one side, and Aragon on the other.

A new enemy disturbed Abderrahman's latter years: Charlemagne, the grandson of Charles Martel, after conquering Italy and part of Germany, turned his arms against his Mahometan neighbours. The accounts of Charlemagne's Spanish wars are, in many respects, very differently given by French, Spanish, and Arab historians. It would be idle to encumber these pages with a tedious critical investigation of the relative credibility of conflicting authorities; and it may be sufficient to say, that the following narrative has been compiled from the writers of all three nations, after a diligent comparison of their respective means of information, of the points upon which any two of them coincide, and of the consistency of their several statements both with general probability, and with circumstances upon which all agree.

The sons of the *emir* Jusuf appear first to have drawn Charlemagne's attention to Spain. They sought his alliance against the caliph of Cordova; and it was in compliance with their invitation, and aided by the Abbasside faction, that the French king, in 778, subdued the small part of the Gothic provinces in the south of France held by the Arabs, crossed the Pyrenees, and overran their portion of Navarre, Catalonia, and Aragon, as far as the Ebro. These conquests Charlemagne formed into one province, called the Spanish March. Throughout its extent he substituted his own Arab allies in the places of Abderrahman's officers, and naming a French governor of the province, for whose residence he appointed Barcelona, he returned to France. In repassing the Pyrenees, he was attacked by the united forces of Abderrahman, of Fortun Garcias, who had succeeded his father García Iniguez on the throne of Sobrarve or Navarre, (for it is doubted from which of its constituent parts the Pyrenean kingdom took its name,) and of the French Gascons. The battle ended in Charlemagne's discomfiture, and his rear-guard was completely cut to pieces. The action has been celebrated by poets as the defeat of Roncesvalles, in which fell the Paladin Roland, or Orlando, the great hero of French romance, whose feats, love, and madness, have been celebrated in Italian poetry.

Abderrahman's general, Abdelmelic,

Cordova,
from A.D.
759—796.

Oviedo,
from A.D.
757—788.

ably followed up his victory, and recovered most of the Spanish March, reducing the Arab rebels to submission. His services were rewarded by the marriage of his son Abdallah to Kathira, the caliph's granddaughter by his third son Hixem, whom, judging him better adapted in mind and disposition than his elder brothers for the cares of sovereignty, Abderrahman afterwards selected for his successor. Hixem was readily acknowledged as *wali alhadi*, or heir-apparent, by the assembled *walis*, in 786; and the following year, Abderrahman died. Troubled as his reign had been from within and from without, it was nevertheless fruitful in benefit to his subjects. Under him, Mussulman Spain made the first steps towards the eminence in science, literature, and wealth, commercial and agricultural, to which she subsequently attained. He consolidated the Arab power, established a due administration of justice, gave authority to religion, and promoted education. He improved the condition of the Mozarabes, (the Christians living under the Mahometans were so called,) by lowering the tribute imposed upon them; and he built the famous mosque of Cordova, which was lighted by 4700 lamps. Soon after Abderrahman's death, his former adversary, Edris ben Abdallah, *emir* of Almagrab, renounced his allegiance to the Abbasside caliphs, and founded the kingdom of Fez.

The first years of Hixem's reign were occupied in contests with his dissatisfied elder brothers, who stirred up continual rebellions. When these were quelled, the new caliph, in the exultation of success, resolved to recover all the French provinces of the Gothic monarchy, and to subdue the kingdom of Oviedo. For these purposes he published the *alghid*, or proclamation of a holy war, and undertook both enterprises at the same time. The invasion of France he committed to his son-in-law Abdallah, who gained some victories beyond the Pyrenees, and brought home a rich booty, but made no permanent conquests. The conduct of the attack upon Oviedo, Hixem gave to his *hagib*, or prime minister.

The approach of so formidable a Mussulman army as now menaced Oviedo, seems to have awakened the conscience of the reigning king, Bermudo the Deacon, so named from his

having been in holy orders, previous to his seizing the crown at Mauregato's death, A.D. 788. He immediately abdicated in favour of the rightful heir, Fruela's son Alfonso, II. The young king defended himself vigorously and repulsed the invaders with great slaughter. In the course of his long reign, Alfonso extended his territories far southwards, and very early abolished the ignominious tribute of 100 virgins. From this circumstance is derived, by some historians, his surname of the Chaste; attributed by others to his having made a solemn vow of virginity, and observed it, even in marriage. This vow, and the austere temper in which it probably originated, had considerable influence over Alfonso's life. He so deeply resented his sister Ximena's private marriage with a subject, the Count of Saldanha, that he shut her up in a convent; and putting out her husband's eyes, sentenced him to perpetual imprisonment. He indeed carefully educated the offspring of the marriage, a son, who, under the name of Bernardo del Carpio, is the great hero of early Spanish romance. But he so exasperated the gallant youth by rejecting his solicitations on behalf of his parents, that many of Bernardo's most splendid feats were performed in the Mussulman ranks, warring against his harsh uncle.

About the year 800, Alfonso having no children, and Bernardo being perhaps in rebellion, offered Charlemagne the bequest of his kingdom, in consideration of assistance to be given by France against the Moors, as the Spanish Arabs are usually denominated, who had become more formidable upon the warlike Alhakem succeeding to his father Hixem in 796.

At the first accession of the young caliph, indeed, his two uncles, whom Hixem had vanquished, pardoned, and provided for, revolted, and whilst their rebellion occupied Alhakem, Alfonso pursued his conquests. But Alhakem so rapidly subdued the insurgents and repulsed the invaders, that he acquired the surname of *Almudafar*, or The Victorious. One of his rebellious uncles fell in battle, and Alhakem wept over him; the survivor, Abdallah, he forgave; and though he demanded his sons as hostages, he treated them with such kindness, that he gave the hand of his sister Alkinsa to Esfah, the eldest.

Alhakem was now ready to fall with

Oviedo,
from A.D.
788—810.

Cordova,
from A.D.
796—815.

his whole power upon the kingdom of Oviedo, when Charlemagne, in pursuance of the recently-concluded treaty, sent a numerous army into Spain, led by his son Lewis, whom he had named King of Aquitaine, in which kingdom the Spanish March was nominally included. Alhakem was unable to cope with the forces thus united against him, and Lewis recovered the Spanish March in the east, whilst Alfonso extended his frontiers in the west of the Peninsula. But dissensions arose ere long between the Christian allies, that checked their further progress. The nobles of Oviedo refused to sanction their king's bequest of his crown to Charlemagne, which must have made the kingdom a mere province of France. Alfonso was compelled by them to retract his rash offer, and a quarrel with Charlemagne ensued. In Spanish annals the defeat of Roncevalles is the consequence of this quarrel, and Bernardo del Carpio the conqueror of the French. But French and Arab history, as well as general probability, assign to that defeat the date of 778, when Bernardo del Carpio, who very likely joined the Moors against his uncle and Lewis in 801, was unborn. Bernardo is not the only favourite hero to whom tradition or romance ascribes a share in memorable actions occurring before his birth, or after his death.

Lewis did not extend his conquests, but he remained master of the Spanish March, and constantly at war with the Moors for its defence. He, for the most part, succeeded in maintaining its boundaries against Alhakem, whose latter, like his earlier years, were harassed with insurrections, which he now provoked by his violent and suspicious, though not unkindly temper. He thus drove his brother-in-law Esfah to revolt; but when, at the moment of his victory over the rebels, Alkinsa fell at his feet to implore her husband's pardon, he immediately forgave, and was reconciled to him. As Alhakem advanced in years his good qualities disappeared, and his vices increased. He abandoned himself to voluptuousness, indolence, and cruelty; but fortunately for his subjects, his indolence prevailing, he resigned the government in 815, to his son Abderrahman, whom he had caused to be acknowledged as *wali alhadi*.

CHAPTER IV.

Counts of Castile—The Kings of Navarre extinct—Abderrahman II.—Mohammed I.—Sancho, Count of Navarre—Garcia Ximenes, King of Navarre—Fanaticism of the Mozarabes—Conquests of Alfonso III.—Ordoño II. changes his title to King of Leon—Wifrid, Governor of the Spanish March for France, makes his county of Barcelona hereditary, as a French Vassal—Fortun Ximenes of Navarre's conquests from the French and Moors—Castile independent of Leon—Fernan Gonzales, Count of Castile—Abderrahman III.—His conquests in Africa—Alhakem II.—Conquests of Almanzor, the Minister of Hixem II.—His defeat and death.*

THE royal line of Navarre or Sobrarve was at this time extinct, Ximenes Garcias, the grandson of Fortun Garcias, having died without children. The nobles availed themselves of the opportunity to establish the famous code entitled *Los Fueros de Sobrarve*,—the laws of Sobrarve,—which subsequently became the ground-work of the liberties of Aragon. Navarre was soon afterwards recovered by the Moors, and Sobrarve included in the Spanish March.

Alfonso's kingdom, at this period, comprised Asturias, Galicia, part of Leon, and part of Castile, where some of the original noble proprietors, encouraged by his power and proximity, excited their countrymen to rise in arms, throw off the Moorish yoke, and transfer their allegiance to the crown of Oviedo. Upon so doing, the successful leaders assumed the title of Counts of Castile. Alfonso's reign was further distinguished by a supposed discovery of the grave of the Apostle St. James, at Compostella, in Galicia. This grave became the celebrated shrine, to which, under its Spanish name of St. Iago de Compostella, innumerable pilgrimages have been made, from the notions of piety and penance entertained by Catholics

Oviedo,
from A.D.
800—842.

* The authorities principally relied upon in this chapter are, Yriarte, Ferreras, Conde, Murillo, Rivind, *Universal Modern History*, *Compendio Historial de las Chronicas y Universal Historia de todos los Reynos de España*, por Estevan de Garibay y Camallua, 4 tomos, tomo, Barcelona, 1628.

Alfonso ruled upwards of fifty years, and at his death left his crown to Ramiro, the son of his conscientious predecessor, Bermudo the Deacon.

Towards the end of Alfonso's reign some Biscayan nobles succeeded in establishing their independence. In Sobrarve, Aznar, a noble of the original Vascon or Basque race, (to which the Biscayans in Spain and the Gascons in France are supposed to belong,) had assumed the title of Count. He acquired considerable power, but did not abjure his vassalage to France, it should seem, since he lost his life in the civil wars of that country. His brother Sancho succeeded to his county A.D. 837, and added to it part of Navarre. Under Sancho all traces of French sovereignty disappear. These Christian states were constantly engaged in hostilities with the Mahometans; and all of them, however the vicissitudes of war might occasionally threaten them with destruction, gradually extended their territories; whilst the Spanish March, though the largest amongst them, and supported by France, was unable to resist the encroachments of the Moors, from the moment when the kingdom of Aquitaine was absorbed into the French monarchy by Charlemagne's crown devolving to his only surviving son Lewis, and the March in consequence became a mere dependency upon that powerful kingdom.

Abderrahman II., however, did not prosecute hostilities very vigorously. He, like his predecessors, was troubled with insurrections at home. The first of these was excited by that restless and turbulent old man, his great uncle Abdallah, who, as usual, vanquished, and at his son's intercession forgiven, was probably only prevented by death from reiterating his offence. Other rebellions followed, promoted by the caliph's Christian neighbours, which, if less important than Abdallah's, sufficed to impede his warlike operations. Besides, although a brave and able warrior, Abderrahman was fonder of pacific, than of military pursuits. He invited learned men from all parts of the world to his court, employing many of them in the administration of his dominions, and he himself cultivated literature, but without neglecting the duties of his station. He enjoyed a high reputation abroad as well as at home.

The emperor of Constantinople sought his alliance against the oriental caliph, owing probably to his possessing a fleet, which he had built and equipped to guard his shores from the ravages of the Normans. Abderrahman II. died in 852, lamented as the father of his people.

Ramiro of Oviedo, who repulsed a Norman incursion, and gained a signal victory over the Moors, had, two years before this period, left his throne to his son Ordofio*. The new king rebuilt many of the towns destroyed in preceding wars. The towns, it should be observed, suffered severely from the system of warfare adopted by both Mahometans and Christians. In order to protect their respective territories by an intervening desert, both parties not only ravaged and depopulated each other's frontiers, but allowed their own latest conquests to remain in a state of desolation, carrying off the inhabitants to the interior of their dominions, as settlers or as slaves, according as they professed the religion of the conqueror, or the conquered.

Garcia succeeded his father Sancho, as count of Navarre or Sobrarve, and acquired some accession of territory beyond the Pyrenees, by the voluntary submission of the people, who were wearied out with the civil wars that distracted France under Charlemagne's successors. Garcia married the daughter of Muza the Mussulman governor of Saragossa, and joined his father-in-law, when, by the caliph's orders, he invaded Oviedo. This alliance between Christians and Mahometans—an alliance then so unusual as to be deemed unnatural,—did not prosper. Muza was defeated, and Count Garcia slain. His son Garcia Ximenes greatly enlarged his dominions, and acquired the county of Aragon by marrying Urraca, the only daughter and heiress of Count Fortun Ximenes. Garcia Ximenes assumed the title of king of Navarre.

Upon the Cordovan throne Mohammed I. had succeeded to his father Abderrahman. His anger and mortification at the defeat of his troops under Muza, induced suspicions of trea-

Oviedo and
Navarre,
from A.D.
845—862.

Cordova,
from A.D.
815—862.

Cordova,
from A.D.
852—912.

* This name is pronounced Ordofio; the *h* being always pronounced as if followed by an *i*.

chery in that general. He deprived him of his government, and thus provoked the verification of his suspicions. Muza revolted,—sought assistance from the Christians, and gave the caliph much trouble ere he was finally subdued. A meaner, but yet more harassing rebel, next arose. A mountain peasant named Hafsun, having turned robber and collected a strong band of ruffians, proffered his aid to all malcontents, and instigated various insurrections. Mohammed marched against him, but was duped by his fair professions, and allowed his nephew Zeid, with a small troop, to join Hafsun, in order to lead him and his followers against the Christians. Hafsun murdered Zeid and his men in their sleep. The indignant monarch ordered his son Almondhir to revenge his kinsman. Hafsun was defeated by the prince, but escaped, and renewed his rebellion upon every opportunity. He obtained help from Alfonso III. of Oviedo, who in 862, succeeded to his father Ordoño, and from the king of Navarre, who joined him in person. The allies engaged the caliph's troops in 882, and were defeated; the king and the robber were both slain. These disturbances at home did not prevent Mohammed from waging constant war with the Christians. He sent an army over the Pyrenees, which penetrated as far as Narbonne; but a rich booty seems to have been the chief fruit of the expedition. Against the united arms of Oviedo and Navarre, Mohammed failed to effect anything.

It might have been supposed that such incessant wars between the followers of the cross and of the crescent, and the success of so many Christian provinces in emancipating themselves, would have exasperated the Mahometans against their Christian subjects. But this was not the case. Intolerant as the Mussulman religion has in practice been usually found, its professors in Spain were uniformly tolerant, and they even recalled the Jews, who had been banished by the Visigoth kings. The terms originally granted at the conquest to the conquered nation, had been hitherto scrupulously observed; and if Mohammed I. narrowed the indulgences enjoyed by the Mozarabes, these last had only themselves to blame. Their endeavours to extort the honours of martyrdom from him and his father, form a curious episode in the history of

the human mind. Two Mozarabes had, during the reign of Abderrahman II., been induced, in conversation with some Mahometan acquaintance, to give their opinion of the two rival religions; and expressed, with such indiscreet zeal, their contempt for the false Prophet, that they were denounced as blasphemers, and put to death. This unwonted act of severity seems to have not merely produced the usual effect of persecution in heightening the religious fervour of those against whom it is directed, but to have actually maddened the Cordovan Mozarabes. Monks and nuns, husbands and wives, boys and girls, now thronged the Moorish courts of justice, to curse Mahomet publicly, before the Mussulman authorities, and thus achieve their own martyrdom. The *cadis*, or Mussulman judges, were seriously distressed at the frequent executions they were thus compelled to order; but the blasphemous outrage was too enormous and too public to be overlooked, and it does not seem to have occurred to them to treat these suicidal fanatics as maniacs, which they undoubtedly were. The *cadis* strove, by exhortation and persuasion, to prevail upon the frantic enthusiasts to forbear such wanton insults to their masters; but in vain. The caliph was then applied to; and his remonstrances proving equally fruitless, he had recourse to the Christian archbishop's authority over his flock. It was not without infinite difficulty that even the revered prelate's admonitions at length repressed this strange frenzy. The disorders that had occurred during its continuance, determined Mohammed to curtail the Mozarabe privileges.

Mohammed, like his father, was a lover and cultivator of literature. He died in 886, and his son Almondhir, who succeeded, reigned only two years. Almondhir so entirely forfeited his subjects' regard by the disproportionate severity of his punishments, that in an engagement with Caleb, the rebellious son of the rebellious robber Hafsun, his troops deserted him, and he fell, pierced with a thousand wounds. Almondhir left the caliphate to his brother Abdallah, who conciliated the nation by restoring the survivors amongst Almondhir's victims to their liberty and property. His reign was nevertheless harassed with rebellions, which reached even to his own family. His eldest son Mohammed revolted, and, after six years

of civil war, was defeated by his younger brother Abderrahman: Mohammed died in prison.

Meanwhile Alfonso III. was extending his dominion over a considerable part of Portugal, and earning the surname of the Great, equally by his conquests, his clemency, his charity, and his fervent devotion. His triumphant progress was however much interrupted by frequent insurrections, and at last his own family, like Abdallah's, imbibed the taint of disaffection. More unfortunate still than the caliph, Alfonso saw his wife, Ximena of Navarre, and his three sons, all revolt against him. The rebels were supported by the counts of Castile, the principal of whom, count Nuño Fernandez, was father-in-law to D. Garcia, the eldest of the three princes. Alfonso subdued this, like all former rebellions; but wearied and disgusted with such conflicts, he, in the year 900, resigned his crown to Garcia, giving Galicia, as a separate principality, to his second son Ordoño. After his abdication, Alfonso, as a private man, raised and led an army against the Moors; when he added another victory to his former achievements. Alfonso is said to have been a lover of literature; and a chronicle of his royal predecessors, bearing his name as the author, is still extant.

What remained of the Spanish March had lately made a step towards independence. The French governors had gradually increased in power and importance; their office, after a while, became hereditary in one family, and Wifrid, who held it about the end of the ninth century, assumed the title of count of Barcelona. His county was indeed small, the Moors having reconquered almost the whole March, and he continued a French vassal; but his sons and grandsons successively enlarged their state, and soon rendered its dependence little more than nominal.

In Navarre, Fortun Ximenes had succeeded to his father, and considerably augmented his kingdom at the expense of both the French and the Moors. In 905 he abdicated in favour of his brother Sancho, and retired to a monastery. Sancho pursued a similar military career with nearly equal, though not unvarying success. He is renowned for the invention of a sort of skin shoe, still used by the Navarrese, which enabled his army

to pass the frozen precipices of the Pyrenees at midwinter, and thus surprise the Moors, who had overrun Navarre, whilst he was occupied in France, and were rendered negligent by their conviction that his return with his forces at that season was impossible.

Garcia of Oviedo died without children shortly after his accession; when his brother Ordoño II. reunited the whole of his father's dominions. He transferred the seat of government to Leon, and altered the title of king of Oviedo, into that of king of Leon. His wars with the Moors were not very important, and his reign is chiefly characterized by his treachery towards the counts of Castile. Jealous probably of the power that had supported himself and his brothers against their father, he invited the counts to a conference upon affairs of public importance, and when they presented themselves, seized, and put them to death. The indignant Castilians renounced their allegiance to Leon, and formed themselves into a kind of republic, of which little but the shortness of its duration is known. Ordoño died as he was preparing to quell this Castilian revolt; and upon his death his brother, Fruela II. usurped the crown, which he wore only a few months.

This last of Alfonso's rebellious sons died of leprosy in 924, and was succeeded by his nephew, Alfonso IV., Ordoño II.'s eldest son. The new king, in the first emotion of sorrow upon losing his queen, resigned his crown to his brother, Ramiro II. to the exclusion of his own infant son, Ordoño, and retired to a monastery, where he took the vows. But he either found a monk's life less consolatory than he had expected, or he recovered from his sorrow; for he presently endeavoured to regain by force the birthright he had abandoned. A civil war ensued. Ramiro took his brother prisoner, and put out his eyes. He treated with similar cruelty the sons of Fruela who rebelled against him; and shut all his victims up together in a monastery. The remaining events of Ramiro's reign are his wars with the Moors, in which both parties claimed prodigious victories, having probably gained moderate advantages alternately. These wars Ramiro carried on in conjunction with a new count of Castile, the republic having already expired. This was Fer-

Oviedo,
from A.D.
862—900.

Oviedo,
from A.D.
900—957.

Navarre,
from A.D.
862—920.

nan Gonzalez, a descendant of one of the murdered counts, and another favourite hero of romance. He really attained to such power by his victories over the Moors, that the king of Navarre gave him his daughter Sancha in marriage; and the king of Leon selected his daughter Urraca as the wife of his own son and heir, Ordoño. Ramiro II. died A.D. 950, and Ordoño III. succeeded. His short reign was a scene of almost constant civil war with his brother Sancho, in which the king of Navarre, the caliph of Cordova, and the count of Castile took part; the two latter in favour of the rebel. Ordoño, incensed at his father-in-law's conduct, divorced Urraca, and married another wife. Count Fernan Gonzalez apparently forgave the insult, when he found occasion for the king of Leon's assistance against the Mahometans.

These dissensions might well have proved fatal to the Spanish Christian states, for the throne of Cordova was now occupied by one of the greatest of the caliphs. Abderrahman III. the son of the rebellious Mohammed, had succeeded to his grandfather; and his realm was governed, during his minority, by his uncle Abderrahman, who had quelled his father Mohammed's revolt. This prince, who remained as long as he lived his nephew's principal adviser, acquired by his military achievements the surname of *Almudafar*, or the Victorious. But circumstances so threatening produced little injury to the Christians. Many years of Abderrahman's reign were consumed in subduing the rebellions of the robber Hafsun's descendants, who had made themselves incredibly formidable, being masters, it is said, of 200 fortified castles, villages, and towns, including the old Gothic capital, Toledo. They were assisted by Leon, Navarre, and Castile, and were not finally subdued before 927. And now Abderrahman's consolidated power seemed indeed to bode destruction to the small and divided Christian states; when, for their preservation, his attention was diverted to Africa, where a new field was opened to his ambition; which mainly occupying his and his successors' arms, afforded their Spanish adversaries time and opportunity to strengthen themselves.

The dynasty of Edris had ruled the kingdom of Fez for 130 years, when

Yahie, the eighth king, was attacked and dethroned by his African neighbours. He applied to Abderrahman to support a sovereign of a family nearly related to his own. Abderrahman so far complied with this request, that he sent an army to Fez, which conquered the kingdom. He thenceforward governed it through his generals, under the title of protector of the Edris family, the princes of which he seems to have detained in a sort of honourable captivity at Cordova. But he did not hold in peace a kingdom thus unjustly acquired. He was engaged in constant wars, for the defence of Fez, with the caliphs of Egypt, and the different African emirs. Abderrahman's latter years were harassed, like his grandfather's, by a domestic rebellion. Upon his declaring Alhakem, one of his sons, *wali alkadi**, another of them, Abdallah, revolted. Abdallah was vanquished, taken, and, notwithstanding the generous Alhakem's earnest supplications, put to death, by the orders of his father, whose subsequent life was clouded with melancholy.

Most of the Spanish caliphs had been encouragers of learning; but none so much or so successfully as Abderrahman the III^d. The palaces of his *Agribé*, and his *cadizé*, as well as his own, were filled with philosophers and poets. He founded schools which far surpassed in reputation all others then established in Europe. This was so pre-eminently the case with the School of Medicine, that the *Infante*, or Prince, Sancho of Leon, sought and found at his court the cure of a malady which had defied the skill of the Christian physicians. Don Sancho's visit to Cordova was the first instance of personal amicable intercourse betwixt the princes of the two rival races and faiths. It afterwards became frequent; and a commerce of friendship and gallantry prevailed amongst Christians and Mahometans of all ranks, that might seem hardly compatible with the religious zeal which inflamed and mainly occasioned their wars. This unexpected alternation of bigoted hostility and kindly association, appears to have originated in the chivalrous spirit of courtesy towards enemies, that arose naturally in Spain, between foes who had mutually learned in the field to respect each other. Abderrahman likewise patronized the fine

* See page 12.

† See pages 18 and 16.

arts. He invited artists from Greece and Asia, and employed them in embellishing his towns. He encouraged manufactures, commerce, and agriculture, executing magnificent works for irrigation, upon which, in Spain, the fertility of the soil entirely depends. Perhaps at no period, before or since, has Spain known anything like the prosperity and happiness which the Mussulman portion of the Peninsula enjoyed under this and the following reigns. Abderrahman was as just in his government as he was liberal, and received from the affectionate admiration of his subjects the title of *Emir al Mumenin*, Prince of the Faithful, which Spanish ignorance converted into the Miramolin, and used as a common title.

Abderrahman died in 961, and Alhakem II. proved himself his worthy successor. In his internal administration, in the arts of peace, and in the love of literature, he even surpassed his father. The court, and leading men throughout the nation, emulated, as far as circumstances allowed, the example of the sovereign. Every great town in Mussulman Spain boasted its schools, its scientific and literary academies. The spirit of the age penetrated even into the seclusion of the harem; and the names of several Mahometan ladies, who distinguished themselves as votaries of the Muses, are still preserved. After two years of peace the Moors began to upbraid Alhakem with cowardice. In self-defence he published the *Alghed**, and in person led his forces against the kingdom of Leon.

Leon was then governed by his father's visitor and friend Sancho, who had been enabled by Abderrahman's assistance to seize the throne upon the death of Ordoño III. and to retain it, notwithstanding both the claims of Bermudo, the deceased king's son by his second, somewhat doubtful, marriage, and the civil war excited by the count of Castile, on behalf of another Ordoño, the son of Alfonso IV. who had married the count's daughter Urraca, repudiated by Ordoño III.

Alhakem gained advantages sufficient to establish his military character; and having perhaps, by the strictness of the discipline he enforced in his army, rather blunted his subjects' ap-

petite for war, he returned in triumph to Cordova, and concluded a peace with Sancho, which he could never afterwards be induced to break. To such of his ministers as subsequently urged him to take advantage of the dissensions that long raged amongst the Christians, he invariably answered, 'Observe your engagements, for to God must you account for their violation.'

Of Alhakem II. an anecdote, in the style of the Arabian Tales, is related, too illustrative of oriental manners, and of the degree to which the despotic power of the caliphs was tempered by circumstances, to be omitted. The caliph had been tempted to possess himself by force of a field adjoining the gardens of his favourite palace, which offered a beautiful site for a pavilion, but which the owner refused to sell. The despoiled proprietor applied to the ministers of justice. The *cadí* of Cordova heard his complaint, mounted his mule, and rode into the royal garden, where he found Alhakem enjoying his new acquisition. The *cadí* dismounting, asked permission to fill a sack with the earth. This was granted, and the judge next besought the monarch's help to place the full sack upon the mule. Alhakem, imagining so strange a request must be calculated to produce some amusing pleasantry, readily complied, but could not lift the burthen. The *cadí* then solemnly said, 'Prince of the Faithful, the sack thou canst not lift contains but a small portion of the field thou hast usurped. How wilt thou bear the weight of the whole field upon thy head before the judgment-seat of God?' The argument was conclusive. The caliph thanked his monitor for the lesson, and restored the field, allowing its splendid pavilion to remain standing by way of damages.

The only part of his dominions in which Alhakem failed to maintain peace, was the kingdom of Fez. During his whole reign that kingdom was harassed by internal and external war. His forces were at one time entirely expelled, but in the end regained and kept possession.

During this period of Moorish forbearance, the count of Castile obtained from the king of Leon the recognition of his entire independence. Alhakem's ally Sancho I. died, poisoned it was said by an offended noble; and the reign of his son, Ramiro III, was

Cordova,
from A.D.
965-976.

Leon,
from A.D.
965-976.

* See page 12.

one incessant struggle for the crown between him and his cousin Bermudo, the rightful heir, supposing the second marriage of his father, Ordoño III. to be valid.

The death of Alhakem II. in 976, changed the scene. His son, Hixem II., a child of eight years old, was generally acknowledged, and the regency was committed to his mother, Sobeiha, a very superior woman. Sobeiha had in her service a young man, named Mohammed ben Abdallah ben Abi Amer. He was a peasant, who had attracted her notice by his proficiency in the schools of Cordova. She had made him her steward and secretary; had placed in him unbounded confidence, and found him deserving of it. She now appointed him *hagib*. His pleasing manners, and intrinsic merits, had gained universal esteem, and his exaltation was applauded by high and low. The new minister swore eternal enmity to the Christian states; and, that he might be at liberty to devote himself to their destruction, concluded a treaty with the Egyptian caliph for the pacification of Africa. By this treaty he sacrificed some faithful adherents; a solitary act of injustice, and to which he was prompted by the usual selfish policy of despotic governments. Mohammed's general conduct was marked by clemency and generosity. His internal administration was as judicious as it was just; and during his military absences, his place was ably supplied by his patroness, queen Sobeiha, who, from her son's indolent and voluptuous disposition, retained the power as absolutely after Hixem's majority, as during his nonage. The *hagib's* protection of letters, science, and the arts, was such as his early proficiency promised. But it is as a warrior that he is chiefly remembered. His wars, or rather expeditions, against the Christian states of Spain, are too numerous for detail, amounting to the sum total of fifty-four. His habitual success quickly earned him the surname of Almanzor, the Conqueror, by which he is best known in history. He recovered all the recent losses of the Moors; overran great part of Castile; penetrated to the capitals of Leon, Barcelona, and Navarre; took the two former, and besieged the last. Sancho II. of Navarre succeeded in relieving Pamplona, his metropolis; but highly

as this exploit raised his fame, it was a triumph whose repetition could not be hoped; and the Christians seemed about to be driven back into their mountains. A diversion caused by troubles in Africa saved them. A member of the Edris family, supported by the caliph of Egypt, excited an insurrection in Fez, and the first army Almanzor sent to quell it was defeated. A second, under his own son Abdelmelic, was more prosperous. The rebel was brought prisoner to Cordova, where he was executed; and Fez was now avowedly annexed to the Spanish caliphate, as the province of Almagrab. It continued however for years a theatre of war and insurrection, necessarily requiring much of Almanzor's attention, until, in 997, Abdelmelic succeeded in pacifying all these disorders. He was named *emir* of Almagrab, and governed with equal mildness and vigour.

During this interval Almanzor's attacks upon his Spanish enemies had been less energetic. Borel, count of Barcelona, aided by his French sovereign, had recovered the chief part of his dominions, and transmitted them, in 993, to his son Raymond. In Navarre, Garcia III., who had succeeded to his father, Sancho II., passed his life in struggling unsuccessfully against Almanzor; and, in 1000, bequeathed his arduous task to his son Sancho III., surnamed the Great, who was married to Nufia Elvira, granddaughter of Garcia Fernandez, the second sovereign count of Castile. Leon was the state against which Almanzor chiefly directed his efforts; and Bermudo II., though upon Ramiro's death generally acknowledged, was wholly unable to defend his kingdom against the Mussulman conqueror, even during that conqueror's state of comparative weakness. When upon the pacification of Almagrab, Almanzor's attacks regained their original impetuosity, Bermudo's death had left his tottering throne to a child of five years old, his son Alfonso V. But the danger was imminent, and threatened all. Navarre, Castile, and Barcelona united their troops with those of Leon. In 1001 they thus assembled so formidable an army, that the Moors, despite their confidence in their leader, and in their late constant success, were struck with dismay. Almanzor's utmost exertions were unable to avert a total and sanguinary defeat. His proud spirit could

Cordova,
from A.D.
976-997.

Leon and
Navarre,
from A.D.
976-998.

not endure such a reverse; he would not allow his wounds to be dressed, and died a very few days after the battle, in his sixty-fifth year. He had, throughout his holy wars, carefully preserved the dust that gathered upon his clothes in battle, for the purpose of covering his corpse, and it was duly so employed.

CHAPTER V.

Rebellions against Hixem II., with whose deposition the Caliphate of Cordova—Mahometan Spain divided amongst many petty kings—Consequent enlargement of the Christian States—Murder of Garcia Sanchez, Count of Castile, which falls to his sister, wife of Sancho III. of Navarre—His conquests—Leaves his dominions, as separate kingdoms, amongst his sons; Navarre to Garcia, Castile to Ferdinand, Sobrarbe to Gonzalo, and Aragon to Ramiro—Wars of the brothers—Gonzalo murdered—Sobrarbe united to Aragon—Ferdinand, upon the death of his brother-in-law, Bermudo III., without issue, succeeds to Leon—His conquests—Divides his kingdom amongst his children—Their wars—Alfonso VI. reunites and extends his father's dominions—Feats of the Cid—The Mahometan kings seek aid from Africa—The Almoreds, under Jusef, pass over, repulse the Christians, and enslave the Moors—Murder of Sancho IV. of Navarre—Navarre falls to Sancho of Aragon—Alfonso VI. gives his Portuguese conquests as a County to his illegitimate daughter Theresa—Civil wars of Urraca of Castile and Leon, with her husband Alfonso of Aragon and Navarre, and with her son—Alfonso's conquests—He dies childless—Aragon and Navarre choose different kings—Ramiro II. of Aragon marries his daughter to Raymond V. of Barcelona, and retires to a monastery—Barcelona renounces French allegiance—Wars among the Christian princes.

QUEEN SOBEHIA did not long survive her favourite minister, and upon her

death-bed recommended Abdelmelic to her son as his *Agib*. Abdelmelic trod in his father's steps, but his victories were more dearly purchased; the Christian princes having been taught by their losses the necessity of acting together. He died in 1008, poisoned, as it was believed, by those who envied his power. Hixem immediately bestowed his vacant post upon Almanzor's second son, Abderrahman, a bold profligate youth, totally unfit for the office. From this moment the glories of the Spanish Ommeyades faded. Abderrahman prevailed upon the childless Hixem to declare him *wali alhadi*. This rash and illegal step cost the favourite his life, and the caliph his throne. It provoked Mohammed, a grandson of Abderrahman III. and Hixem's natural heir, to revolt. He raised troops, fought Abderrahman, defeated, took him prisoner, and put him to death; the conqueror then obtained from the weak caliph his own appointment as *agib*, and repaid the gift by deposing the giver.

Mussulman Spain now became a theatre of disorder and civil war. Different pretenders to the caliphate arose, supported by different parties; some, princes of the Ommeyade race, some, bold adventurers and strangers, without a shadow of right; whilst the *walis*, not only of the several provinces, but of the more considerable towns, took advantage of the suspension of sovereign authority, resulting from this state of things, to set up for individual independence. In 1031 a second deposition of Hixem, who had been momentarily restored as the puppet of one of the usurping strangers, finally closed the caliphate of the Ommeyades, who had for 280 years so brilliantly and happily governed the larger part of Spain. Their extinction left their dominions a prey to a crowd of petty kings, all warring with the nominal government at Cordova, and with each other. Almeria, Denia, and Valencia had separate kings, descendants of Almanzor, and named the Alameri, from his family name, Amer. Saragossa, Huesca, Tudela, and Lerida, had kings of the tribe of Beni Hud. Other kings reigned in Seville, Carmona, Malaga, Granada, Algeziras, Toledo, and Badajoz; the king of Badajoz being moreover the federal or feudal chief of a confederation of princes, occupying the principal part of the present kingdom of Portugal.

Cordova,
from A.D.
597—1031.

* The authorities principally relied upon in this chapter are, Yriarte, Ferreras, Garibay, Conde, Maric, Bigland, Universal Modern History, *Historia de Portugal*, por J. da Costa, 3 vols. 8vo. This is, I believe, the production of a Portuguese, settled in London, and of no great estimation. *Fidas de Espanoles Celebres*, por Don M. J. Quintana, 2 tomos, 8vo. Madrid, 1807, 1830—a work of considerable research and literary merit.

The Christian sovereigns profited greatly by the enfeebled condition of their hereditary and natural enemies. Even the weakest amongst them, Raymond, count of Barcelona, acquired an accession of territory by selling his assistance to some of the conflicting candidates for Mussulman royalty. The other states gained strength doubly, by conquest from the Moors, and by consolidation amongst themselves. Count Garcia of Castile had fallen in battle

Castile,
from A.D.
1008—1022.

against Abdelmelic, A. D. 1005. His son, Sancho Garcias, amply avenged his death, and considerably enlarged his county during the disorders consequent upon Abdelmelic's murder. His son, Garcia Sanchez, who, whilst yet a boy, succeeded to him in 1022, was the last count. Upon attaining his majority, he repaired to Leon to solemnize his nuptials with the *Infanta* Sancha, daughter of Alfonso V., where he was assassinated by three of his own nobles, who had been banished by his father for their turbulent disposition.

The county of Castile was now the inheritance of his sister, Nufia Elvira, the wife of Sancho of Navarre, who immediately took possession of it, seized the murderers of his brother-in-law, and burnt them alive. Sancho augmented his realm as well by conquest as by marriage. He took from the distracted Moors the remainder of the former Christian kingdom of Sobrarve, the county of Ribagorza, and a considerable part of Aragon. He likewise obliged the Christian lordships of Biscay to own his sovereignty. The consciousness of his own increased power from the blending of previously separate states, and the evident weakness produced amongst his enemies by the division of one realm into various principalities, might have taught Sancho the Great the importance of such an incorporation of dominions as had just fortunately occurred. Paternal affection prevailed nevertheless over the lessons of political wisdom, and, in 1035, he divided his dominions amongst his four sons. He gave to Garcia, the eldest, his own hereditary kingdom of Navarre, with the addition of Biscay; to Ferdinand, queen Nufia Elvira's inheritance, Castile; to Gonzalo, Sobrarve and Ribagorza, and to Ramiro the remainder of his Aragonese conquests. The allotments of his three younger sons he

severally raised to the dignity of kingdoms.

The three new kingdoms were speedily reduced to two. Gonzalo was assassinated by his own servants within three years; when Ramiro, with the free consent of the inhabitants, added Sobrarve and Ribagorza to his own kingdom of Aragon. Ramiro was a warlike and ambitious prince, who attacked his neighbours on all sides, his brothers as well as the Mahometans. He rendered the Mussulman kings of Huesca and Tudela tributary to Aragon, but was repulsed in an invasion of Navarre, which he undertook in conjunction with the Moors. Garcia IV., who seems to have been a wise and moderate sovereign, pursued his brother into his own dominions, and obtained possession of nearly the whole of them; but upon Ramiro's making advances towards a reconciliation, restored them, retaining only his conquests from his brother's Moorish allies.

Garcia's moderation could not save him from another and more fatal fraternal war with Ferdinand of Castile; but the conduct and character of both Garcia and Ferdinand are sufficient testimony that it was occasioned not by the guilty ambition of either brother, but by the criminal intrigues and misrepresentations of artful men, justly banished by the king of Navarre, and who hoped to avenge their exile and advance their fortunes amidst the disorders they excited. After a series of mutual recriminations and offences, the brother kings met in battle in 1054. Garcia was defeated and slain. The victor wept his fate, and instead of seizing upon the vacant kingdom, assisted the son of the deceased king, Sancho IV., to ascend his father's throne.

Ferdinand I. of Castile had, indeed, already obtained such an addition to his dominions as might satisfy a reasonable ambition. He had married the *Infanta* Sancha of Leon, the widowed bride of his maternal uncle, the last count of Castile. Her father, Alfonso V., had been slain by an arrow at the siege of Vizeu, in what is now the kingdom of Portugal, A.D. 1027; and his son and successor Bermudo III., upon very slight provocation, turned his arms against Castile. He fell in this unjust attack upon his sister's husband, in 1037, and left no children. Ferdinand, in right of

Castile,
from A.D.
1035—1072.

his wife, succeeded to the kingdom of Leon, consisting of all the north-western provinces of Spain, and including some part of the north of Portugal.

Ferdinand reigned 28 years, during which he was engaged in almost constant hostilities with the Mahometans. He extended his dominions in Castile, Extremadura, and Portugal; and, according to Spanish historians, rendered the Mussulman kings of Saragossa, Toledo, and Seville, his tributaries. This circumstance is not mentioned by Arab authors, and it is more likely they were merely his allies in his wars against such of their countrymen as were their own enemies,—since these kings were the most powerful of the conflicting Mussulman sovereigns. The object of a war waged by Ferdinand against Seville is said to have been the recovery of the bones of two female saints, St. Justa, and St. Rufina. Their mortal remains, however, could not be found, and he took those of St. Isidore in their stead. Ferdinand's extensive domains and royal vassals procured him the title of emperor; and the title excited the dissatisfaction of Henry III., emperor of Germany, or, as it was then really considered, of the Holy Roman empire, which had been revived in the person of Charlemagne. In that capacity, Henry claimed a kind of supremacy over the whole of Europe, and now required the rival emperor of Castile and Leon to acknowledge him as his liege lord. This occasion first brings under our notice one of the most renowned of Spanish heroes, Rodrigo, or Ruy Diaz de Vivar, better known as the *Cid*, a Moorish title answering to lord, given him by the conquered Moors. Ruy Diaz was descended from the old judges or counts of Castile, and was thus related to the royal family. Having been early left an orphan, he was educated by the *Infante* D. Sancho; whilst yet a boy, he accompanied that prince in all his warlike expeditions, and, from the first, highly distinguished himself by his hardihood and prowess. The *Cid* is said to have urged Ferdinand to resist all claims of vassalage, and to have entered France at the head of 10,000 men, whom he proposed leading across that kingdom into Germany, to maintain his master's free sovereignty by force of arms. But the dispute was adjusted by negotiation, and the absolute independence of the Spanish emperor recognized. Ferdinand's conquests do not

appear to have enriched his treasury in proportion as they extended his territories; inasmuch as his last expedition, undertaken to reduce the revolted king of Toledo, who was endeavouring, it is said, to emancipate himself from vassalage, must have been abandoned, owing to the total exhaustion of the royal finances, had not queen Sancha assisted her consort by the gift of her plate and jewels. We may judge how small were the armies of these Spanish states, by such a gift's sufficing to send one into the field. Ferdinand followed his father's example in dividing his dominions amongst his children. At his death he left Castile to his eldest son Sancho, Leon to Alfonso, Galicia, including the Portuguese provinces, to Garcia, and the cities of Zamora and Toro to his two daughters, the *Infantas* Urraca and Elvira.

The consequences of this step were discord and war amongst the brothers and sisters. Sancho II., deeming himself wronged by the dismemberment of his birthright, seems immediately to have resolved upon despoiling those whom he regarded as usurpers. But before he could execute his purpose, he was obliged to assist his ally or vassal, Ahmed, king of Saragossa, besieged in his capital by Ramiro of Aragon, uncle to Sancho. The *Cid*, by his sovereign's orders, led an army to relieve Saragossa; and a battle ensued, in which the king of Aragon was defeated and slain. His son Sancho continued the war against the king of Saragossa, and generally with success. Indeed nothing could have enabled the divided Mussulman princes to stand their ground at all, but the dissensions amongst their enemies, which procured them the aid of one Christian king against another.

Ahmed was now deserted by Sancho of Castile, who, judging he had done enough for his Mahometan friend, withdrew from the Aragonese war, to invade Galicia. After some vicissitudes of fortune—for he was at first defeated and taken prisoner—he completely vanquished his brother Garcia, who abandoned the contest, and fled to his ally Mohammed Almotaded, king of Seville, and conqueror of Cordova. Sancho, next proceeding to attack Alfonso, quickly dispossessed him of his kingdom of Leon, and threw him into a prison; from which, by his sisters' aid, he escaped, and sought refuge with Ismael ben Dyinun, king of Toledo. The vic-

torious Sancho, having thus reunited Leon, Galicia, and the Portuguese provinces to Castile, turned his arms against the petty states of his sisters. Donna Elvira surrendered Toro without resistance; but Donna Urraca defended Zamora stoutly. In these, as in his former enterprises, Sancho was ably assisted by the *Cid*. During the siege, a citizen of the town, under pretence of deserting to the king, found means to assassinate him.

The siege was immediately raised, and Alfonso was invited to return from Toledo, and assume the crown of his father's re-united dominions,—Garcia, it should seem, not being restored. Alfonso obeyed the call in 1072; but ere he was crowned, the *Cid*, at the head, and in the name of the nobles, required of the new king a solemn and public oath that he had not participated in the treacherous murder of his brother. Alfonso took the oath, but deeply resented the presumption of the subject who had dared to impose it. His wrath was inflamed by all who envied the illustrious warrior's fame and power. But some years elapsed ere Alfonso judged himself firmly enough established upon his throne to follow the impulse of his hatred against the most distinguished of his subjects; and during those years he employed the hero in war, in judicial duels with the champions of neighbouring states, respecting disputed districts, and in embassies. At length, by the aid of the *Cid* himself, Alfonso saw, as he believed, the time arrived when he could dispense with that warrior's arm; and he now indulged his long-cherished and dissembled spite. In return for his manifold and splendid services, the *Cid* was disgraced and banished. He passed many years in an exile, from which he was only recalled when danger pressed, to be banished anew when he could again be spared. His fortunes were followed by a body of friends and vassals, with whom, in the first instance, he retired to Saragossa. He was there joyfully welcomed by Ahmed's son, Almoctader, and assisted him in his wars against Moors and Christians. He afterwards carried on a war against the Mahometans upon his own account, and proved their scourge alike in Castile, Aragon, Valencia, and Andalusia. His feats have been celebrated in prose and verse, in history and romance; and at this distance of time it is difficult to draw the line between the records of truth

and the creations of fiction. What does appear certain is, that in this private war he achieved wonders,—conquered Valencia, established himself there in a kind of principality, and filled Spain with his renown, and her sovereigns of both religions with respect, if not fear.

Alfonso VI.'s first acquisition of new territories bore a somewhat doubtful character.

Navarre,
from A.D.
1054—1076.

Sancho IV. of Navarre was murdered in 1076, by his own brother and sister, Don Raymond and Donna Ermesinda. The fratricides derived no advantage from their crime; they were driven from the country by the indignation of the people, and spent the rest of their lives in dependence upon the charity of Mussulman kings. Sancho's remaining brothers and sisters fled with his children to Leon, and Sancho of Aragon was proclaimed king. Ere he had fully established his authority, Alfonso invaded Navarre; not to enforce the rights of his murdered kinsman's children, but to secure a portion of the booty. He made himself master of Biscay, and some other districts adjoining his own territories; and a treaty assured to each monarch his respective acquisitions, without noticing the claims of the rightful heir.

Alfonso's next hostilities were directed against the Moors. The protector of his mistress, Ismael of Toledo, sought this aid against Mohammed, the king of Cordova and Seville, with whom he was at war; and Alfonso, with every demonstration of gratitude, complied with the request. The allies were very successful, and divided their conquests. But upon Ismael's death, the king of Leon and Castile seems to have considered the ties of obligation as dissolved, and was easily induced, by the proposal of sharing in the spoils, to unite with his late antagonist, Mohammed of Seville, against the son of his benefactor. Again the allies triumphed, and more completely than before. The king of Seville and Cordova obtained the various small states that Ismael had added to his original kingdom, which was the king of Leon's lot. After an obstinate siege, Alfonso took the old Gothic capital, Toledo itself, in 1085, and made it an archiepiscopal see, to which he attached the primacy over the whole Christian church of Spain. He extended his conquests as far as Madrid, assiduously rebuilt and re-

Castile,
from A.D.
1072—1088.

peopled the ruined towns in that district, and formed the whole into an additional province, bearing the name of New Castile.

What has been incidentally mentioned of the different Mussulman kings, who now harassed and desolated the land that the Ommeyade caliphs had raised to such prosperity, may suffice to show the character of their proceedings. It would be too tedious to detail the incessant mutual hostilities by which (some falling into subjection to the Christians, and some to the ablest amongst themselves) they were now reduced to a state of weakness, that made them regard with dismay a struggle against the powerful king of Leon and the Castiles. Upon Alfonso's declaring war against the king of Cordova and Seville, first his enemy, and latterly his ally, Mohammed summoned his allied and vassal kings to deliberate upon the measures to be pursued. It was resolved to apply for aid to the Almoravides, then all-powerful in Africa.

The Almoravides were an Arab tribe, a branch of one of the noblest, who, banished from Arabia through some internal dissensions, had migrated, time out of mind, to Africa, under the name of the Lamtuna. About thirty years prior to the period of which we are treating, a part of the Lamtuna had issued from the desert, and began to make conquests, under the guidance of an ambitious spiritual leader, from whom, in honour of their signal valour, they received the appellation by which they were afterwards distinguished, of Almoravides, or men devoted to the service of God. After this leader's death they continued their victorious career under their native *emir*, Ahu Bekir, and his kinsman, Jusef ben Taxisin, who managed to rob the *emir* of his authority, and send him back to the remnant of the tribe left in the desert, whilst he, with the Almoravides, completed the subjugation of the Moorish provinces of Africa and Almagrah, and founded the empire of Morocco. Jusef assumed the title of *Al Muzalemin*, prince of the Moslems or Mussulmans.

The ambitious Jusef readily agreed to afford Mohammed the assistance he requested, upon condition that Algeziras should be placed in his hands, to secure the passage of his troops. He crossed the straits with a large army, and joined

Mohammed, who was at the head of his vassals and allies. Alfonso, upon the appearance of so formidable an enemy, obtained succour from the king of Aragon and Navarre. The hostile armies met near Badajoz; and, after a long and sanguinary battle, the Moslem allies gained a complete victory, and recovered much of New Castile.

Alfonso fortified himself strongly in Toledo, and in this extremity recalled the *Cid*, committed the defence of the threatened province to his faith, and solemnly endowed him and his heirs with whatever he might conquer from the Mahometans.

The consequences of Alfonso's defeat proved less serious than might have been feared. Jusef was suddenly recalled to Africa by the death of his eldest son, who was his vicegerent there. During his absence disputes prevailed between the general he had left in command and Mohammed. They divided their troops, and the king of Seville received a severe defeat from the *Cid*.

Alfonso, who had learned from experience how formidable was the enemy with whom he now had to contend, sought auxiliaries in France, and was joined by two Burgundian princes, related to his queen, Constance, with a considerable body of troops. Thus reinforced, he was able to cope with and defeat the whole of the Mussulman forces, reunited upon Jusef's return from Africa. The prince of the Moslems, to avenge his discomfiture, brought over prodigious hosts; but he employed them for his own private interest, not for the general advantage of the Mahometans. He began by quarrelling with his ally, the king of Seville. Mohammed now again sought the alliance of Alfonso, from whom he solicited and obtained succours. But they proved unavailing. After a fruitless resistance, Mohammed was compelled to surrender both Seville and Cordova to the Almoravides, upon capitulation. In violation of the terms, he was treacherously seized, loaded with chains, and sent, with his family, to Africa. There he was further robbed of the private property he had been allowed to retain, and languished in actual indigence, supported by the manual labour of his tenderly-reared daughters.

When the king of Seville and Cordova was vanquished, the weaker Moorish princes had little chance of escaping the yoke, and that little they

lessened by their dissensions. Notwithstanding the assistance afforded them by the *Cid*, they were all, by force, terror, or perfidy, successively reduced, with the single exception of Abu Giafar, king of Saragossa. But this prince took no share in the struggle of his countrymen against the African conqueror. In alliance with Alfonso of Leon, he was prosecuting an obstinate war against Sancho of Aragon and Navarre, who fell at the siege of Huesca, then forming part of the kingdom of Saragossa. Sancho bequeathed his two kingdoms, and the care of avenging his death, to his eldest son, Pedro. Abu Giafar now offered Jusef his alliance against the Christians. It was accepted; and in 1094 the Almoravide emperor was the acknowledged sovereign of Mussulman Spain.

The tranquillity that prevailed in Spain during the remainder of Jusef's life, was but slightly interrupted by Pedro of Aragon's capture of Huesca, and some few other places belonging to the king of Saragossa, and by the Moors' recovery of Valencia, after the death of the *Cid*. The conqueror left no son to battle for his principality; but his widow, Donna Ximena, a lady, like himself, of the royal blood, defended the town resolutely against the Mahometans for three years, and then evacuated it upon capitulation. She retired to Castile with the dead body of the *Cid*, placed erect upon his war-horse, as though still alive, and with her two daughters, who were subsequently married to an *infante* of Navarre and a count of Barcelona.

During the continuance of the interval of peace, Alfonso at once rewarded his foreign auxiliaries, and fixed them in his service. Upon Raymond, count of Burgundy, he bestowed his daughter the *Infanta* Urraca, in marriage, with Galicia for her portion; and to Henry, count of Besançon, a younger branch of the same princely family, he gave, in 1095, his natural daughter, Theresa, with as much as he possessed of the present kingdom of Portugal. This was the northern extremity, which was formed into a county, and took the name of Portugal (now first mentioned) from its most important city, Oporto. Alfonso's Burgundian, or rather French connexions, had influenced him to ap-

point a French monk, of the celebrated monastery of Clugny, archbishop of Toledo; and this prelate immediately urged the substitution of the Romish to the Mozarabic or Gothic church service, which the Spanish Christians still used. The change was vehemently resisted by all the followers of the old form; and a judicial duel, the then established process for settling all difficult questions, was ordered to be fought, for the purpose of trying the respective merits of the two rituals. It is ascribed that the Mozarabic champion triumphed. If he did, the influence of the new primate and his supporters prevailed over the legal decision; for Alfonso commanded, and ultimately effected, the introduction of the ritual used by all other members of the Catholic church.

In the year 1107, Jusef died, at the age of a hundred; and his third son, Aly, preferred by him on account of his superior abilities, succeeded to the sovereign authority in Africa and in Spain. Aly's first measure was to proclaim a holy war against the Christian states. He ravaged New Castile, and carried desolation to the walls of Toledo, ere forces could be assembled to oppose him. When an army was collected, Alfonso, worn out with age and toil, entrusted its command nominally to his only son, Don Sancho, a boy of ten years old, but really to seven counts, experienced warriors, whom he appointed the *infante's* council. The armies met and fought near Ucles; Aly was victorious, and the young prince fell, notwithstanding the counts made such desperate exertions in his defence, as procured for the battle the name of the Battle of the Seven Counts. Alfonso's grief for his son's death roused his former energy. He assembled another army, led it in person against Aly, drove him back into Andalusia, and recovered abundance of Christian spoils and captives. He died the following year, leaving his dominions, with the exception of the country of Portugal, to his daughter Urraca.

The new queen having lost her first husband, by whom she had one son, Alfonso Raymond, remarried with Alfonso I., of Aragon and Navarre, who had succeeded to his brother, Pedro I., in 1104. Her second husband was surnamed the

Aragon,
from A.D.
1094—1107.

Mussulman
Spain,
from A.D.
1094—1105.

Castile,
from A.D.
1095—1109.

Castile,
Aragon, and
Navarre,
from A.D.
1109—1139.

Battler, on account of his brilliant military achievements; and the union of so many Christian kingdoms under such a monarch, promised great success against the Moors; but the temper of the royal pair effectually prevented the happy results anticipated. The grasping ambition of Alfonso prompted him to attempt appropriating his wife's inheritance to himself; and the queen's haughty spirit indignantly spurned at any interference with her administration, whilst her excessive levity unfitted her for governing a kingdom in difficult times.

The different countries now split into factions. The king imprisoned his consort; and subsequently, upon the plea of consanguinity within the degree prohibited by the Catholic church, divorced her.

The Galicians proclaimed Alfonso Raymond king, as heir to his deceased father. A civil war ensued, in which the count of Portugal took part, on behalf of his sister-in-law; but he died at Astorga, whither he had led an army to support her, in 1112. Peace was at length concluded between the parted husband and wife, when Alfonso the Battler turned his arms against the Moors, from whom he conquered the kingdom of Saragossa, with all its dependencies. He immediately made the city, which gave its name to that kingdom, his capital. He is calculated to have trebled the extent of the kingdom of Aragon, and he greatly enlarged Navarre on the French side.

To Urraca's quarrels with her husband succeeded others with her son, Alfonso Raymond, who could not wait patiently until her sceptre should fall into his hands by course of nature; whilst she pertinaciously refused to surrender rights she knew not how to exercise. The terror of Aly's arms, however, produced, in 1130, a temporary reconciliation between the mother and son, and at the head of their united forces, Alfonso Raymond gained a signal victory over the Moors at Daroca.

It may seem strange that an able and valiant sovereign like Aly, at the head of the warlike Almoravides, and of the Moors, who had so long held Spain in subjection, should have derived no positive advantage from the Christian dissensions just narrated, which it might be supposed should have enabled him to regain much of the old Moorish do-

minion. The fact was, that Aly's authority in Spain was not firmly established. The Spanish Moors had submitted to his father, partly from the weakness produced by discord, and partly influenced by astrological predictions concerning an African conqueror; but wealthy, polished, highly cultivated, and accustomed to a government so mild, judicious, and equitable, that its arbitrariness was unfelt, they very impatiently endured the yoke of fierce barbarians, fresh from the ignorance of the desert,—who, moreover, extorted from them heavy contributions. They accordingly seized every opportunity of attempting to recover their independence. Aly was recalled from the invasion of Castile, to quell an insurrection at Cordova; and ere he had completed that task, intelligence of alarming disturbances in Africa obliged him to treat with and pardon the insurgents.

In Africa, an obscure individual had, by the promulgation of doctrines heretical in the eyes of orthodox Mahometans, collected disciples, amounting in numbers to an army, and infuriated with religious enthusiasm. They were called the *Almohades*; and at their head the *Mehedi*, or doctor of laws, as their teacher entitled himself, defeated Aly's generals. The *Mehedi* next occupied Tinmal, a mountain town, which he fortified, and whence he directed his operations against Morocco. At Tinmal the *Mehedi* died, after having transferred his whole authority to Abdelmumen, his first and favourite disciple; a fanatical, but able and daring youth, who was proclaimed prince and caliph of the Almohades, and proved a yet more formidable enemy than the *Mehedi* to the Almoravides.

Whilst Aly was engaged with the Almohades in Africa, his duties carried on hostilities in Spain, against both the still discontented and rebellious Moors, and the Christian states, with variable fortune. Alfonso of Aragon and Navarre, after gaining twenty-nine successive victories, was at last defeated in battle by his Musliman antagonists, in 1133, and died in consequence, of grief and anger. He left no children, and bequeathed his dominions to the Knights Templars. His subjects would not be thus disposed of. The states of both kingdoms assembled to elect a sove-

Mahometan
Spain,
from A.D.
1094—1130.

Aragon and
Navarre,
from A.D.
1130—1133.

reign. Their choice fell upon two different princes; and the united crowns were again separated. The Navarrese invited, from his shelter in Castile, Garcia Ramirez, the grand-nephew and surviving heir of the murdered Sancho IV., who proved a good and able king, warlike, but not ambitious. He maintained the independence of Navarre against the kings of Aragon and Leon, whilst he faithfully assisted the latter in his Mussulman wars.

The Aragonese placed Ramiro II., the brother of their late king, upon the throne. Ramiro had been forty-one years a monk, and was wholly unfitted by monastic habits for ruling a turbulent nation. In consideration of the impending extinction of the royal line, he obtained from the Pope a dispensation to marry; and no sooner saw himself the father of a daughter, than he affianced her to Raymond V., count of Barcelona, abdicated in her favour, and committing the infant queen, Petronilla, and her kingdom to his chosen son-in-law, returned to his cloister.

The county of Barcelona was nearly equal in extent to Aragon. The counts had gradually enlarged it, sometimes by conquest, sometimes by obtaining cessions of territory from the conflicting Moorish kings, or factions, in return for their services, sometimes by marriage, till it comprised all Catalonia. In 1112, Count Raymond IV. had married Dulce, heiress of Provence, in France; and he inherited the counties of Cerdagne and Besalu, by the wills of their last counts. At his death, in 1131, Raymond IV. left Provence to his younger, and all the rest of his dominions to his eldest son, Raymond V.; who, upon his marriage with Petronilla, emancipated himself from French vassalage, and forbade his subjects longer to date, as they had done hitherto, by the reigns of the kings of France. But though Aragon and Catalonia were now indissolubly united, the population and government of the two states remained distinct. Both enjoyed a great share of liberty; and they respectively valued their peculiar privileges too highly to allow of their several constitutions being amalgamated.

In Portugal, Countess Theresa had assumed the government upon her husband's death, without any explicit under-

standing whether she did so as regent for her infant son, or in her own right, the county having been, in fact, rather hers than the deceased count's. She ruled well, appointed good ministers, and successfully defended her frontiers against the powerful Almoravides. — During her son's minority, the public tranquillity was little disturbed, even by her dissensions with queen Urraca, respecting some places in Galicia, to which both sisters laid claim. This period of calm ceased when the young count Alfonso Henriques grew up. He was easily persuaded by his flatterers, both that his mother was only entitled to the regency, and that she was about to degrade herself by marrying her prime minister, Fernando Peres, count of Transtamara, who seems indeed to have possessed a large portion of her favour and confidence. A civil war was the consequence, respecting the details of which historians differ; but its issue is certain. The son vanquished his mother, and imprisoned her in a fortress, where she died. To the power of her maternal curse were ascribed, by contemporary chroniclers, by his superstitious subjects, and by his own conscience, the few disasters of his generally prosperous life. The count of Transtamara fled to Galicia; and the asylum he there found was either the cause or the pretext of Alfonso Henriques' wars with his cousin, Alfonso Raymond.

The count of Portugal was probably irritated, like the other Christian princes of the Peninsula, by the supremacy which Alfonso Raymond, who had now succeeded to his mother, assumed, upon receiving from those princes the title of emperor, in consideration of his great success against the common enemy. He claimed from the count of Portugal a vassal's homage, which Raymond of Barcelona and Aragon, whose sister, Berenguela, he had married, had willingly conceded. With regard to Portugal, it does not clearly appear whether Alfonso VI. gave it as a dependent or independent sovereignty; and during the wars between the two cousins, the question of homage remained undecided. These wars were often interrupted by the hostilities which each potentate carried on against the Almoravide masters of Mussulman Spain, and were finally terminated by papal mediation.

Barcelona,
to A.D. 1133.

Portugal,
from A.D.
1113—1147.

CHAPTER VI.

Conquests of Alfonso, Count of Portugal—Proclaimed King—Cortes of Lamego—New Invasion from Africa—The Almohades, under Abdelmumen, defeat and expel the Almoravides—Abdelmumen Emperor of Morocco and Mahometan Spain—Alfonso VII. bequeaths Castile and Leon separately to his two sons—Establishment of the Spanish Orders of Chivalry—Alfonso VIII. of Castile signally defeated at Alarcos by Jacob, the Almohade Emperor—The united Spanish Christians gain the splendid victory of Las Navas de Tolosa over Jacob's son, Mohammed—Mohammed flies to Africa—Almohade sovereignty annihilated—Mahometan Spain again divided amongst many petty Kings.*

WHEN Alfonso Henriques was no longer checked by the enmity of his Christian neighbours, he prosecuted his enterprises against the Moors with such

vigour, that he soon extended his sway nearly to the Tagus; and, by the terror of his progress, obliged Aly to send from Africa a powerful army, to support the *seals*, next threatened against him. A battle ensued, esteemed the most memorable in Portuguese annals, but which has been so disfigured by national vanity or ignorance, that the facts relating to it are not easily ascertainable. The numbers of the Mahometans are rated at 300,000, and even at 600,000 men; and this host is said to have been commanded by five kings. Since the establishment of the Almoravide domination, there were no Moorish kings left in Spain; but the name was erroneously given to the *seals* who led the troops of their respective provinces.—The mistake is a common one in Spanish, Portuguese, and French history; and may have arisen either from the pomp and splendour displayed by the Moorish governors, or from a desire to exalt the victories gained by exalting the rank of the defeated enemy. What does seem certain respecting the battle in question is, that the Mussulman forces were incomparably superior to

the Portuguese; that, dreading an invasion, which, even if ultimately foiled, must still bring inevitable ruin upon his territories, the count boldly crossed the Tagus, and advanced to the plain of Ourique, where he entrenched himself strongly, and awaited the attack; that the Moors repeatedly assaulted his fortifications, and were as often repulsed, until at last, from weariness and mortification, they fell into some disorder; and that Alfonso Henriques, seizing the critical moment, burst out upon them from behind his lines, and completed their discomfiture. Upon the field of victory the army hailed their count, king of Portugal; and this glorious day, the 25th of July, 1139, is considered the epoch of the foundation of the monarchy. The five *seals* of Badajoz, Beja, Elvas, Evora, and Lisbon, were found amongst the dead, and honoured with the royal title. The conqueror assumed, as the arms of Portugal, their five shields, arranged in what he called a cross, though the figure they present more resembles that of a cinque upon dice; and accordingly the Portuguese arms are termed *As Quinas*, the Cinques.

Alfonso's military election was subsequently confirmed by the *Cortes* of Lamego, with a solemnity well deserving attention, as perhaps the only instance on record of a formal compact between prince and people, at the original establishment of a monarchy. But before relating the transactions at Lamego, it will be proper to speak of the constitution of the *Cortes*, both in Spain and Portugal. These assemblies consisted of nobles, prelates, and *procuradores*, or deputies from the towns. It is to be observed, that the causes, which had made the Visigoth more despotic than other Gothic monarchies, had ceased upon the Arab conquest. When every foot of land was to be recovered from foreign masters by hard fighting, the feudal forms naturally fashioned themselves; and by the character of the contest between the Moors and Christians, were rendered less oppressive to the lower orders in the Peninsula than elsewhere. The main object of every noble and wealthy warrior was, at the period in question, to attach to himself the greatest possible number of military followers; and as leaders, who could thus dispose of nearly the whole force of the country, were to be conciliated at any price by monarchs struggling for their

* The authorities principally relied upon in this chapter are, Yriarte, Ferreras, Caribay, Conde, Marita, Da Costa, Bigland, Universal Modern History.

kingdoms, like those with whose history we have been engaged, the collective power of the nobles soon became infinitely superior to that of their king. The nobles quickly resumed their station in the national councils; and those bodies immediately regained or acquired an effective control over the royal authority. But when the name of council was limited throughout Europe to convocations of ecclesiastics, wholly occupied with religious concerns, the Spanish assemblies adopted the appellation of *Cortes* in its stead. The prelates continued to form an essential part of these, as of all deliberative assemblies, at a time when the learning extant was, amongst Christians, altogether confined to the clergy. The commons, equally by the force of circumstances, acquired in Spain and Portugal, even earlier than in England, the right of participating, as the third estate of the realm, in the consultations and decisions of the nobles and clergy. When, upon the further extension of their conquests, the Christian peninsular princes wished to rebuild and re-people towns in the districts that had previously furnished the desert barrier interposed between themselves and their enemies, they found it necessary both to tempt inhabitants thither, and to secure a firm hold upon the affections and loyalty of men who were to occupy fortified frontier places. For these purposes they granted charters to such towns, conferring on them great municipal privileges, together with the right of sending deputies to *Cortes*.

At the *Cortes*, thus constituted and assembled at Lamego, Alfonso Henriques appeared upon a throne, but without other ensigns of royalty. The president, Lourenço Viegas, asked the assembly whether, conformably with the acclamations of the field of Ourique, approved and sanctioned by the Pope, they chose don Alfonso Henriques for their king? An unanimous 'Yes!' was the answer. He next inquired, whether the count only should be king, or his heirs after him? The Assembly replied, that the king's sons should succeed to him, and in their default, his daughters, provided those daughters should not be married to foreigners. 'If such be your will,' resumed Viegas, 'give the count the ensigns of royalty.' The Assembly answered, 'We give them!' Thereupon, the archbishop of Braga placed a crown upon the head of Alfonso, who, rising from his seat, with a drawn sword in

his hand, thus addressed the *Cortes*: 'Blessed be the Lord God, who has ever assisted me, when with this sword, which I bear for your defence, I have delivered you from your enemies! You have made me king, and I must share with you the labours of government. Let us then make laws that may preserve the tranquillity of the country.'

The last question addressed by Viegas to the *Cortes* was, 'Shall the king go to Leon, to do homage for his crown, or to pay tribute to the emperor of Leon and Castile, or to any one else?' The members of the *Cortes* drew their swords, and clashing them, vociferously replied, 'We are free, and so is our king! To our own efforts we owe our liberty; and if the king consents to do anything of the kind, he is unworthy to live;—nor shall he reign over us, or amongst us, king though he be!' The king approved this declaration, adding, that if any one of his descendants should submit to such degradation, he should forfeit his right to the throne. The people applauded, and the *Cortes* separated.

The chief laws made at the *Cortes* of Lamego regulated the succession to the crown, according to the principle already stated, the merits by which nobility might be acquired, and the crimes which should incur its forfeiture.

Having established his own independence of foreign authority, the new king proceeded to the emancipation of his clergy from their subjection to the Archbishop of Toledo, whose primacy extended over the whole Peninsula.—This was the subject of long negotiations with the papal see; but Alfonso Henriques at length obtained from Pope Alexander III. a bull dissolving the connexion with Toledo, and constituting the archbishop of Braga primate of Portugal.

Alfonso Henriques' last conquest from the Moors was the city of Lisbon, which he took by the help of a fleet of French, English, and German crusaders, who put into the Tagus in their way to the Holy Land. He easily persuaded these champions of Christianity that it would be no violation of their vow to suspend their voyage for a while, in order to fight the Mahometans in Portugal; and some of them, chiefly English, he is said to have induced permanently to settle in his new acquisitions. In his wars with his cousin, the emperor Alfonso, the king of Portugal was less successful. His invasions were uniformly repulsed; and

upon one occasion, when he suffered a complete defeat, his leg was fractured, and he himself taken prisoner. He did not regain his liberty without subscribing to hard terms, and continued lame for life. This misadventure was of course ascribed to his mother's malediction.

The emperor Alfonso meanwhile had advanced his frontiers southwards to the mountainous ridge named the Sierra Morena. These successes of the Christians exhausted

the little remnant of repining patience, with which the Spanish Moors had supported the odious yoke of the Almoravides, as long as they found some little compensation for its hurthen in the martial prowess of their ferocious lords. In such a temper of mind, they were easily instigated by Almohade emissaries to take advantage of Aly's absence in Africa with a large proportion of his troops, and renew the struggle for independence. The flames of insurrection pervaded Mussulman Spain. The Almoravides were everywhere defeated, and rapidly driven from all parts of the country, except Granada; there they concentrated their forces, and made their last stand. Each insurgent leader upon the expulsion of the Africans assumed the title of king.

Aly was as unsuccessful in Africa, as his viceregents were in Spain. Abdelmumen and the Almohades constantly defeated his armies, and ere long, of all his immense dominions, nothing remained to him but Granada and a small part of Morocco. He died of vexation, after reigning forty years. His son Taxfin maintained the contest gallantly, but fruitlessly; and lost his life by falling over a precipice during a nocturnal flight from the conquerors. In 1146 Abdelmumen took the city of Morocco, and put every member of the royal family to the sword. An act of barbarous policy, springing chiefly from African habits; for Abdelmumen does not appear to have been of a peculiarly cruel disposition.

The Almohade caliph had previously been invited, by the Spanish proselytes to his sect, to assume the place of the Almoravide sovereigns. He in consequence, at his first moment of comparative leisure, sent an army over to Spain, to establish his authority. The Almoravides were now vanquished in Granada, and finally evacuated the Penin-

sula, taking refuge in the Balearic Isles, as Majorca, Minorca, and Iviza, are collectively denominated. The petty kings were next to be put down; and of these, Mohammed ben Sad, of Valencia, alone made any effective struggle. His kingdom, after the departure of the Almoravides, was enlarged by the voluntary submission of Granada; and the emperor Alfonso, whose assistance he requested, led an army to his support. A hard contested battle was fought A.D. 1157, between the Almohades, and the united troops of Mohammed ben Sad and his Christian ally; in which both parties claimed the victory, and Alfonso received a wound that soon afterwards proved fatal. Abdelmumen in person now brought immense reinforcements from Africa, with which he speedily obliged the king of Valencia and Granada to submit, and fully established his sovereignty over all that remained of the Mussulman dominions in Spain. He next proclaimed a holy war, but died in 1163, ere he had accomplished anything of moment against the Christian states.

Abdelmumen revived the patronage of science and literature, that had languished under the savage Almoravides. The era of his triumphs is adorned by the illustrious name of Averrhoes, one of the brightest luminaries of the Arab schools in Spain. This great man was a native of Cordova, where he successively studied jurisprudence, mathematics, and medicine. But he was most distinguished as a philosopher. He was the first translator of Aristotle, and wrote so many volumes to expound the peripatetic philosophy (at a time when the Stagyrte and his doctrines were little known throughout Christendom), that he received the surname of the Commentator.

Alfonso VII., like so many of his predecessors, divided his dominions between his sons. He gave the two Castiles to the eldest, Sancho III.; Leon and Galicia to the youngest, Ferdinand II. Sancho survived his father only a year, and his brief reign is principally distinguished by the institution of the knights of Calatrava. Of the several Spanish orders of knighthood, formed in imitation of those singular confraternities of chivalrous monks, the Knights Templars and Hospitalers, this is the first of which the foundation is positively ascertained,

Castile,
from A.D.
1130—1158.

Its rise was as follows. The Knights Templars, who held Calatrava amongst other Spanish possessions, abandoned it, as untenable, upon the advance of the Almohade army, that was overrunning the country in hopes of profiting by the confusion incident to the accession of two new kings, and the division of the realm. Don Diego Velasquez, a veteran warrior, who had become a Cistercian monk, undertook the defence of the place; repulsed the enemy; and in commemoration of his success founded the order, which, in its subsequent contests with the Mahometans, proved itself worthy of its origin. The order of Alcantara was the offspring of that of Calatrava. The order of St. Iago is by some authors considered much older; but its date is uncertain, although the romantic manner of its institution is upon record. A number of noble youths, after dissipating their hereditary fortunes in profligacy, are said to have turned robbers, and subsequently, in expiation of their crimes, to have vowed the dedication of their lives to warfare against the misbelievers, under the discipline of a monastic rule. The reward of the services they performed, was their incorporation as the order of knights of St. Iago. To endeavour to expiate sin by religious warfare was in those days not unusual; and strange as the union of characters so incongruous as those of the monk and the soldier now appears, it bore a very different aspect in an age when the Mahometan religion threatened to overrun the world, propagating its doctrines by fire and sword, and was only to be resisted by force of arms. In Spain, where the whole business of life was fighting to redeem the patrimony of Christian ancestors from the grasp of conquerors doubly abhorred as foreigners and as infidels, such institutions were yet more congenial than elsewhere to the feelings of mankind; and the knights of all these orders amply merited, by their military exploits and services during several centuries, the wealth with which they were endowed by the gratitude of their sovereigns, and of their countrymen.

Alfonso VIII. succeeded to his father in infancy. His minority was distracted by the contests of the powerful Castilian nobles for the regency, which was likewise claimed by his uncle Ferdinand of Leon. The last claimant took advantage of the weakness occasioned by these contests, to seize upon some portion of

Castile, as properly belonging to Leon. Sancho VI., who had now succeeded his father upon the throne of Navarre, so far followed Ferdinand's example, as to repossess himself of the provinces torn from his kingdom during the confusion produced by Sancho IV.'s murder. Sancho VI. reigned forty-four years. By the skilful policy with which he played off his more powerful neighbours, Mussulman and Christian, against each other, and receiving all exiles, availed himself of the services of able men of either religion, he maintained his independence, somewhat enlarged his territories, and earned the surname of the Wise.

Aragon was not at this period in a much more vigorous condition than Castile. Raymond died in 1162, when queen Petronilla, by his desire, divided his dominions between their two sons. The French provinces she assigned to Pedro the youngest, whom she placed, during his minority, under the guardianship of Henry II. of England, as duke of Aquitaine. Barcelona she gave to the eldest, Alfonso, naming her late husband's nephew, the count of Provence, regent. The government of Aragon she kept in her own hands.

Jusef, who succeeded to the sovereignty of his father Abdelmumen, was prevented from taking any immediate advantage of the divisions and helplessness of the Spanish Christians by the rebellion of his own brothers in Africa, and by his war with the king of Valencia, who, upon Abdelmumen's death, renewed his efforts to establish his independence. The African rebellion was at length subdued; and in 1172 Mohammed ben Sad, being completely vanquished and expelled, joined the Almoravides in Majorca. Jusef, when acknowledged undisputed sovereign of Mussulman Spain, renewed his father's holy war, and recovered various places from the different Christian princes. But his prosperity lasted not long, and he lost his life by a singular accident in 1184. He was attacking Alfonso of Portugal, and engaged in the siege of Santarem. Conceiving that his numbers were greater than the enterprise in hand required, he ordered a large body of troops to march upon Lisbon. The messenger who bore the order, by

Navarre,
from A. D.
1133—1194.

Aragon,
from A. D.
1133—1162.

Mussulman
Spain,
from A. D.
1162—1184.

mistake, named Seville instead of Lisbon; and the main body of the army, observing the retrograde movement that ensued, conceived a retreat to be in contemplation, was seized with a panic at the thought of being left behind, broke up their encampment, and began a homeward march. Upon discovering what had occurred, Josef, with whom only his body-guard remained, despatched officers to recall his troops. But the besieged also had perceived the deserted state of the Mussulman camp, and sallying from their walls they overpowered the guard, and slew the monarch. The returning army, maddened by shame and rage, terribly avenged their monarch: they instantly stormed the town, and made a frightful slaughter of the inhabitants. Alfonso Henriques

Portugal
from A.D.
1147—1185.

died the following year, and left his kingdom, established, and for the moment at peace, to his eldest son Sancho I. Josef's son and successor, Jacob ben Josef, was detained some years in Africa by disturbances in that country.

Meanwhile Alfonso VIII. of Castile, upon coming of age, displayed all the great qualities, which, during this long period of struggle with the Moors, seemed almost inherent in his race. He recovered the lands of which his uncle had robbed him; he referred his disputes with the kings of Aragon and Navarre to Henry II. of England and Aquitaine, whose daughter he married; and when restored to amity with those monarchs, he made peace with Leon, and turned his arms against the hereditary foe. For some years he was successful; but in 1195, Jacob brought over so formidable a host from Morocco, that Alfonso was compelled to seek assistance from his Christian brethren.

Alfonso II. of Barcelona and Aragon, who had now succeeded to Queen Petronilla, was a brave and able king, from whom aid might well have been expected. But his attention was withdrawn from Spanish, and devoted to French affairs. Upon the death of his cousin, the count of Provence, he had claimed, and possessed himself of, that county, to the exclusion of the natural heiress, Dulce, the deceased count's daughter, who was married to the son of the powerful count of Thoulouse, and of course supported by her father-in-law.

Aragon
from A.D.
1162—1195.

In Navarre, Sancho the Wise had just closed his long and glorious career. His last exploit had been the defence of his son-in-law, Richard Cœur de Lion's, French dominions against the count of Thoulouse, during the king of England's crusade and captivity. His son Sancho VII., and Alfonso IX. of Leon,* who had lately succeeded his father Ferdinand, at the king of Castile's summons hastily assembled their troops, and led them in person to his assistance. Whilst they were on their way to join him, Alfonso of Castile, from a sudden impulse of illiberal reluctance to share the glory of the victory he anticipated with his allies, attacked Jacob at Alarcos ere they could arrive. The most signal defeat recorded as suffered by the Christians, during the whole struggle for the recovery of Spain, was the consequence of this folly. The kings of Leon and Navarre instantly retreated; New Castile was devastated by the Moors; and Alfonso was glad to conclude a ten years' truce.

Navarre
A.D. 1195.

Leon
from A.D.
1157—1195.

Castile
from A.D.
1195—1212.

The calamitous results of the battle of Alarcos were ascribed by the Castilians, not to their king's rash precipitancy, but to his having selected a Jewess for his mistress. The horror excited by the creed of the unbelieving concubine, was inflamed by indignation at the privileges, which her influence over the king obtained for her proscribed brethren. They were placed upon an equality with Christians, and were allowed to appoint their own judges from amongst themselves. These privileges the Jews retained in Castile upwards of one hundred and fifty years after the death of their first protector, and they were frequently employed as ministers of finance both there and in Aragon. Alfonso long resisted his subjects' endeavours to impress upon him the propriety of squaring his criminal connexions to their notions of religion; and foiled many attempts of the nobles to deprive him by violence of the beautiful Rachel. But a succession of misfortunes at length taught him, that kings must command their passions, and conciliate public opinion. He dismissed his beloved Jewess, and having thus pacified

* During the temporary separation of Castile and Leon, the kings of the two states were still numbered together, as being of one continuous series.

the nation, he, by an union of prudence and valour, recovered his reputation, redressing the injuries, and avenging the losses, suffered by the kingdom. But his great object was to wash out in Moorish blood the memory of his defeat at Alarcos; and for that purpose, having secured the friendship of his cousin Alfonso of Leon, by giving him his eldest daughter Berenguela in marriage, he invaded the Mussulman territories where he obtained considerable success.

Mohammed Abu Abdallah had, in 1199, succeeded to his father Jacob's sovereignty in Spain and Morocco. He began his reign brilliantly, by subduing the last remnant of Almoravide power in the Balearic Isles; but afterwards abandoned himself to the indulgences of the harem, and in its voluptuous seclusion, neglected alike the war against the Christians, and the internal government of his wide-spread empire. The news of the king of Castile's invasion and ravages of his Spanish dominions aroused him, however, and assembling an immense army, he passed over from Africa to chastise the presumptuous invader.

The formidable character of Mohammed's preparations alarmed all Christendom. The Pope published a crusade against the Moors, and bands of Crusaders pouring into Spain, joined the forces of the native princes. These were all united by the magnitude and imminence of the danger. Castile had provoked and begun the war. Alfonso of Leon supported his father-in-law.

Alfonso II. of Portugal had just received the kingdom, powerful and prosperous, from his father, Sancho I. surnamed the father and founder of the country;—a title which Sancho obtained in preference to Alfonso Henriques, the first king and actual founder of the monarchy, by devoting his attention to rebuilding and repopulating ruined towns, and promoting in every respect the internal welfare of the country, without, however, neglecting any opportunity of enlarging it at the expense of the Moors. Like Alfonso I. Sancho had procured assistance from passing bands of Crusaders, most of whom are said to have been English, and had advanced his frontiers considerably south of the Tagus. One of the first acts of Alfonso II.'s reign was despatching an army to support the king of Castile,

Pedro II. of Aragon had succeeded to all his father Alfonso's dominions, except Provence, which was detached in favour of his younger brother. The new king, at the commencement of his reign, highly offended his subjects by declaring himself a vassal of the Roman see; a humiliation against which the *Cortes* of the kingdom solemnly protested. But his submission was an act rather of real, if excessive or mistaken, piety than of weakness. He was an active and war-like prince, and, in consequence, soon recovered his popularity. He now led his forces to join the king of Castile. So did Sancho of Navarre, who was but lately returned from Morocco, whither he had gone in the hope of marrying a daughter of Jacob's, with Mussulman Spain for her wedding portion. He had found his intended father-in-law dead, and Mohammed on the throne, who long detained him against his will, and refused to proceed with the matrimonial treaty.

The centre of the combined Christian forces was commanded by the king of Castile, the wings by the kings of Aragon and Navarre. Upon the 16th of July, 1212, they met the Mussulman hosts under Mohammed in the *navas* or plains of Tolosa, near the foot of the Sierra Morena. The numbers that day engaged surpassed any before or afterwards brought into the field, during these wars. The battle is said to have been obstinately contested, and decided in favour of the Christians, principally by a shepherd's discovering to their leaders an unknown path across the mountains. The three kings all highly distinguished themselves by their prowess. Sancho of Navarre personally burst through a chain, constituting part of the defence of the African camp, in commemoration of which feat a chain is borne in the Navarrese arms. This is the most celebrated victory gained by the Spaniards over the Moors, of whom 100,000 are stated to have fallen, and 60,000 to have been made prisoners; whilst King Alfonso asserted, in the account of the battle which he sent to the Pope, (and the archbishop of Toledo, D. Rodrigo Ximenes de Rada, also present upon the field, confirms the assertion in his Spanish History,) that only twenty-five Christians fell. Such a disparity in the slain would be difficult to credit, even upon the probable sup-

Mussulman
Spain
from A.D.
1184—1212.

Portugal
from A.D.
1185—1212.

Aragon
from A.D.
1196—1212.

Navarre
from A.D.
1196—1212.

position that the shepherd's guidance had enabled the allies completely to surprise Mohammed, and that the hard fighting described was merely a figure of speech. But neither would it be fair to tax the gallant warriors of those chivalrous times with downright falsehood; and though numbers seem of all things least liable to the influence of the human mind's strong tendency to believe according to its wishes, we must consider that, whilst those who fought for the cause of God deemed themselves almost entitled to a miraculous interposition on their behalf, modern precision in the enumeration of either the dead or the living was then altogether unknown. Be that as it may, the anniversary of the battle of *las navas de Tolosa* is still commemorated by the Spanish Church as the festival of the Triumph of the Cross; and the acquisition of Ubeda and many other towns attested the importance of the victory.

Mohammed fled to Morocco, where he died the following year, poisoned, as was reported, in revenge for, or dread of, his excessive cruelty. His son and heir, Abu Jacob, was only eleven years old, and no efforts were made to retrieve the late disaster; first, the sovereign's youth, afterwards his voluptuous and profligate habits, and, lastly, his early death, the consequence of his vices, crippled the power of Morocco. With him virtually terminated the Almohade sovereignty. In Africa, indeed, the struggles of his kindred to recover fragments of their predecessor's greatness, lasted upwards of forty years, but none attained to real dominion, and in 1270 not an Almohade remained anywhere. In Spain, even during Abu Jacob's life, the contests of his uncles and brothers weakened the Mussulman power, offering opportunities to the Christian princes of extending their respective frontiers, and to several *señores* of establishing independent kingdoms.

CHAPTER VII.

Death of Henry I. of Castile—His sister Berenguela, wife to Alfonso IX. of Leon, succeeds—Her son, Ferdinand III., finally unites Castile and Leon—He conquers great part of Andalusia—James of Aragon conquers Valencia and Majorca—Thibault, count of Champagne, succeeds, in right of his mother, to Navarre—

*Mohammed alien Alhamar founds the kingdom of Granada—Becomes tributary to Ferdinand III.—Sancho II. of Portugal deposed by Pope Innocent IV., who transfers his crown to his brother, Alfonso III.—Alfonso conquers Algarve—Alfonso X. of Castile conquers Murcia, and aspires to the imperial crown of Germany—Rebellion of his second son, Sancho the Brave, who eventually succeeds him—Joanna I. of Navarre, marrying Philip the Fair, unites Navarre to France—James of Aragon bequeaths Majorca and his French provinces, as a kingdom, to his second son.**

THE Christian princes did not profit as much or as rapidly by the disunion of their foes as they might have done. The share taken by the Portuguese troops in the victory at Tolosa, was the only brilliant exploit of Alfonso II.'s reign. He was of a harsh temper, and involved himself in various domestic quarrels; first, with his sisters, whom he vainly endeavoured to despoil of the principalities left them by their father; secondly, with his brothers, who, being provided for by marriage with heiresses, had not offended him by encroachment upon his inheritance; and, finally, with his clergy, whose various privileges and immunities he attacked, even whilst embarrassed by his other disputes. In consequence of these broils, or rather of the last, he was excommunicated.

Alfonso of Castile died two years after his great victory. He left his crown to his only son Henry, a boy of eleven, and the regency to his daughter Berenguela, queen of Leon, who was separated, upon the almost always available plea of too near consanguinity, from her husband Alfonso. Berenguela administered her delegated power ably, but held it only three years: at the end of that time the young king was accidentally killed by a tile falling upon his head. Berenguela was her brother's natural heiress; but idolizing her only son, Ferdinand, whom she had

Portugal
from A.D.
1212—1258

Castile
from A.D.
1212—1258

* The authorities principally relied upon in this chapter are Fritzsche, Ferreras, Garbay, Da Costa, Conde, Marbais, Universal Modern History, Geschichte der Deutschen von M. J. Schmidt, 12 Bände, 8vo. Uim, 1781—a work just to be of authority in Germany. Histoire Générale de Portugal par M. de la Cledé, 24cm. 4to. Paris, 1755. This is said to be the best general History of Portugal, but seems to display more research than critical acumen.

nursed and educated herself, she immediately renounced her claim to the throne in his favour. Her husband, aided by the counts of Lara, opposed her measures, and endeavoured to gain possession of Castile in her right. But Berenguela defeated his machinations, carried her point, and caused Ferdinand III. to be acknowledged king: Alfonso IX., however, long continued to disturb his wife, and son's government.

The king of Aragon was recalled immediately after the great battle, to the concerns of his French dominions. He had previously been engaged in the crusade then carrying on in France against the heretics, called Albigenses, whom his relations, the count of Thoulouse, and the viscount of Beziers, were accused of protecting. Pedro, after warmly interceding with the papal legate in behalf of his kinsmen, had been persuaded or frightened into sending troops to join the crusaders against them, and placing his only son, James, though yet in his childhood, at their head, to serve as a hostage for his own fidelity to the cause. But now, irritated at the Pope's confirming his marriage with Maria, heiress of Montpelier, from whom he had for many years been soliciting a divorce, he joined the count of Thoulouse, and fell, fighting against the crusaders, in 1213. Whilst Pedro's uncles and brothers were struggling for his succession, the queen-dowager obtained from the Pope an order to Simon de Montfort, the leader of the crusade, to deliver her son into her hands. Having thus got possession of the rightful heir, she procured the assembling of the *Cortes* of Aragon, to whom she presented the young king, when nobles, clergy, and town deputies voluntarily swore allegiance to him. This was the first time such an oath was taken in Aragon, the most limited of monarchies. It had been usual for the Aragonese kings at their coronation to swear observance of the laws, but not to receive in return an oath of fidelity from the people. Henceforward this corresponding oath of fidelity was regularly taken under the following form, celebrated for its singularly bold liberty:—"We, who are as good as you, make you our king to preserve our rights; if not, not." The Catalans followed the example of their Aragonese brethren in proclaiming James king; but many years elapsed ere he could sufficiently allay the disor-

ders excited by his ambitious uncles, to prosecute the war against the Moors.

At length the several kings of Castile, Leon, Aragon, and Portugal, were ready, unconnectedly, to invade Musulman Spain, where Almohade princes and Mohammed aben Hud, a descendant of the kings of Saragossa, were contending for the sovereignty, and many *realis* were struggling for independent royalty; all far more intent upon gratifying their mutual jealousies and enmities than upon resisting the common foe, with whom, on the contrary, all were willing to enter into alliance in furtherance of their separate views. Under these circumstances, James of Aragon made himself master of the greater part of Valencia, and of the island of Majorca; Ferdinand of Castile extended his conquests in Andalusia; Alfonso of Leon his in Estremadura; and Sancho II. of Portugal, who had lately succeeded to his father Alfonso II., acquired the city of Elvas through the valour and military talents of his general, D. Payo de Correa, a knight of St. Iago.

Sancho of Navarre took no part in these wars. After his exploits at the battle of *Jas navas de Tolosa* he quitted the career of arms, devoting himself wholly to the internal administration of his kingdom. He had no children, neither had his eldest sister, the queen of England, any. Thence his youngest sister's son, Thibalt, count of Champagne, became his natural heir. But Sancho, judging that the distance between Navarre and Champagne unfitted the two states for being governed by one prince, adopted his kinsman, James of Aragon; and to him, as heir, the Navarrese clergy and nobility, and the count of Champagne himself, prospectively swore fealty. Upon Sancho's death, in 1234, however, the Navarrese, preferring independence under the lineal heir to an union with Aragon, entreated king James to release them from their oaths. He was then engaged in the conquest of Valencia; and unwilling, it may be hoped, to turn his arms from Mahometan enemies against his fellow-Christians, he complied with the request, and Thibalt was proclaimed king of Navarre. Thibalt neglected the war carried on by his Spanish brother-kings against the Mahometans, to accept the command of a crusade for the recovery of Jerusalem. The expedition was unsuccessful, but the reputation of the

Aragon
from A.D.
1212—1236.

Navarre
from A.D.
1212—1234.

leader did not suffer. Upon his return, Thibalt followed the example of his uncle, in studying only to promote the internal welfare of the country. He introduced the cultivation of the grape, and the manufacture of wine into Navarre, with other agricultural improvements. Thibalt is more known as one of the most celebrated *troubadours* or poets of his day.

Prior to Thibalt's accession, the conquering progress of Leon and Castile had been temporarily interrupted. Alfonso of Leon died in 1230, and by his will divided Leon and Galicia between two daughters of his first marriage, wholly overlooking his son Ferdinand, whom he seems never to have regarded with paternal affection, and, from the moment of his obtaining the Castilian crown, to have even hated as a successful rival. By negotiation, however, and the influence which the acknowledged wisdom and virtues of queen Berenguela appear to have given her over every one but her husband, the superior claims of Ferdinand were admitted. The two *infantas* were amply endowed, and the crowns of Leon and Castile were thenceforward permanently united.

With power thus augmented, Ferdinand III. renewed his invasion of the Mussulman states, about the time that Yahie, the last of the Almohade candidates for sovereignty, died, bequeathing his pretensions to Mohammed abu Abdallah aben Alhamar, an enterprising leader, who, in the general confusion, had established himself as king of Jaen, and was the sworn enemy of Yahie's chief rival, Abdallah aben Hud. Ferdinand invaded the dominions of Abdallah, and Mohammed took that opportunity of materially enlarging his own. After a few years of general war, Abdallah aben Hud was assassinated by the partisans of the king of Jaen, and his brother Aly, who succeeded to his pretensions, met a similar fate. Mohammed ben Alhamar was immediately received into the city of Granada, which he made his capital; and thus, in 1238, founded the kingdom of Granada, the last bright relic of Moorish domination in Spain, and the favourite scene of Spanish romance. Had Mohammed succeeded to the Almohade sovereignty in Spain, and his authority been acknowledged by all his Mussulman countrymen, so able and active a monarch

might probably have offered effective resistance to Christian conquest. But his dominions consisted only of what is still called the kingdom of Granada, and a small part of Andalusia. The remaining Mahometan portions of Andalusia, Valencia, and Estremadura, as well as Murcia and Algarve, swarmed with independent *señals* or kings.

James of Aragon completed the subjugation of Valencia the following year. Cordova, so long the Moorish capital, was taken by Ferdinand, with other places of inferior note. The Murcian

princes avoided invasion by freely offering to become Castilian vassals; and now the conquering troops of Castile and Leon poured into the territories of Mohammed. The king of Granada, unsupported by his natural allies, found himself unequal to the contest, and submitted to become, like his Murcian neighbours, the vassal of Ferdinand. In that capacity he was compelled to assist his Christian liege lord in conquering Mussulman Seville.

The claims of Ferdinand III. to his people's gratitude, do not rest solely upon his military achievements; he was no less great in his internal administration. He first instituted the council of Castile, a body which, though its composition has varied with the subsequent changes and progress of public opinion, has ever since continued, even to our own times, the effective organ of government. As constituted by Ferdinand it consisted of nobles and clergy, and was by him intrusted with the care of compiling the code of laws known by the name of *las siete partidas*, the seven parts, from the number of its divisions, which formed the groundwork of Spanish legislation, so long as Spain retained aught of her early freedom. The task of drawing up this code was too arduous to be completed under one reign, and Ferdinand's son and successor, Alfonso X., under whom it was published, enjoys the credit justly due to the father. Ferdinand was, moreover, a patron of learning. He founded the university of Salamanca, whither he transferred, and united with the schools his father Alfonso IX. had there established, an university, founded at Palencia by his grandfather, Alfonso VIII. Ferdinand was preparing to undertake an expedition to Africa, for the purpose of there annihilating the empire of Morocco,

Castile
from A.D.
1235—1238.

Aragon
from A.D.
1235—1239.
Castile
from A.D.
1238—1252.

Mussulman
Spain
from A.D.
1230—1248.

when he died in the year 1252. His manifold virtues and great successes against the Mahometans, procured him the honour of canonization at Rome. It is somewhat remarkable that his mother Berenguela and Queen Blanche, the mother of Lewis IX. of France, being sisters, the two royal saints, the French St. Lewis and the Spanish St. Ferdinand, were first cousins.

Whilst the Spanish princes were thus prosperous, Portugal was a scene of disorder. Sancho II. had inherited his father's troubles with his throne.

After much internal dissension, and some foreign interference, he at length procured a fair settlement by arbitration of his hereditary disputes with his clergy, and with the *infantas* his aunts. For a while he now reigned tranquilly, and conciliated his subjects' good will by his great affability. But when his small participation in his royal neighbours' Moorish wars ceased, upon D. Phyo Correa's being chosen Grand Master of St. Iago, and consequently recalled to Spain, Sancho's unwearied disposition incurred general contempt. The dissatisfaction was increased by his devoted attachment to his queen, the daughter of a Biscayan noble, by a natural daughter of Alfonso IX. of Leon. To Queen Mencia's influence was ascribed whatever displeased the country in the king's government, and her influence itself to magic. The malecontents sent ambassadors to Lyons, where Pope Innocent IV. was then engaged in deposing the German Emperor Frederic II. with a request that his holiness would perform the same office for King Sancho of Portugal. Innocent IV. was perhaps the most ambitious pope that ever wore the tiara. He willingly listened to complaints against a king, deemed those of the Portuguese well founded, and published a bull, deposing Sancho II., and transferring the kingdom to his brother Alfonso, count of Boulogne, in virtue of his marriage with the heiress of the last count. Whilst this was transacting at Lyons, Queen Mencia was seized and carried off by one of her royal husband's turbulent vassals, Raymond Portocarreiro. She was never seen or heard of more. The king, whom his subjects seem to have not unduly appreciated, was quite as much terrified as grieved or angered by an occurrence so unexampled; and immediately pro-

vided for his own safety, by withdrawing to Castile. Here, the *Infante* Alfonso, Ferdinand's eldest son, conceived a personal friendship for the fugitive monarch, and obtained his father's permission to escort him back to Portugal, with a body of troops adequate to replacing him upon the throne. Upon crossing the frontiers, numbers of loyal Portuguese flocked to their king's standard; and the prospects of the count of Boulogne, who had arrived in all haste from his wife's domains, seemed for a while overcast. But the church, which had raised him, was his stay. The candidate for a brother's crown sent forth clerical champions, to publish the bull of deposal, even in King Sancho's camp. The Portuguese adherents of the lawful king slighted these pontifical thunders, but they daunted his Castilian and Leonese auxiliaries; who immediately retreated, taking the unfortunate monarch home with them. Sancho made no further attempt to recover his power, but passed the short remainder of his life in religious and penitential exercises. He died A.D. 1248.

Upon this second departure from the kingdom, most of Sancho's partisans submitted, and Alfonso III. was generally acknowledged. One brave warrior however, D. Martin de Freitas, stoutly defended Coimbra for the sovereign to whom he had sworn allegiance; and still held out at the time of his master's death; an event which he refused to believe when communicated by the new king. Alfonso proposed to the staunch loyalist to visit Toledo, and satisfy himself of the fact, upon an understanding that Coimbra should be respected during his absence. Freitas accordingly repaired to Toledo, and had the deceased monarch's grave opened; when convinced by the sight of the corpse, he returned to his post, and surrendered Coimbra to Alfonso, who, Sancho having left no children, was now legitimately king.

Alfonso III., however misled by ambition, a passion which in those days the best men seem to have been incapable of bridling, was endowed with great and good qualities. He confirmed Freitas in his command; advanced all the faithful adherents of his brother to posts of honour and trust; and dismissing the accomplices and instruments of his own crimes, speedily subdued and chastised the faction that had harassed and dethroned the late king. Alfonso

Portugal
from A.D.
1253—1295.

then turned his attention towards the Moors. He attacked and conquered the province of Algarve, forming the southern extremity of Portugal; and next invaded the territories of one of the small Mussulman princes of Andalusia. This step brought him into collision with his deceased brother's friend and champion, Alfonso X. of Leon and Castile, who had now succeeded to St. Ferdinand. The Moorish prince was a vassal of Castile, and the new king hastened to support him. He repulsed the king of Portugal, pursued him into his own dominions, and quickly despoiled him of his new conquest, Algarve. The defeated monarch sought to avert the enmity of his mightier neighbour, by asking the hand of his favourite illegitimate daughter, Beatrice, urging the barrenness of the countess of Boulogne, as sufficient ground for a divorce. The matrimonial negotiation was concluded, Algarve, as a vassal principality, given to the bride for her portion, and even the nuptials were celebrated, before the pope's confirmation of the king of Portugal's divorce from the countess of Boulogne, or dispensation for the relationship subsisting between the new bride and bridegroom, had been granted. The kingdom was in consequence laid under a papal interdict, which was not revoked during the countess of Boulogne's life. Upon her death, Pope Urban IV. complied with the solicitations of the Portuguese prelates, granted the dispensation, and legitimated a son and daughter already born. Alfonso thenceforward occupied himself wholly with domestic policy. The kingdom flourished under his care, and he had the address to keep upon good terms with the Pope, even whilst he was curtailing some of his clergy's exorbitant prerogatives. He sent his queen, with their eldest son the *Infante* Dennis, to visit her father, and obtained from the Castilian monarch's delight in his grandchild, the release of Algarve from vassalage. Thus Portugal acquired, under Alfonso III. for the second time and finally, her full dimensions.

Alfonso of Leon and Castile, having thus happily accommodated his differences with the king of Portugal, addressed himself to the prosecution of the war, which, interrupted only by occasional truces, was constantly waging by the Christians against the unbelievers. He subdued some tributary

Andalusian princes who had revolted, conquered Murcia with the assistance of his father-in-law King James of Aragon, and compelled Mohammed of Granada, who upon a change of reign had endeavoured to free himself from the bonds of vassalage, to submit, and renew his homage. But Alfonso's attention was early withdrawn from Spanish interests, by schemes more extensively ambitious. He aspired to the imperial crown of Germany, instigated by his near affinity to the emperors of the house of Swabia, whose male line was just extinct:—Alfonso X.'s mother was Beatrice, daughter to Philip of Swabia. Alfonso was elected by one party of German princes, and Richard, earl of Cornwall by another. This double election produced to Germany a real interregnum. The earl of Cornwall, though he repeatedly visited Germany, and was crowned king of the Romans, never succeeded in establishing his authority; and Alfonso could not, in the disturbed state of Spain, leave his patrimonial kingdom to enforce his imperial claims. In fact he never travelled further on his way to Germany, than Beaune, where he had an unsatisfactory interview with the Pope; but he gave enough of his energies and pecuniary resources to his distant empire, to weaken his exertions at home. The title of emperor was the only fruit the king of Leon and Castile reaped from his election.

The Emperor Alfonso is commonly distinguished by the surname of the Wise; but the Spanish word *sabio* will equally bear the interpretation of the learned, and it was probably very much in this sense that it was given him. He owed it partly to his having usurped the whole legislative fame, which, at most, he was only entitled to have shared with his father. The part he really could claim in the code of *las siete partidas*, viz. the spirit he infused into it, in direct opposition to his sainted father's principles, might have procured him the reputation of learning, but certainly not of wisdom, from enlightened judges. In order probably to bribe the Pope to favour his imperial pretensions, he modified the old Gothic law conformably to the canon law; sacrificing both that independence of the authority of the Roman see, hitherto enjoyed by the Spanish church, and that control over ecclesiastical appointments which constituted so important a prerogative of the Spanish

Castile
from A.D.
1259—1273.

kings; and moreover admitting ecclesiastical privileges and exemptions from public burthens, previously unknown in Spain. The Castilian monarchs were henceforward involved in contests with the popes respecting church patronage, similar to those which long prevailed in other European kingdoms. But Alfonso may more justly claim the title of the Learned from labours which he originated and superintended, if he did not actually participate in them. The astronomical tables, that bear his name, *Alfonsinas*, were compiled at his desire by the most scientific astronomers of the age, almost all formed in the Arab schools of Spain. A general chronicle of Spanish history was likewise written by his direction, under his name, and with his assistance. To him also is his native language indebted for its earliest cultivation; he advanced it to honour by employing it in public documents, which had till then been drawn up in Latin.

Alfonso's latter years were harassed with disorders proceeding from his own family. The *Infante* Sancho, his second son, a restless and ambitious youth, craftily fomented the dissatisfaction provoked by the encouragement which the emperor's new code gave to ecclesiastical pretensions. The *infante* thus prevailed upon a large party of male-content nobles to proclaim him king; and concluding an alliance with the king of Granada, he openly revolted. This rebellion the emperor rather allayed by negotiation and concession, than put down by arms. He bought off his son's adherents, and D. Sancho seeing himself deserted was compelled to submit. Upon the king of Granada the emperor retaliated in kind, instigating several of his most powerful *arabes* to insurrection, and in secret supporting them.

At this juncture died Mohammed, the first king of Granada, an able prince, though often unfortunate as a warrior. In the prosperity of his dominions he sought consolation for the humiliating necessity of becoming the vassal of the enemies of his religion. Notwithstanding his inferiority in point of power, he reminds us of the best of the caliphs of Cordova. He actively encouraged agriculture and manufactures, established prizes for success in each, and executed great works to facilitate irrigation. The silks of Granada, under his fostering care, sur-

passed those of Asia. These labours were assisted by the immense population that flocked into his kingdom from the provinces conquered by the Christians, which, notwithstanding the fair promises of the victors to their Mussulman subjects, remained almost deserts; and by the wealth he drew from his gold and silver mines. He founded schools and hospitals, which he frequently visited and examined. Like all the native Moorish sovereigns, he patronized science and literature. He adorned Granada with fountains, baths, and palaces, beginning the most renowned, perhaps, of all known palaces for its magnificence, the Alhambra. But Mohammed's chief occupation was, according to oriental notions of royal duty, to administer justice in person, with rigid and laborious impartiality, giving audience to all indiscriminately, and endeavouring to accommodate disputes.

Mohammed II., his son and successor, renewed his father's treaties with the Emperor Alfonso. But finding that the latter acted unfairly with respect to the rebellious *walis*, whom he was in consequence unable to subdue, he sought assistance from a new king of Morocco, Abu Jusef ben Merin, who had lately obtained firm possession of that portion of the former empire of the Almohades. The surrender of Tarifa and Algeziras was the price the African monarch set upon his friendship, and which Mohammed was obliged to pay. The mere appearance of Abu Jusef and his army sufficed to overawe the *walis*. They instantly submitted and were pardoned; when the allied sovereigns turned their arms against the Christians. The combined hosts of Morocco and Granada defeated the Castilians in two pitched battles, and ravaged their portion of Andalusia; until Abu Jusef, more anxious to secure the immense booty he had acquired, than either to support the ally who had so dearly purchased his aid, or to redeem Mussulman provinces from Christian conquerors, concluded a separate peace, and returned home. Upon his departure the same factious *walis* again rebelled, and again Mohammed's attention was engrossed by civil war.

Alfonso X. could not profit by his enemy's renewed weakness. The fatigues and anxieties consequent upon the late African invasion, had

Granada
from A.D.
1248—1282.

Castile
from A.D.
1273—1284.

occasioned the death of his eldest son, D. Ferdinand *de la Cerda*; so named from the bristly hair round a mole upon his shoulder; *cerda* being the Spanish word for bristle. D. Ferdinand left two infant sons by a French princess. But in utter contempt of their indisputable right to the succession, D. Sancho renewed his intrigues. Supported by the Kings of Portugal and Aragon, he so vigorously enforced his pretended claims to the throne, and so powerfully did his high reputation for courage,—he was surnamed the Brave,—influence a warlike nation, that the *Cortes* assembled at Segovia compelled the emperor to declare D. Sancho his heir. This did not satisfy the *infante's* impatient ambition. He could not wait till his father's death should throw into his grasp the sceptre thus wrongfully assured to him, and prevailed upon the partizans who had carried him so far, to advance one step further. The old monarch was formally deposed, and his son placed upon his throne. Nearly the whole kingdom concurred in this crime, Seville, almost singly, remaining faithful to its injured sovereign.

The emperor would not yield to usage he had so little merited at the hands of his subjects or his son. In the extremity of his distress he had recourse to his late enemy the King of Morocco, and requested from him a loan of money, for which he offered to pawn his crown. Abu Jusef, feeling as a sovereign and a father for Alfonso's wrongs, crossed over from Africa with a numerous army to reinstate the dethroned monarch. Sancho concluded a counter alliance with the king of Granada; and the civil war that now raged, was rendered more than usually atrocious, both by the relative character of the principal antagonists, and by the interference on either side of foreign powers, professing a hostile religion. Both parties ravaged the country; neither gained any decisive advantage; and Alfonso X. derived no benefit from an alliance, deemed not much less unnatural than his son's rebellion; inasmuch as the barbarous African Mahometans, were regarded in a very different light from their Spanish brethren, and Alfonso, it was thought, should rather have submitted quietly to his depose, than have sought such aid. The emperor died A.D. 1284, bequeathing his malediction to the unfilial rebel, and his kingdoms to his grandson, D. Al-

fonso de la Cerda. The will of a dethroned and deceased king was of no avail against the powerful faction of a bold usurper. Sancho the Brave immediately obtained full possession of the royal authority, notwithstanding a small party still asserted the legitimate right of succession to be in the *Infante de la Cerda*.

Navarre during all this time had continued estranged from the general politics of the Peninsula. Thibault II., who succeeded his father in 1233, had, like him, occupied himself with domestic affairs, until, having married a daughter of St. Lewis of France, he accompanied his father-in-law in his last unfortunate crusade against Tunis, and died upon his homeward voyage, A.D. 1270. He had no children, and his brother Henry succeeded, but reigned only four years, when he died, leaving the kingdom to his daughter Joanna, a child of three years old, and the regency to his widow, Blanche of Artois, niece to St. Lewis. The queen-dowager's government was instantly distracted by factions, respectively supported and fomented by the neighbouring peninsular kings, each of whom wished to marry the infant queen to his own heir. Blanche fled with her daughter to the French court, where she was kindly received by her royal kinsman, Philip the Bold; who likewise immediately planned marrying Joanna to his eldest son. The relationship of the parties rendered a dispensation necessary; and the Pope refused to grant one, except in favour of the king's second son. The change was reluctantly submitted to; but this marriage eventually answered the desired end of uniting the crowns of France and Navarre, better than that which had been projected might have done; the early death of the elder brother making the new king of Navarre, Philip the Fair, heir of France. A French regent was forthwith sent to Navarre, whose able administration reconciled the nation to their young queen's marriage, but whose councils naturally involved the kingdom in French politics, and separated it from the interests of the other Spanish states.

The latter years of James of Aragon, like those of the Emperor Alfonso, were harassed by dissension and insurrection, springing from the royal family. But the Aragonese monarch had brought his troubles upon himself, by the

Navarre
from A.D.
1233—1284.

Aragon
from A.D.
1239—1276.

license of his private conduct. He had incensed his subjects by dishonouring their wives and daughters; he had offended the pope by the improper marriages he contracted after the death of his second wife, Violante of Hungary, and by his unreasonable applications for divorces; and he irritated his children by unjust preferences. He sought to limit the inheritance of Alfonso, his eldest son, by Leonora of Castile, whom he had early repudiated upon the plea of too near consanguinity, to the single kingdom of Aragon, dividing the rest of his dominions amongst his sons by Violante. The disturbances provoked by this attempt, ceased only upon Alfonso's untimely death; and then the king's illegitimate sons took up arms against their surviving legitimate brothers. To appease the Pope's displeasure, James consented to the introduction of the horrible tribunal of the Inquisition into Aragon, where, however, it was too much at variance with the free spirit of the people and their institutions to be long endured. He died A. D. 1276, of grief for the defeat of his often victorious army by the Moors; and finally dismembered Majorca and the French provinces from the inheritance of Don Pedro, his eldest son, by Violante, giving them, with the title of king of Majorca, to his younger son, Don James.

CHAPTER VIII.

*Pedro III. of Aragon makes James of Majorca his tributary—His wars to enforce the right of his queen, Constance, to Naples and Sicily—Recovers Sicily—His son Alfonso conquers Minorca and Iviza—Sicily an independent kingdom under Frederic, youngest son of Constance—Rebellions in Castile, Portugal, and Granada—War between Castile and Granada—Abolition of the order of Knights Templars—Alfonso XI. of Castile, Alfonso IV. of Portugal, and Mohammed IV. of Granada, put down insurrection in their several kingdoms—Navarre separated from France by the failure of Joanna's male heirs—Joanna II. of Navarre—James II. of Aragon conquers Sardinia and Corsica—Alfonso of Castile, assisted by Portugal and Navarre, gains the signal victory of Rio Salado over the Moors.**

PEDRO III. of Aragon compelled his brother Don James to do him homage for his kingdom of Majorca, and put down a rebellion of the Catalans, excited by his having neglected to take the customary oaths at his accession. He granted, in 1283, the great Aragonese charter, which confirmed all the old rights derived from the laws of Sobrarbe, and added new ones, adapted to the views of the more advanced age in which he lived. These were nearly all Pedro's Spanish transactions; his attention being very much abstracted from peninsular affairs.

He had married Constance, the daughter of Manfred, king of Naples and Sicily, the illegitimate but legitimated son of Frederic II., emperor of Germany. The papal see claimed a paramount sovereignty over the kingdom of Sicily, as the united realms were then commonly denominated, and had long been at variance with the emperors of the Swabian dynasty. In prosecution of this quarrel Pope Alexander IV. excommunicated Manfred; and his successor, Urban IV. deposed him, transferring the Sicilian crown to Charles of Anjou, St. Lewis's brother. To give effect to these pontifical decrees, Charles raised an army, with which he attacked the Neapolitan frontiers; and Manfred, betrayed and deserted by those in whom he most confided, fell in the first battle with the invader, who was immediately acknowledged king. The tyranny of the conqueror in the course of a few months exasperated his new subjects beyond endurance; and Conrad, the son of the last of the Swabian emperors, Manfred's elder and legitimate brother, Conrad, was invited from Germany to head the partizans of his family, and reclaim their hereditary crown. Conrad had not seen more than fifteen summers; he displayed valour and talents far above his years, but was out-generated by Charles, one of the ablest warriors of his day. Conrad was defeated, taken prisoner, and tried—by a mockery of judicial forms—for high treason. He was, according to some accounts, acquitted by all his judges save one; and upon the sentence of

Aragon
from A. D.
1276—1344.

* The authorities principally relied upon in this chapter are Yriarte, Ferreras, Garibay, Conde, Da

Costa, Quinzana, Maris, La Ciede, Universal History. *Geichichte der Hohenstauffen und ihrer Zeit* von Friedrich von Raumer. 6 bände. 8vo. Leipzig, 1825. a work of extraordinary research. *Storia civile del Regno di Napoli* di Pietro Giannone, 4 tomi, 4to, Palmyra, 1763: a standard Italian history.

death pronounced by that single dis-sentient and time-serving judge, he was executed.

Upon the scaffold, Conradin is said to have thrown his glove amongst the crowd, requesting that it might be conveyed to his cousin and heiress, Constance, queen of Aragon. Constance received the pledge, and her royal husband prepared to enforce the rights which had accrued to her. He armed without exciting any suspicion of his preparations being destined against other foes than the Moors; and when ready to set sail, he released several nobles whom he had long detained in prison upon suspicion of rebellious intentions, telling them that he was convinced their gratitude would better insure the tranquillity of his dominions during his absence than their confinement. Pedro's enterprise was sanctioned by Pope Nicholas III., who was indignant at Charles's ingratitude, tyranny, and general misconduct. The Aragonese monarch derived more efficient assistance from an insurrection against Charles, that had long been organizing, but at last broke suddenly out in Sicily, upon occasion of a casual insult offered by a French soldier to a Sicilian female. In this insurrection, well known to history by the name of the Sicilian Vespers, every Frenchman upon the island was put to death. By the aid of so terrible an act of retribution, Pedro easily obtained possession of the island of Sicily; but he spent the remainder of his life in constant war with Naples and France. He was deserted by his brother, King James of Majorca. He was excommunicated and deposed, and a crusade was published against him by Nicholas III.'s successor, Martin IV., a creature of Charles of Anjou. But these spiritual arms were altogether disregarded by the Sicilians and Aragonese; Pedro stoutly defended both his own and his wife's patrimony against his formidable enemies, without incurring any loss. Philip the Bold of France, indeed, invaded Catalonia, and took a few places, but was speedily forced to evacuate the province, and died in his retreat; Pedro also defeated the combined French and Neapolitan fleets, and took prisoner Charles, prince of Salerno, the son of Charles of Anjou. By threatening the royal captive's life, Queen Constance obtained the liberation of a half-sister, who had languished in Charles's prisons from the time of Manfred's death. Pe-

dro III. died in 1285, leaving Sicily to his second son, James, and the rest of his dominions to his eldest son, Alfonso.

Alfonso III. took Majorca from his uncle, King James; but admitted the mediation of the Pope and the king of France and Navarre, and restored his conquest upon condition of its being held, together with King James's French dominions, in vassalage of Aragon. Alfonso likewise conquered the other Balearic Isles from the Moors. His negotiations with his prisoner, the prince of Salerno, and with the Pope, for a final settlement of the conflicting claims respecting Naples and Sicily, were the only additional occupation of his short reign. These negotiations were conducted under the mediation of Edward I. of England, whose daughter was betrothed to Alfonso. It was arranged that Naples and Sicily should be divided; Naples remaining to the Angevine family, and Sicily to King James and his mother, Queen Constance; James and his sister, the *Infanta* Constance, respectively marrying, the prince of Salerno's daughter, Blanche, and son and heir, Robert. Alfonso died ere either these arrangements or his own marriage were completed.

James of Sicily succeeded his brother on the Aragonese throne, and fulfilled the preconcerted matrimonial engagements with the family of Anjou. The other articles of the treaty, influenced probably, by his new connexion with his former enemies, he altered in their favour by agreeing to surrender Sicily to the king of Naples. His mother, Constance, the rightful queen, and her younger son, Frederic, whom James, at his departure for Aragon, had left in the island as regents, refused to confirm this surrender; and Frederic, with his mother's approbation, assumed the Sicilian crown. In the war that ensued, the king of Aragon sided with his father-in-law against his mother and brother. After gaining a great naval victory over Frederic, however, he seems to have been shocked at his own unnatural conduct, and declined to act further except as mediator. In 1314 he brought about a peace between the belligerent parties, by which Frederic was recognized as king of Sicily. His title had been confirmed by the Pope many years before.

In Portugal, Dennis had succeeded to the throne in 1279, at the age of nineteen, and his first measures are equally censured by Castilian, and eulo-

Portugal
from A. D.
1269—1290.

gized by Portuguese historians. He refused to admit his mother to any participation in his councils, and by this exclusion so deeply offended her, that she withdrew to her father's court. The Emperor Alfonso invited his grandson to meet and confer with him at Badajoz; but the young king of Portugal, dreading unpleasant consequences from an interview at which he was predetermined not to give way, excused himself from the visit upon the plea of urgent business, sending his brother and sisters in his stead, to bear his apology and compliments to his grandfather. Dennis married Isabella, daughter of king James I. of Aragon; but his nuptial festivities were interrupted by dissensions with the clergy, relating, as usual, chiefly to temporal concerns. The ecclesiastical body contended for the right of constantly increasing their landed possessions, and of holding all their acquisitions exempt from taxation or feudal service. The Portuguese, like the Spanish kings, long resisted the introduction of the Roman law, which bestows this and similar privileges upon church property; and Dennis temporarily settled these disputes by a compromise, which Martin IV., a pope not remarkable for his conciliatory disposition, sanctioned. Dennis supported Sancha the Brave in his rebellion, provoked so to do, probably, by the resentment which his mother and grandfather expressed towards himself. But quickly repenting of such conduct, he withdrew his succours; and, upon Sancha's accession, a war was near breaking out between Castile and Portugal. An interview of the two young kings both quenched the kindling flame, and produced, it should seem, a joint determination to deprive their respective brothers of the frontier principalities bequeathed them by their fathers,—the reigning kings having felt the evils of such separate principalities during their impending hostilities. The resumptive measures produced rebellion in both countries. In Portugal the exasperated *Infante* Alfonso laid claim to the crown, alleging that Dennis was the illegitimate offspring of an adulterous connexion, his birth having taken place during the life of the late king's first wife, whilst his own had not occurred until the countess of Boulogne's death had left Alfonso III. at liberty to contract a second valid marriage. The king's superior force refuted the argument and quelled the insurrection, when a negotiation

followed, by which, as upon former occasions of a similar kind, the *infante* received a large income and an internal appanage in lieu of the frontier state, whose possession rendered him dangerous. The brothers were for the moment reconciled, but not cordially; for so long as Don Alfonso lived, was Dennis harassed with his revolts.

Sancho III., like Dennis, ultimately triumphed over his brother, and all other insurgents. But owing partly to his illegal tenure of the throne, he was too fully occupied with civil war to admit of his reign being distinguished by such brilliant exploits against the Moors, as might have been anticipated from his surname. The *Infante* John struggled hard for his principality, and allied himself with his father's friend, the king of Morocco. The *Infantes* de la Cerda asserted their title to the crown, and were supported by the kings of France and Aragon, to whom they were related through their mother and grandmother.

The war with Don John and his African auxiliary gave birth to one of those instances of devoted loyalty and unflinching resolution which Spanish writers love to record, as evincing their national heroism, and power of sacrificing all private and natural feelings to public duty. Sancho had taken Tarifa from Abu Josef, garrisoned it strongly, and given the command to Don Alfonso Perez de Guzman, an ancestor of the dukes of Medina Sidonia. Don John with the Morocco troops besieged the place, and a son of the commandant's having fallen into their hands, they endeavoured to shake Guzman's invincible courage by menacing his child's life. The stern father flung them a dagger from the walls, and bidding them with that weapon execute their savage threat, withdrew to dinner. Alarmed by the sudden oneries of the troops upon the ramparts, when they witnessed the actual perpetration of the murder, he hurried back, and being informed of the cause of the disturbance, calmly observed, 'I feared the enemy were in the town:' an example of painful self-control, from the heroism of which the circumstance of dinner might detract something, were it not allowable to believe that the parent made use of a subterfuge to spare himself the horrid spectacle impending, rather than that he actually dined whilst his child was suffering the agonies of a violent death.

Castile
from A.D.
1284—1294.

The king of Granada had hitherto continued firm in his alliance with Sancho; but he now made a separate peace with

Granada
from A.D.
1282—1293.

Abu Jusef, purchasing back Algeiras, which, after the loss of Tarifa, the king of Morocco no longer thought worth retaining. The Africans returned home, and war soon afterwards broke out between the two late allies, Mohammed and Sancho, in which the Castilians were successful.

Castile
from A.D.
1294—1312.

But, in 1295, Sancho's career was cut short by death: he committed the regency during the minority of his son, Ferdinand IV., to his widow, Queen Maria, a high-spirited woman of equal judgment and virtue, an heiress, and his near kinswoman, by his marriage with whom he had reunited a large fief to the crown.

The queen-dowager's great qualities were fully tried; factions more numerous than ever arose to distract her government. Don Alfonso de la Cerda revived his claim to the crown, supported by all his former friends. Don John, the brother with whom the deceased king had been at war, abetted by the king of Portugal, advanced a similar claim, asserting that the young king was illegitimate, inasmuch as the marriage of his parents had not been sanctioned by the papal bull, which their near relationship rendered indispensable. Another of her brothers-in-law, Don Henry, aspired to the regency, as did the ever-turbulent counts of Lara and Haro; and amidst the weakness occasioned by all these civil commotions the king of Granada, vigorously prosecuting the war, recovered his recent losses.

The queen-mother would not allow her own pretensions to increase the distress and danger of the moment, and her first step was the resignation of her authority into the hands of Don Henry. But when the new regent, after being defeated by Mohammed, concluded a disadvantageous peace with Granada, surrendering Tarifa, Maria exclaimed against so disgraceful a treaty, roused the nation rather to continue the war at all hazards than submit to it, and regained the regency. She now drew off the king of Portugal from his alliance with Don John, by proposing a double marriage of her son, the young king, with Dennis's daughter, Constance, and of her daughter, Beatrice, with his son and heir, Don Alfonso. She procured from Rome the confirmation of her own

marriage. She referred the pretensions of the *Infantes de la Cerda* to the arbitration of her new ally, the king of Portugal, and of their friend, the king of Aragon, who was equally related to both parties. The royal arbitrators gave judgment in favour of the reigning prince, assigning ample estates to the *infantes* in compensation for their claims. Thus relieved from her most pressing difficulties, Maria speedily quelled the other domestic feuds, and obtained from the *Cortes* a grant of money, which her frugality turned to such good account that she was afterwards freely intrusted with whatever supplies she required. She repulsed all further Moorish aggression, and when involved in a second war with Aragon respecting Murcia, positively refused to purchase peace with either enemy by any cession of territory. Her defeated brothers-in-law revenged themselves by persuading their royal nephew at a very early age to snatch the reins of government from his mother's hand; but though deprived of the regency, her superior understanding, the calmness with which she bore the petty vexations devised by her rivals to drive her from court, and her great influence over the nation, still insured to her a considerable portion of authority.

Ferdinand IV. made a disadvantageous peace with Aragon, ceding part of Murcia, and continued the war with the king of Granada, from whom he took some places, the principal of which was Gibraltar. But his reign was short; and is most remarkable for the manner of its close, which procured him the surname of the Summoned. He had convicted two brothers, of the name of Carvajal, of a murder, upon somewhat insufficient proof, and sentenced them to death. The Carvajals asserted their innocence to the last, and upon the scaffold summoned the king to appear, within thirty days, before the judgment-seat of God, and there answer for his unjust sentence. Upon the thirtieth day Ferdinand actually died; and the people, too ignorant and superstitious to see in the event either a singular but fortuitous coincidence of circumstances, or the physical effect of a strongly-excited imagination, looked upon his decease as an especial interference of Providence. Ferdinand left a son of a year old, Alfonso XI., and intrusted him to the guardianship of his grandmother, Queen Maria, whose ability for the office he knew by experience. He as-

sociated with her, however, as her colleagues in the regency, her younger son, Don Pedro, and her formerly troublesome brother-in-law, Don John.

During Ferdinand's reign occurred the abolition of the Order of Knights Templars—a measure, the justice or iniquity of which was at the time a question of high interest, and has never yet been positively solved. The transaction no further belongs to the present history, than as the knights resident in Spain and Portugal were there tried, and judicially acquitted of the equally absurd and atrocious charges brought against them;—those individual knights benefited by their acquittal, enjoying personal security, and a life interest in the estates of the Order. But this judicial testimony in favour of the Order, although corroborated by similar verdicts in Germany and England, was unavailing to the brethren in France, and to the Order generally. The destruction of the Templars was sought by Philip the Fair of France and Navarre, whose creature Pope Clement V. was; and upon confessions extorted by the rack, and mostly recanted upon the scaffold and at the stake, great numbers were executed, the Order was abolished, and their estates were either confiscated or transferred to other Orders.

The kingdom of Granada, at the moment of Ferdinand's death, was a prey to such disorders as had lately harassed Castile.

Mohammed III. had succeeded in 1302 to his father, Mohammed II.; and appears to have been so excellent a sovereign, that it is hard to conceive whence sprang the rebellions that distracted his reign, and to which, in the end, he fell a victim. The *trahis* of various towns revolted, endeavouring to establish their independence; and the populace of the city of Granada, in 1309, compelled him to abdicate in favour of his brother, Nasar Abul Ghu. Nasar did not long enjoy his usurped throne. His nephew, Ismael ben Ferag, who had previously rebelled against Mohammed III., been vanquished, pardoned, and committed to the care of his father, the *wali* of Malaga, revolted anew, and more successfully, against the usurper. In 1313 he forced Nasar to abdicate in his turn, and content himself with the government of Guadix. Nasar had, during the contest, sought the alliance of the regents of Castile; and the succours they had afforded him

led to a war with Ismael. The two *infante*-regents fell in a hard fought battle with the new King of Granada.

Queen Maria immediately concluded a truce with the victor, which he conscientiously observed, notwithstanding the opportunity of recovering lost provinces, so tempting to an ambitious monarch, offered by the disorders which speedily broke out in Castile. All the factions that had formerly contended for the regency revived with redoubled violence upon the death of the queen's colleagues, especially of her son, Don Pedro, who had been her chief stay. Maria's spirit and good sense again triumphed over all; but, unfortunately, she did not long survive to maintain the tranquillity she had established. Upon her death, the aspect of affairs became more threatening than ever, and did not seem much improved, when a king of fifteen abruptly assumed the government. But Alfonso XI., even at that early age, displayed equal judgment, steadiness, and courage; and the conduct dictated by those qualities, tempered with great moderation, happily suppressed the disturbances.

The truce between Castile and Granada expired in 1325; and

Ismael was no sooner released from its obligations, than he invaded the former country. Notwithstanding the young king's utmost exertions, the invader made several conquests, one of which eventually cost him his life. The town of Martos was stormed by the Moors; and amidst the horrors incident to such triumphs, a young kinsman of Ismael's, named Mohammed, rescued a beautiful Christian maiden from the outrages of the soldiery. He fell deeply in love with his captive. The king afterwards beheld her amongst the prisoners, and being similarly inflamed by her charms, ordered her to be conveyed to his harem. The bereaved and indignant lover immediately assembled his friends, recounted to them his wrongs, and engaged their assistance. They surrounded the palace gates to await Ismael's coming forth; and upon his appearance Mohammed plunged a dagger in his heart. The murderers, who had no object beyond revenge, fled the moment the blow was struck; and Ismael's eldest son, Mohammed IV., a boy scarcely twelve years of age, was quietly and generally acknowledged. Mohammed III. had

Castile -
from A.D.
1312—1325.

Granada
from A.D.
1314—1333.

Granada
from A.D.
1299—1314.

previously died in confinement. The beginning of the young king's reign was harassed by rebellions, instigated, or at least fomented, from Africa, which prevented any immediate idea of prosecuting the war with Castile. In the end, Mohammed suppressed all these disturbances,—partly by his energetic activity, and partly by sacrificing the *hagib*, whose misgovernment, or private feuds with the military leaders, had provoked insurrection.

Dennis of Portugal had already closed

his long reign, of which the latter years were more painfully troubled by the rebellions of his son, Don Alfonso,

than its dawn had been by those of his brother of the same name. The brother had originally had some cause of dissatisfaction; the complaints of the son seem to have been altogether imaginary. The *infante* accused his father of soliciting at Rome the legitimization of a natural son, Don Alfonso Sanchez, with a view of substituting such son for himself, in the succession to the crown; and he taxed Alfonso Sanchez with attempting to further that object yet more criminally, by poison. The first charge both the king and the Pope solemnly denied; and Dennis betrayed in his whole conduct a weakness of affection for the prince that might sufficiently acquit him of any intention prejudicial to his interests. The second imputation was founded upon papers proved to have been forged with the prince's knowledge. The king's remonstrances with the *infante* were wholly fruitless; and though the interposition of Queen Isabella—a woman of superior understanding, piety, and virtue, afterwards canonized—was rather more efficacious, she could only bring about temporary reconciliations, followed by renewed discontent and rebellion on the part of her son. Upon one occasion, that son unsuccessfully endeavoured to procure the assassination of his half-brother; whom, upon another, he required the king to dismiss from the ministerial office he held. Alfonso Sanchez ended the dispute by voluntarily relinquishing his post, and quitting Portugal; when the prince's gratitude for the concessions he had wrung from his too indulgent father displayed itself in another rebellion. The unflinching rebel was repeatedly vanquished, and as often pardoned, by the king, whose death terminated Don Alfonso's last

revolt, in the year 1324. Dennis encouraged literature, agriculture, and manufactures, and expended large sums in magnificence, without oppressing his people. He founded the universities of Lisbon and Coimbra, and is unanimously praised by Portuguese writers as one of their best kings.

Alfonso IV., upon first ascending the throne, exhibited that total disregard of his new duties which might have been anticipated from his previous conduct. The monarch who had discovered such guilty impatience for sovereign power, now that he was possessed of it, abandoned himself altogether to his pleasures, neglecting the affairs of his kingdom. His reformation was sudden; and the manner of it is thus related:—The assembled council had one day been long awaiting his presence, to transact business of importance. The king was gone a-hunting; and upon his return, entering the council-chamber in his hunter's garb, he proceeded to entertain the grave statesmen there assembled with a circumstantial history of his day's sport. When he ceased, one of the ministers arose, and addressed him as follows: 'Senhor, courts and camps are made for kings, not forests and deserts. When kings forget themselves in their amusements, the interests of their people suffer; and a whole nation is exposed to inevitable ruin, if its sovereign prefer his pleasures to the duties of his station. We did not come hither to hear your highness narrate feats, which may be admirable, but which hunters only can appreciate. If your highness will attend to the necessities of your subjects, you will have humble and faithful vassals; if not'—The exasperated king interrupted the speaker with the angry question, 'What then?' The minister quietly resumed, in his former tone—'if not, they will seek another king.' The monarch, yet more enraged, poured forth a torrent of invectives, and burst from the room in a fury; but after a brief interval, he returned, with recovered tranquillity, and said—'I perceive the truth of your words. He who will not rule as a king, cannot long retain subjects. From this day forward you shall find in me, not Don Alfonso the Hunter, but King Alfonso of Portugal.'

The king kept his word; and thenceforward not only devoted himself to the duties of sovereignty, but discharged them in the spirit becoming his exalted

station. He promoted his father's ministers; inflicted upon his former favourites due punishment for private crimes, committed in reliance upon his protection; attended to the advice of his mother, honoured the memory of his father, and displayed good sense and self-command in everything, except the pertinacious hatred with which he still persecuted his half-brother. In the first *Cortes* he convoked, he accused Don Alfonso Sanchez of being the sole cause of his own dissensions with the deceased king, and procured his condemnation as a traitor. Alfonso Sanchez addressed a respectful letter to his royal brother, justifying himself from the crimes imputed to him, and entreating the remission of his sentence. Upon the rejection of his supplications, he entered Portugal in arms, and committed great ravages. The king marched in person to oppose him; but no very decided advantage was gained on either side. The queen-mother now interposed, and so effectually convinced her son of his injustice towards his illegitimate brother, and of the great merits of the latter, that she achieved the seemingly hopeless enterprise of reconciling the fraternal enemies.

Navarre was about this time again separated from France. Lewis Hutin, king of France, had, in 1305, inherited his mother Joanna's kingdom. At his death, in 1316, he left an infant daughter, and his queen pregnant. The child proving to be a male, succeeded to both kingdoms; but died in a few days. The two realms should now have been divided, Joanna II., Lewis Hutin's daughter, inheriting her grandmother's crown, although excluded by the Salic law from the throne of her paternal ancestors. But Philip the Long, who succeeded his brother, Lewis Hutin, as king of France, likewise assumed the title of king of Navarre, and his brother and successor, Charles the Fair, followed his example; whilst the lawful queen, a helpless infant, had no champion to assert her right against the usurpers, who were her uncles and natural guardians. In 1328, the death of Charles the Fair, without male issue, transferred the French crown to Philip of Valois—a collateral heir, totally unconnected with the blood of Navarre; when Joanna II. was acknowledged queen. She married Philip d'Evereux, a French prince, exchanged the county of Champagne with

the king of France for Angouleme and some other small domains lying nearer to Navarre, and repaired to that kingdom so long deprived of the presence of its sovereigns.

James II. of Aragon had during this time added the islands of Sardinia and Corsica to his dominions. He first obtained a grant of them from the Pope in vassalage, and then sent his second son, Don Alfonso, to reduce them. The *infante* took part of Sardinia from the Pisans, and forced them to do homage for the remainder and for Corsica. In 1324, upon the death of the childless Sancho, king of Majorca, who had succeeded to his father, James II. of that dependent kingdom, the king of Aragon attempted to seize upon his inheritance. But the remonstrances of his son Philip, an ecclesiastic, induced him to abandon his unjust design; and he placed James III., a son of King Sancho's younger brother, Ferdinand, upon the throne of Majorca, under the guardianship, during his minority, of his advocate Don Philip. Two years afterwards, James of Aragon died, and was succeeded by Alfonso IV.; his eldest son, Don James, having, with the consent of the *Cortes*, renounced his birthright, parted from his wife, and entered the Order of Knights of Calatrava.

Alfonso IV. took little part in the general politics of the Peninsula; and his internal government was disturbed by the quarrels of his eldest son, Don Pedro, with his step-mother, Leonora of Castile, and her children, towards whom the heir-apparent thought his father lavishly munificent. A treaty of marriage was negotiated for Don Pedro with Donna Joanna, the eldest daughter of the Queen of Navarre; but upon seeing the *infantas*, he preferred the second, Donna Maria, and was allowed to substitute one sister for the other.

Meanwhile Alfonso XI. of Castile and Leon was proceeding in the suppression of the disturbances that weakened his kingdom, by measures more consonant with the habits of those early times, than with the opinions and feelings of men accustomed to the blessings of regular government. Don John the Deformed, son and heir of that Don John who had given Queen Maria so much trouble during her first regency, and been her colleague in her second,

Navarre
from A.D.
1284—1328.

Aragon
from A.D.
1314—1337.

Castile
from A.D.
1328—1358.

was at the head of all the malecontents and outlaws in the kingdom. Finding him dangerously powerful, the young king lured him to court, by an offer of his sister Leonora's hand, and upon his arrival caused him to be assassinated in the royal apartments. The next day he summoned an assembly of men of all ranks within reach of the call, and appearing before them in person, justified his illegal violence, upon the plea that Don John was too strong for the law. He also caused Don Alvaro Nuñez de Osorio, long his favourite, but who had grossly abused his confidence, to be assassinated in the midst of the victim's own vassals and retainers. But these acts, however criminally arbitrary, appear to have originated rather in the difficulties of Alfonso's situation and the spirit of the age, which thought lightly of juridical forms, than in undue harshness or cruelty; as the king's conduct towards the turbulent and rebellious houses of Lara and Haro, was marked by judicious clemency. After completely subduing them, he restored their forfeited honours and estates, and the subsequent fidelity of those noble families well repaid his generous confidence.

Being now secure at home, Alfonso of Castile, in alliance with Alfonso of Portugal, whose daughter Maria he had married, vigorously attacked the king of Granada, who during the period of Castilian weakness had recovered Gibraltar. The king of Castile made various conquests in Andalusia, and then undertook the siege of Gibraltar. His hopes of re-capturing that important fortress, rested much upon his belief that Mohammed of Granada's resentment against the false friend, (Abul Hassan, king of Fez,) who, being admitted into the place as an ally, had artfully made himself its master, would induce him to view its fall with indifference. But the prayers of the Mussulman inhabitants prevailed over Mohammed's just indignation, and he advanced with a large army to their relief. Alfonso was obliged to raise the siege. He soon afterwards forfeited the king of Portugal's friendship, and involved himself in new troubles by his private misconduct. Having formed an illicit connexion with Donna Leonora de Guzman, he not only neglected, but ill-treated his queen, and thwarted the negotiation carrying on for the marriage of her brother, the *Infante* Pedro of Portugal, with his own kinswoman Constance,

to whom he had himself been affianced prior to his marriage with the Portuguese *infanta*; and who was the daughter of a powerful and turbulent Castilian prince.

Mohammed of Granada was ill rewarded for his placability towards the treacherous ally who had robbed him of Gibraltar. He had indulged in some artillery of the African generals who could not, without his aid, maintain their stolen fortress against the Christians; and they, in revenge, murdered their taunting deliverer. His brother Jusef Abul Hegig who succeeded him, a pacific and literary monarch, concluded a four years' truce with Alfonso, and occupied himself during its continuance in improving the government and general condition of his country.

At the expiration of the truce, the war was renewed; and Abul Hassan, of Fez, notwithstanding all past differences with the king of Granada, brought a large army over from Africa, to support his Mussulman brethren, and defend his own fortress of Gibraltar. In his passage he was attacked by the Castilian fleet, which he utterly defeated, landing his host in safety and triumph.

Alfonso XI. now saw himself exposed to such imminent danger, that he was obliged to look out for assistance. He withdrew his opposition to the marriage of his rejected kinswoman Constance, with Don Pedro of Portugal, and employed his injured queen to negotiate his reconciliation with her indignant father. The king of Portugal listened to his daughter's pleadings, forgave his son-in-law, and aided him with a powerful army. The king of Castile likewise concluded a treaty with the king and queen of Navarre, in consequence of which the former joined him in person at the head of their troops. Thus strengthened, Alfonso sought the enemy, and gained upon the banks of the Rio Salado one of those signal victories, which, however splendidly complete in themselves, appear imperfect to Spanish arrogance without the usual addition of a miraculous disproportion in the numbers of the slain. Upon this occasion 200,000 misbelievers are asserted to have been put to the sword, with a loss of only twenty Christians. The magnitude of the victory was better proved by the capture of Algeziras, defended by the Moors, it is said, with artillery, then

Granada
from A.D.
1333—1338.

Castile
from A.D.
1333—1350.

first mentioned in Spanish history. In the year 1350, Alfonso again laid siege to Gibraltar; but the plague broke out in his army, as he lay before the fortress, and the king himself was amongst its victims. His reign is unfavourably distinguished by the first imposition of the *Alcarala*, the most onerous and ruinous of Spanish taxes. It is a duty upon every sale, however trifling, and extending even to the necessities of life.

CHAPTER IX.

*Rebellions in Granada—Josef murdered—Mohammed V. dethroned—The usurper Ismael II. supplanted and murdered by Abu Said—Pedro IV. of Aragon dethrones James of Majorca and unites Majorca to Aragon—Civil wars in Aragon—Rebellions against Pedro the Cruel of Castile—Alfonso IV. of Portugal puts to death Inez de Castro, his son Pedro's wife or mistress—Pedro's fierce revenge—Abu Said of Granada murdered by Pedro of Castile—Henry of Transtamar dethrones Pedro and usurps the crown—The Black Prince restores Pedro—He is again dethroned, and assassinated by Henry, who, threatened by Portugal, Aragon, Granada, and Navarre, procures peace and friendship with all—Ferdinand of Portugal's levity—Charles II. of Navarre robbed of Champagne by the French.**

FOUR years after the last unsuccessful siege of Gibraltar by the Castilians, Josef of Granada was assassinated by a madman, and succeeded by his son Mohammed V., a mild and generous prince. Mohammed concluded a truce with Castile, confirmed the peace with Fez, and ruled in tranquillity. But he was not long permitted to enjoy the reward of his virtues. His brother-in-law Abu Said organized a conspiracy, the object of which was to place Mohammed's brother Ismael upon the throne. Nocturnal murderers sealed the palace

walls, and broke into its innermost recesses. The king only escaped their daggers by the address and presence of mind of one of his wives. Whilst the ruffians were plundering the state apartments, she disguised the monarch in the garb of a female slave, in which he made his way out of the palace. He fled to Guadix, which received, and remained faithful to him. Ismael II., who now wore the crown, was a feeble and voluptuous prince, in whose name Abu Said, as *hagib*, governed absolutely. Subordinate authority, however, did not long satisfy Abu Said. He soon aspired to the honours as well as the power of royalty, and found it far easier to excite a rebellion against Ismael, whom he had himself rendered unpopular, than against the amiable Mohammed. Ismael lost his life with his usurped crown, and Abu Said was king of Granada.

Previous to the events just narrated, Joanna II. of Navarre had left her throne to her son Charles II.;—Charles the Fair of France, ranking as the first of that name in Navarre. The early years of the new king's reign belong altogether to the history of France. His French domains gave him the right of interference, and he acted a leading part in all the cabals and civil commotions which distracted that unhappy country during the calamitous season consequent upon the victories of Edward III. of England. Amidst these general disorders, Charles was accused of committing great crimes; whence his odious surname of the Wicked. If he were guilty of such, he was duly punished. His accomplice, and perhaps his calumniator, the Dauphin, made his own peace with his father, John of France, by betraying Charles to his vengeance; and the king of Navarre was thrown into a prison, from which he was only released by a stratagem of his brother, Don Philip. He did not return to Navarre till the year 1362.

In Aragon Pedro IV. had ascended the throne, A.D. 1336, and by attempting to deprive his step-mother and her children of his father's gifts, involved himself in war with Castile. The dispute was at length settled by papal mediation; the queen-dowager and the *infantes* retained their grants, but without prejudice to the king's sovereignty. Pedro's next attack was upon James

Navarre
from A.D.
1328—1362.

Granada
from A.D.
1338—1361.

* The authorities principally relied upon in this chapter, are, Yllarite, Ferreras, Garibay, Conde, Da Costa, Mariés, La Cierde, *Universal Modern History*. *Collecção de Livros raros de Historia Portuguesa, publicadas de ordem da Academia de Sciencias de Lisboa*, 2 tom. fol. Lisbon, 1790, 1793, 1816—a collection of the old Chronicles which constitute the historical wealth of Portuguese literature. These are written by men who from their public employments had every opportunity of knowing facts.

Aragon
from A.D.
1337—1361.

III. of Majorca, who had done homage to the deceased king Alfonso, and married his daughter Constance. In revenge for some very trifling offence received from James, Pedro is said to have secretly instigated him to refuse the homage due to the king of France for his French provinces; then to have summoned him before the *Cortes* assembled at Barcelona, and accused him, amongst other transgressions, of having made war upon France without his permission. He next sent his brother, the *Infante* James, to Majorca, to fetch their sister, Queen Constance, away from her husband's palace. The indignant King James renounced his allegiance to Aragon; and his brother-in-law, pronouncing his dominions forfeited by such contumacy, invaded Majorca in person, and commissioned his brother to attack the French provinces. The Majorcans deserted their sovereign, who thereupon fled to France; when Pedro possessed himself of the island, and shortly afterwards of all his injured kinsman's French territories, with the solitary exception of Montpellier, which the despoiled king sold to France, for a sum of money to supply him with means to attempt recovering the rest of his heritage. In that attempt he was slain, and his son Don James taken prisoner. For years Don James, the younger, languished in an Aragonese prison; whence at length effecting his escape, he fled to Avignon, and there found a protector in the pope. In 1362, his personal advantages induced Queen Joanna I., of Naples, to marry him. He subsequently accompanied Edward the Black Prince upon his Castilian expedition, hoping thus to find some opportunity of regaining possession of his patrimonial kingdom. After various fruitless efforts, he died, A.D. 1375, without children, and bequeathed his claims to his friend and patron, the Duke of Anjou.

Pedro, immediately upon his conquest of the king of Majorca's dominions, solemnly reunited them to the crown of Aragon, never more to be dismembered.

Pedro had hitherto prospered in every enterprise, however unjust. He now encountered obloquy and rebellion for conduct perfectly lawful. His marriage with the *Infanta* of Navarre had produced only daughters; and the right of females to succeed having been established in Aragon by the reign of Queen Petronilla, from whom he himself derived his title, he endeavoured to obtain the

recognition of the eldest *Infanta*, Constance, as his heir. His brother, Don James, immediately prepared to oppose this measure, by organizing a confederacy of Aragonese nobles, under the name of the Union, a sort of legal insurrection. The Union compelled Pedro to convoke the *Cortes* at Saragossa; and in that assembly their superior influence constrained him not only to endure very violent language, including threats of personal outrage, but also to acknowledge Don James as his heir, in preference to his daughters, and to surrender various royal prerogatives. Against these concessions the king secretly protested; an act of meanness not to be excused, even by the justice of the cause for which he contended,—the maintenance of his daughter's rights.

The death of Don James, whom the king was accused of poisoning, produced little change, his half-brother, Don Ferdinand, taking his place with the Aragonese Union, and with a similar confederacy, subsequently formed in Valencia. After a long struggle, the king triumphed over both, and forthwith tore in pieces the charter granting the concessions extorted from him. Whether he could have carried his point with respect to his daughter's succession, however, remains doubtful, the question having been fortunately set aside by his second marriage with the *Infanta* Leonora of Portugal, who brought him two sons.

The throne of Leon and Castile was now occupied by Pedro the Cruel, another hateful surname, which some later writers, judging the unfortunate monarch who bore it more leniently, have endeavoured to transmute into *el Justiciero*, which means the severe judge. These writers assert that it was only to his inexorable severity in the dispensation of justice that Pedro of Castile owed the vituperative epithet. And it is to be remembered on his behalf that the historians who have loaded his memory with every kind of reproach lived under the sway of his triumphant and fratricidal rival, or of those who inherited the throne through that rival. Pedro was assuredly not destitute of good qualities; but even if we suppose, what is reasonable enough, that the troubles, which distracted the beginning of his reign, confirmed and heightened a natural severity of temper, if we allow that most of the executions he commanded were deserved, and re-

Castile
from A.D.
1250—1285.

ject all unproved accusations of secret murders, it must still be impossible wholly to acquit of cruelty a king whose reign abounded in imprisonment, exile, confiscation, and sentence of death to such an extent as did Pedro's. No resentment for the wrongs of his mother can excuse his putting to death his father's mistress, Leonora de Guzman. Whether his wife, Blanche de Bourbon, died naturally or by violence, is problematical. He is accused of having caused her to be poisoned. He certainly neglected, ill-used, and illegally divorced her; and finally imprisoned her, when she had irritated him by taking sanctuary in the Cathedral of Toledo, and publicly haranguing the people upon the injuries she had endured, and those she apprehended. In that captivity she died.

This treatment of the queen so displeased Pedro's mother, the queen-dowager, who had negotiated the marriage, that she joined with three sons of her murdered rival, Leonora de Guzman, Henry, Frederick, and Tello, in the rebellion they raised against the king.

The conduct of Queen Maria upon this occasion, if it tells against Pedro, seems to acquit her of the charge very generally brought against her, of having been the instigator, as well as the cause, of Leonora's death. This first rebellion Pedro easily suppressed, and one of its heads, Don Frederick, he executed; but Don Henry, count of Trastamar, and Don Tello, escaped, and fled, as did many of their adherents, taking refuge in different neighbouring kingdoms. The presence of those who were sheltered in Portugal is said to have been one of the proximate causes of a melancholy catastrophe in that kingdom, the details of which give to history the pathos and interest of romance.

Alonso of Portugal, after repulsing the Mussulman forces that invaded his province of Algarve, in revenge for the assistance he had given his Castilian son-in-law, at the battle of the Rio Salado, reigned many years in peace and prosperity. This period of happiness might have endured to the close of his life, had it not been interrupted by the above-mentioned catastrophe, originating in his own excessive severity; a temper of mind which so frequently characterizes the old age of those who, in youth, disregarded the restraints of moral principle.

The *Infante* Pedro, although he lived in perfect harmony with his wife Con-

stance, had conceived a violent passion for Iñez de Castro, the daughter of a noble Castilian, who had long before sought an asylum in Portugal. The attachment was mutual, but is said to have been strenuously resisted on both sides during the life of the princess, and kept at least within the bounds of personal chastity. Its symptoms could not, however, escape a wife's observation; and the excess of her jealousy is believed to have preyed upon the frame of Constance, and hastened her end. The king, who was as quick-sighted as his daughter-in-law, had early endeavoured to guard against the future possibility of so disproportionate a marriage, by inviting Donna Iñez to stand godmother to one of the *infante's* children; the spiritual connexion between the father and godmother of a child being, in the Church of Rome, a bar to wedlock, as insuperable as natural affinity. But when the princess's death removed every real obstacle, Don Pedro's passion set all fanciful impediments at defiance. He obtained ecclesiastical dispensation, and secretly married Iñez; but dread of his father's wrath induced him to conceal the lawful nature of their union, and submit to the imputations thus brought upon his wife's character. Iñez lived in profound seclusion at Coimbra, where she became the mother of four children, the *Infantes* Alfonso, John, and Dennis, and the *Infanta* Beatrice. When her countrymen fled to Portugal from the anger of Pedro the Cruel, she procured for them the prince's protection; and the populace, who always hated Castilians, and now saw these foreigners loaded with kindness, were provoked to virulent invectives against the Castilian mistress. The secret of the marriage seems to have been suspected at court; and some royal favourites, who, being at variance with the brothers of Donna Iñez, both envied and feared the influence they would be likely to enjoy when their sister should be queen, took this opportunity of working upon the old king's good qualities, to render him inveterate against his unfortunate daughter-in-law. They excited in his bosom fears for the safety of his eldest grandson Ferdinand, the child of Constance; fears for the continuance of peace with Castile; and alleged that the death of Iñez was indispensable to the public security. The queen warned her son of the impending storm; but he, deeming his father incapable of such barbarity, con-

Portugal
from A.D.
1330—1367.

sidered her warning as a stratagem to force his consent to some one of the many matrimonial proposals with which he had been persecuted ever since the death of Constance; and disregarded it accordingly. The enemies of Iñez now persuaded the king to take advantage of his son's casual absence upon a hunting excursion, to visit Coimbra in person, and there execute his cruel purpose. Iñez, terrified at so unexpected an intrusion into her retreat, prostrated herself with her infants at Alfonso's feet, and implored mercy for the mother of his grandchildren. The grandfather's feelings were touched, and he left her unharmed. But the arguments of his favourites, Gonsalves, Pacheco, and Coelho, who had attended him to Coimbra, taught him to despise his compassion as a weakness, and induced him to authorize them to perpetrate the crime they urged. The three courtiers hurried back, buried their daggers in the bosom of their defenceless victim, and rejoined their master with hands dyed in the blood of his daughter-in-law.

The grief and rage of Don Pedro when apprized of his loss, bordered upon madness, and exercised a fearful influence over much of his subsequent life. Revenge became his ruling passion, and it is difficult to condemn even the criminal excess of a resentment so just. The prince immediately revolted against his father, deluged one half of Portugal in blood, and was proceeding to devastate the other half, when his mother's interposition stayed his fury. He listened to her remonstrances upon the injustice of punishing the people for their sovereign's crime; and, laying down his arms, submitted to a reconciliation with his father. The king employed all means to appease his son, and divert his thoughts from the murdered Iñez. Her assassins he sent out of the country to secure them from future revenge, and trusted that the hapless wife was forgotten, when the widower formed an illicit connexion with a Galician lady named Theresa Lourenço. The lovers of romance maintain that Don Pedro took this mistress solely to avert his father's importunity for his marrying again. But without giving him perfect credit for a fidelity so strangely proved, his subsequent conduct showed that Iñez was any thing but forgotten.

In 1357 Alfonso IV. died; and this rebellious son and cruel father is de-

scribed by all Portuguese historians as an excellent king under whom the country flourished. Pedro of Portugal's first thought upon ascending the throne was vengeance for the murder of his wife. For this purpose his first step was to conclude a treaty with Pedro of Castile, in whose dominions the murderers resided, for the mutual restitution of fugitive offenders. Further to secure his grand object the king of Portugal agreed to the marriage of his three sons, Ferdinand, John, and Dennis, — Alfonso was dead — with three of the king of Castile's daughters by Maria de Padilla, a lady whom Pedro the Cruel loved with an unbounded passion, to which his ill treatment of his queen is attributed. The Castilian fugitives required in exchange for the murderers of Iñez, are said to have been innocent men, unjustly persecuted by Pedro the Cruel's hatred. The more favourable view taken of that monarch's character would render this improbable; but at all events the Portuguese Pedro's thirst of vengeance was too ardent to hesitate at almost any sacrifice that might insure its gratification. He obtained possession of only two of the objects of his hatred, Gonsalves and Coelho; Pacheco, having received an intimation of his danger, had escaped into Aragon. Pedro put his wife's assassins to death with tortures too horrible for description, and glutted his eyes with their sufferings. The next measure, prompted by his excessive and unalterable passion, if less morally objectionable, partakes more of insanity. After having solemnly sworn before the assembled *Cortes* that he had obtained a papal dispensation, and been lawfully married to Iñez de Castro, in the presence of the bishop Guarda, and his own chief equerry, both of whom confirmed his oath by theirs, he ordered her corse to be raised from the tomb, her coronation to be celebrated with every civil and religious rite, and her dead hand to be kissed by all who would have rendered that homage to the living queen, beginning with her stepson and his heir, the *Infante* Ferdinand. The remains of Iñez were then re-interred with appropriate honours in the royal sepulchre at Alcobça, whither, during his whole after life, Pedro was in the frequent habit of retiring, to indulge in meditation over the grave of his wife, and that destined for himself. The children of Iñez were of course

declared legitimate, and all her attendants were profusely rewarded.

Having thus in some degree vented the intensity of his agony, Pedro became very much humanised; and although the two surnames of the Cruel and the Justiciary have been awarded to him as well as to Pedro of Castile, his right to the last in preference to the first does not rest upon grounds so questionable, as in the case of his namesake and contemporary. Actual cruelty he seems never to have displayed, save in reference to the murder of *l'êz*. In his subsequent conduct, the unrelenting severity which characterised his rigid administration of the law, was regulated by such impartial justice, without exception of persons, that it does not appear to have excited dissatisfaction in his subjects, or in historians of his own times and country. His implacability was besides accompanied by an equally unbounded generosity. Not only was he munificent in his gifts and rewards, but, what was more felt and valued by the hulk of his people, he remitted taxes to a previously unexampled extent. The power of conferring benefits in two forms, to most princes incompatible, was the result of habitual frugality; for although upon necessary occasions Pedro exhibited the utmost magnificence, his ordinary mode of life was that of a private gentleman. He was accessible alike to high and low; and his foreign policy was wholly governed by the interests of Portugal. He quickly perceived how much his treaty with Castile tended to involve him in the hroils of that distracted country, and immediately proceeded to set it aside, sending home the Castilian bride affianced to Don Ferdinand, with her ample portion, upon the plea of his son's disinclination to the marriage; a measure highly gratifying to the Portuguese nation. Pedro of Portugal was the only peninsular king who kept clear of the civil wars of Castile.

Castile, during Pedro the Cruel's reign, was in fact a constant scene of hostilities, foreign or domestic. She was involved in the disorders and rebellions of Granada, supporting the lawful but dethroned king, Mohammed. And although that patriotic monarch issued to, have declined a support, the use of which must cost Granadan blood, the king of Castile waged war so successfully on his behalf, that the usurper,

Ahu Said, judged it advisable to repair in person to Seville, for the purpose of endeavouring to make peace. Pedro took the opportunity to serve his ally very effectually, though after a fashion which leaves an indelible blot upon his character. He received his Mussulman visitor courteously, and feasted him splendidly; but that very night, or the following morning, caused him to be massacred, with his whole train; mainly tempted, as his enemies averred, by the immense value of their dress, and horse trappings. Mohammed V. immediately recovered his crown, and his second reign was undisturbed by aught, save that interference in the Castilian troubles to which gratitude to Pedro impelled him.

The civil commotions menacing Pedro were not long suspended. His cruelty produced general disaffection; and he made the two powerful families of Castro and Haro his especial and bitter enemies, by conduct that appears altogether unaccountable. Notwithstanding his passion for Maria de Padilla, he had no sooner divorced Queen Blanche, than he married Donna Joanna de Castro, the widow of Don Diego de Haro; and shortly afterwards, without alleging any reason whatever, divorced her in her turn; when he married his mistress. Henry of Transtamar, who had been sheltered in France, taking advantage of a state of affairs so favourable to his ambitious views, raised a strong body of mercenary adventurers, obtained the renowned French warrior, Bertrand du Guesclin, as their leader, and invaded Castile, where he was joined by numbers of malecontents. Pedro was speedily overpowered; and whilst Henry was proclaimed king by his adherents, and crowned at Burgos, the discomfited and dethroned monarch fled to Bourdeaux, at that time the capital of the English dominions in France. There Edward the Black Prince held his court; and Pedro of Castile implored his aid. The chivalrous spirit of the British hero was touched by the sight of a fugitive and suppliant king, however faulty, expelled from his hereditary realms by a base horn brother; and he agreed to escort Pedro back to his dominions at the head of 30,000 men.

Henry meanwhile was active in preparations to maintain his usurped kingdom. He purchased the alliance of

Castile
from A. D.
1195—1260.

Granada
from A. D.
1361—1391.

Pedro of Aragon, by a promise of ceding Murcia to him; and that of

Navarre
from A.D.
1292—1297.

Charles of Navarre, who undertook to guard the passes of the Pyrenees against the invaders, for a sum of money.

Pedro, on the other hand, offered Charles the towns of Vitoria and Logroño as the price of a free passage; and the king of Navarre managed to earn both bribes. He hired Oliver de Manny, a cousin of du Guesclin's, to surprise and make him, the king of Navarre, a prisoner: thus rendering apparently impossible the execution of his engagement to defend the Pyrenean passes. When his purpose was answered, that is to say, when Edward and Pedro had crossed the mountains and traversed Navarre, Charles desired to be released; but his captor demanded an exorbitant ransom in addition to the sum agreed upon, as the price of the job. Charles assented without making the least difficulty; left his son in pawn in the castle of Borja, where he had himself been confined, and took de Manny with him to Tudela, under colour of there paying him. At Tudela, instead of submitting to the attempted extortion, he put de Manny to death; and with the help of the king of Aragon, who was anxious to preserve his friendship, he constrained the garrison of the castle of Borja to deliver up his son.

Meanwhile the Black Prince and his protégé had derived from the king of Navarre's strange artifice all the advantage they desired, and reached

Castile
from A.D.
1296—1299.

Castile unimpeded. Henry encountered them at the head of 100,000 men, all new levies, except the French bands; and, against the advice of du Guesclin, gave battle near Najera. The French troops were chiefly former followers of the Black Prince in his French wars, disbanded since the peace; and at sight of the commander under whom they were accustomed to conquer, deserting their new leaders, they joined Edward's ranks. The superiority of number was still however on the side of Henry; but his raw host was easily defeated by the smaller army of veterans. Du Guesclin was made prisoner; Henry again fled to France; and Pedro was again sovereign of Leon and Castile.

The influence of the Black Prince is said to have moderated Pedro's resentment against the subjects who had forsaken or opposed him. But Edward,

ere long, led back his troops to Bourdeaux, having contracted, during an arduous campaign in a hot climate, the malady that prematurely ended his glorious career; when Pedro, released from the beneficial control of a man so truly great as his English protector, pursued the friends of Henry with a relentless vengeance that once more provoked insurrection. His fugitive rival, who was traversing Europe in search of assistance, having obtained from pope Urban V. an unaccountable declaration of his legitimacy, and from Charles V. of France a sum of money, with which he ransomed du Guesclin, and raised fresh troops, now again invaded Castile, taking his way through Catalonia and Aragon. The disaffected, in numbers larger than before, flocked to his standard. The hostile brothers fought with troops less different in quality than upon the former occasion, and du Guesclin's abilities, no longer opposed by those of an antagonist, his equal, if not his superior, insured the victory to Henry. Pedro took refuge in Montiel, where he was besieged. He attempted to purchase from du Guesclin a free passage through his quarters. To lure him from his strong-hold, the French knight accepted his offer; and, receiving the confiding king in person, betrayed him to Henry, who instantly plunged his sword into the heart of his now defenceless brother.

The conqueror was thus, in the year 1369, a second time seated upon the throne of Leon and Castile, as Henry II.; and he gained the affections of his subjects by the affability of his manners, and a liberality so profuse, that his grants were long afterwards distinguished by his name as *Henriquenas*, and that he himself, in his last will, thought fit to endeavour partially to revoke or limit them. But whatever his conduct might have been, it was impossible that a kingdom held in such direct contravention of all law should be held in peace. Enemies and pretenders to the crown arose on all sides.

Ferdinand king of Portugal, who two years before had succeeded to his father, had at first supported the count of Transtamar in his opposition to a tyrannical king; but, upon the murder

Portugal
from A.D.
1267—1299.

of the latter, he declared vehemently against the fratricide, and laid claim to the crown for himself in right of his grandmother Beatrice, the daughter of

Sancho the Erave. In prosecution of these pretensions he coined money bearing the arms of Castile, invited the partizans of Pedro to his court, surrounding himself with Castilian malecontents,—betwixt whom and the Portuguese, to the great dissatisfaction of the latter, he affected to make no distinction,—and sought the alliance of the kings of Aragon and Granada, asking in marriage the *Infanta* Leonora, daughter to the former. He entered Galicia at the head of a small army, took several places, and committed great ravages.

John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, was another pretender to the crown, which he claimed, more plausibly, in right of his second wife, Constance, Pedro's eldest daughter by Maria de Padilla. It is to be observed that, at the early period in question, the niceties of law opposed but feeble barriers to a monarch's will, when none were particularly interested in supporting its rules; and that extraordinary facilities were afforded to the subsequent legitimization of the offspring of guilty connexions. Pedro's marriage with Maria de Padilla seems to have been legal. He was never properly divorced from Blanche de Bourbon: consequently his marriage with Joanna de Castro, contracted in the life-time of his first wife, was absolutely invalid; and the informality of his divorce from a lady who never was legally his wife, could be no bar, after the death of Blanche, to his espousing Maria. But Pedro had not rested the claims of her children upon such legitimization. Whether conformably or not to truth, he solemnly declared, that he had been married to Donna Maria prior to his marriage with Blanche, and that she had thus been his only lawful wife. And upon this declaration he caused her son, Don Alfonso, who died soon afterwards, to be acknowledged as his heir.

The younger children of Pedro and Maria were defended against Henry in Carmona. The kings of Aragon and Navarre began hostilities to enforce their respective pretensions to Murcia, and to the towns of Vitoria and Logroño; and the king of Granada invaded Andalusia to avenge the murder of an ally whom he had constantly supported. Henry proved himself worthy of the station he had usurped, by the resolution and ability with which he made head against this multitude of foes.

He first turned his arms against Portugal; and entering that kingdom with a powerful army, captured the towns of Braganza and Braga, and committed such ravages as constrained Ferdinand to evacuate Galicia, and hurry home to defend his own dominions. Henry was, in his turn, recalled from invading another's kingdom to defend his own against the Moors. With Mohammed of Granada, however, he soon found means to negotiate a long truce, which left the Mussulman sovereign at liberty to devote himself wholly to the occupation he preferred—that of promoting the internal prosperity of his realm.

Ferdinand, during the continuance of this diversion, diligently increased his preparations for carrying on the war with vigour, and sent a large sum of money to the king of Aragon, to defray the expenses both of that monarch's co-operation, and of conveying the *Infanta*, Ferdinand's affianced bride, to Portugal. But in the midst of these energetic measures, the king of Portugal suddenly gave ear to pacific overtures from Henry, and finally made peace with him—one condition being Ferdinand's marriage with the *Infanta*, Leonora of Castile, who was to bring him several towns for her portion. Pedro of Aragon kept Ferdinand's money in compensation for the insult offered to his daughter, and for the desertion of his alliance. The sum is said to have been large enough, to embarrass the Portuguese finances, and occasion a tampering with the coin of the realm, which was one of the causes of the disorders of Ferdinand's reign.

The peace between Castile and Portugal was not long-lived. The royal nuptials had already been celebrated by proxy, when Ferdinand, who was characterised by a levity, the very reverse of his father's disposition, fell in love with a third Leonora, daughter to Don Martin Alfonso Telles and wife to Don John Lourenço da Cunha. He first disclosed his passion to the sister of his object, Donna Maria Telles, lady of honour to his own sister, the *Infanta* Beatrice. Donna Maria remonstrated against an attachment incompatible with the king's or her sister's honour—the one being engaged, the other actually married. The king and the lady equally disregarded such representations. A divorce was procured, upon the plea of relationship between Donna Leonora

Castile
from A.D.
1369—1379.

Portugal
from A.D.
1369—1373.

and her husband, who made no effort to retain a wife so desirous of leaving him; and the Portuguese monarch informed the king of Castile, with many apologies, that the sudden entanglement of his affections prevented the fulfilment of his contract with the *Infanta*, but that he was ready to observe the treaty in every other respect. Henry replied, that he was at no loss to find husbands for his daughters, and the king of Portugal, provided he executed the rest of the treaty, might marry whomsoever he pleased. The new queen of Portugal, nevertheless, always regarded her rival's father as her personal enemy, and laboured to re-kindle the war between the two kingdoms. An alliance was speedily concluded with the duke of Lancaster, to whose claims Ferdinand was now willing to postpone his own. In consequence of this alliance, Ferdinand again invaded Castile; but was so thoroughly routed by Henry's superior force, ere his English ally could arrive, that he was glad to accept the papal nuncio's offer of mediation, and conclude a peace, with the double marriage of Henry's brother, Don Sancho, to Ferdinand's sister, the *Infanta* Beatrice, and of the natural son of one king to the natural daughter of the other.

During the first brief interval of peace with Portugal, Henry had besieged Carmona, reduced it by famine, and thus obtained possession of his predecessor's younger children. His differences with Aragon and Navarre were settled by negotiation, and by marriage, which seems to have been his favourite means of conciliation. The king of Aragon renounced his pretensions to Murcia, in consideration of securing to his daughter Leonora, the first rejected bride of the king of Portugal, the Castilian throne, by her union with Don John, Henry's eldest son and heir; and Charles of Navarre sold his claims upon Vitoria and Logroño for a good price in money, in addition to a large wedding portion with Ferdinand's second rejected bride, the Castilian Leonora, who married Prince Charles, his eldest son and heir. The duke of Lancaster, seeing himself deprived of all peninsular allies, took no active step to advance his wife's title to the kingdom in Henry's life-time.

Thus at peace with all his neighbours, and secure at home from competitors for his crown, Henry proceeded

to allay the disorders created by long continued civil war. This he happily effected, and raised his kingdom to a high state of prosperity. He assisted France in all her wars with England, either through gratitude to Charles V., or, in order to prevent, by occupying the English forces in France, Edward III.'s active interference in behalf of his daughter-in-law, the duchess of Lancaster; and he observed a strict neutrality in the great schism which then divided the church throughout Europe between the rival Popes, Urban VI. and Clement VII., notwithstanding the efforts of the French king to induce him to declare for Clement, who had established his court at Avignon. Henry died A.D. 1379.

Under Henry II. the Jews first began to be really oppressed in Spain. They had indeed undergone a brief persecution during the minority of Alfonso XI.; but that king himself restored their privileges, and prohibited his tribunals from granting to Christian debtors protection against their Jewish creditors; such an exemption from paying of debts being one great incentive to persecution. But in the contest between Pedro and Henry, the Jews had sided with the former; and in consequence their favour, as doing them justice was called, ceased, though they were still occasionally employed as financiers.

Pedro of Aragon, after his daughter's marriage to the Castilian heir-apparent, remained at peace with his Spanish neighbours; but not in perfect tranquillity. His kingdom of Sardinia was a constant source of trouble to him; it involved him in disputes with the Popes, and he could never effectually subdue the independent temper of the natives. Upon the death of the king of Sicily, leaving only a daughter, although that island had been brought into the Aragonese family by an heiress, his grandmother, Queen Constance, Pedro laid claim to it as a male fief. The Pope, as lord paramount, asserted the right of the young Queen Maria; but Pedro seized upon her person by stratagem, and, carrying her off to Aragon, occupied her kingdom. His temper, always tyrannical, grew more oppressive as he advanced in years; and when, in 1386, he died, at the age of 75, his decease excited universal joy throughout his dominions. He also bears the surname of the Cruel; and it is a somewhat

Castile
from A.D.
1379—1379.

Aragon
from A.D.
1351—1386.

curious coincidence, that three contemporary King Pedro's should all be thus obviously characterized.

The last, like the earliest, concerns of Charles of Navarre, were French. He had married a daughter of King John of France, and at his return to Navarre, had left her in her native country, with their younger children. Upon his queen's death, he sent his eldest son to bring home the rest of his family. Charles V. of France seized the prince, threw him into prison, and executed his attendants, upon a strange allegation that they were employed by his former friend and accomplice, the king of Navarre, to poison him, the French monarch. In further punishment of this imputed, but altogether unproved crime, Charles took possession of the French provinces appertaining to Navarre: his coveting of which was probably the sole ground of the accusation. In truth, the two royal Charleses were well matched in craft, although, in their power to support their respective artifices, there could be no comparison. The prince of Navarre was at length released, at the earnest intercession of his brother-in-law, John of Castile; but the French provinces were never restored. The king of Navarre died of leprosy in 1387.

CHAPTER X.

Negotiations for the marriage of Beatrice, Ferdinand of Portugal's heiress—Duchess of Lancaster claims Castile—Beatrice marries John of Castile—Ferdinand's death—Portuguese refuse to acknowledge John's sovereignty—War with Castile, and Civil War—The Master of Avis proclaimed king, as John I.—Invades Castile with the Duke of Lancaster—Duchess's claim compromised, her daughter marrying John of Castile's son—Aragon occupied with Italian affairs—Henry III. involved in wars with Portugal and Granada—Peace restored—Disorders in Granada—The Usurper Mohammed VI. renounces the war—The Infante Don Ferdinand, regent for John II. of Castile, defeats him, and concludes a truce—Sicily re-united to Aragon—Martin of Aragon dies without children—Disputes concerning the Succession—Civil War—Infante Don Ferdinand of Castile king of Aragon—His son Alfonso V. adopted by Joanna II. of Naples—

*Engrossed by Italian politics—Conquers Naples—Marriage of Infante Don John of Aragon with Blanche, heiress of Navarre.**

PORTUGAL, since the final peace with Henry, was occupied entirely with two objects—namely, the marriage of the Infanta Beatrice, King Ferdinand's only child, and the conciliating to Queen Leonora the good will of a nation that had been incensed even to rebellion by her marriage. Her address and blandishments seemed likely to effect this last object, had they not been counteracted by her crimes. The king's brother, Don John, fell in love with her sister, Donna Maria Telles, the widow of Don Alvaro Dias de Sousa, and married her. The queen, who had never forgiven her sister's opposition to her own nuptials, looked upon her present elevation as a species of rivalry. She persuaded her weak brother-in-law that, were he not shackled with a wife, who, as she averred, dishonoured him, she would bring about his union with his niece Beatrice,† and thus secure the succession to him. At her instigation he murdered his wife, and fled to Castile;—when the queen affected deep regret for her sister, and soon convinced her dupe that she had no intention of rewarding his crime with her daughter's hand. The general horror excited by the share she was pretty well known to have had in this nefarious transaction, was not lessened by the prevalent belief that an illicit attachment subsisted between her and a Castilian nobleman, whom she had raised high in the king's favour, and for whom she had obtained the title of Count of Ourem. Her royal consort seems to have been the only person in the kingdom who still entertained any respect for the queen.

* The authorities principally relied upon in this chapter are Yrizar, Ferrazas, Garibay, Cosde, Da Costa, La Ciede, Maria, Universal Modern History, Collecção de Livros raros da Bibliotheca Portugueza, Cronica del Rey Don Joao de gloriosa Memoria, I. deste nome, e dos Reis de Portugal o X., e os dos Reis D. Duarte e D. Affonso V. Tirados a luz por ordem de D. Rodrigo Da Cunha Arcebispo de Lisboa, fol. Lisboa, 1643; these chronicles are of the same character as those before mentioned.

† It is to be remembered, that the Church of Rome, which prohibits marriage between distant cousins, assumes the right of dispensing not only with such prohibitions, but even with those which may be termed the prohibitions of nature, and of sanctioning the matrimonial alliance of persons so nearly related as to render their marriage revolting to the common feelings of mankind.

The schemes for the young heiress's marriage, with the single exception of the queen's fallacious proposition to Don John, referred altogether to foreign connexions, in utter contempt of the fundamental law of the kingdom excluding from the succession princesses married to foreigners. During the life of Henry of Castile, a proposal was entertained for the *Infanta's* union with an illegitimate son of his, which, however degrading, might have answered the purpose of a security against Portugal's merging in a foreign state. But upon the accession of John I., the hand of Beatrice was offered him for his eldest son Henry, with the express intention of effecting the union of the two crowns; the conditions being, that if the wedded pair had no children, the survivor should inherit both kingdoms. These terms were approved by the *Cortes* of both Portugal and Castile; and the treaty was only broken off by the caprice of Queen Leonora. She prevailed upon Ferdinand to retract the consent he had given, renew his alliance with the Duke of Lancaster, and support the duchess's claim to Castile.

The immediate consequence of this change of policy was the invasion of Portugal by the forces of Castile. John's army took Almeida; his fleet defeated the Portuguese fleet, capturing twenty vessels; and Ferdinand was nearly overpowered when an English fleet arrived to his relief. It was commanded by the earl of Cambridge, a younger brother of the duke of Lancaster, who had married a younger sister of the duchess Constance. John of Castile found, to his no small mortification, that his troops thought too highly of the duchess of Lancaster's title, to be trusted in battle against her champions; and he retreated from Portugal, limiting his further efforts to the defence of his own dominions. Ferdinand, overjoyed at this seasonable deliverance, and charmed with his useful English allies, concluded a matrimonial treaty for his heiress, with the infant son of the earl of Cambridge. But no reliance could be placed in engagements contracted with Ferdinand. Dissensions arose between these fast friends, and the king of Portugal proposed to the king of Castile to make peace, send home the English, and renew the matrimonial projects, substituting John's second, to his eldest son, in order to avoid the previously designed union of

the two crowns. John gladly assented; but ere the negotiation was concluded, his queen died, and as both his sons were still children, he now asked the *Infanta's* hand for himself, with the proviso that the issue of the marriage should inherit her crown only, and in no event become kings of Castile.

This was of all proposals the most agreeable to the queen of Portugal, who saw her husband rapidly declining, and hoped to govern as regent for her absent daughter. Every thing was therefore arranged with the utmost dispatch, and attended by her favourite, the count of Ourem, the queen conducted her daughter to her wedding. Her absence afforded an opportunity that was not neglected, of representing her misconduct to the king. The chief spokesman was his illegitimate brother, Don John, King Pedro's son by Theresa Lourenço, appointed by his father grand master of the Portuguese order of knights of Avis. Don John had frequently censured the queen's familiarity with the count of Ourem, and she had in consequence attempted his life. He now prevailed upon Ferdinand to order the death, or, in plain English, to sanction the murder, of the obnoxious foreigner. Ere the purpose was executed, Ferdinand died, in October 1383.

The master of Avis immediately invited the king of Castile to take possession of his queen's inheritance, at the same time soliciting the regency for himself. His request was slighted in a manner that offended and alarmed him, although he could hardly expect it should be granted, inasmuch as both the marriage articles, and the late king's will, appointed the queen dowager regent. It was her that, in conformity with both documents, the king of Castile commissioned to proclaim Beatrice queen. She was so proclaimed; but in Lisbon, (at the instigation, it is said, of an old woman,) and some other places, the proclamation was interrupted by cries of 'God save our lawful King, Don John, the son of King Pedro and Iñez de Castro!' These demonstrations of preference deprived their object of all chance of obtaining what, by the laws of Lamego, was certainly his right. Don John was at the time resident in Castile, where he had remained ever since the murder of his wife, and King John instantly seized and imprisoned him.

All was now confusion in Portugal; and equal confusion still prevails in the

history of this period. The real course of affairs and the intentions of some of the parties are lost in the maze of intrigue that ensued. The queen mother, regent for her daughter, called upon the council to assist her in repulsing that daughter's husband, whom she denounced as about to invade the kingdom; and proposed to intrust the command of the threatened frontier provinces to her avowed enemy the master of Avis. This seems to have been merely a device for removing her rival from court, and to have momentarily succeeded. Don John accepted the offered command, and departed to assume it. But he shortly returned to Lisbon; where, in conjunction with the Chancellor, with others of the ministers, and with the queen's brother, he slew the count of Ourem, with his own hand, in the palace, and almost in the presence of the queen. Terrified as well as enraged, she inquired whether she also must prepare for death, and was assured that she had nothing to fear. In fact the assassins or executioners were far from secure of their own safety, and uncertain which party the people would favour. They closed the palace gates, and the Chancellor traversed Lisbon in all directions, announcing that the master of Avis was imprisoned in the palace, in danger of his life, and inviting the people to arm for his defence. The alacrity with which the call was obeyed, satisfied the conspirators as to the inclination of the public. The palace gates were thrown open, the master of Avis came forth, and repaired to a friend's house escorted by a mob, eager to guard him against supposititious perils.

This scene was followed by an apparent reconciliation betwixt the queen and her brother-in-law. But a proposal to confirm it by their marriage, and to govern jointly as regents until Beatrice should have a son of age to assume their office, the queen preemptorily rejected, and applied to her son-in-law for aid.

In Lisbon the master of Avis was now proclaimed regent and protector of the kingdom, whilst the king and queen of Castile passed the frontiers at the head of a powerful army, and were joined by the queen dowager at Santarem. But however united in interest were the mother and son-in-law, their amity was of short duration; and King John moreover offended the nobles, who had embraced his cause, by the arro-

gance of his deportment, and by an assumption of the title of king of Portugal in his own person. The regent, whilst his enemies were thus promoting his ambitious views by their imprudence and dissensions, was conducting himself with consummate skill. He hourly increased the numbers of his partizans, and inflamed the popular rage against the Castilians, by detailing and exaggerating their incroachments, and talking, in the strain of an old Roman, of the laws and independence of his country. The queen dowager, whose wrath seems always to have blazed fiercest against those present, was by this time more incensed against her daughter's husband, than against the assassin of her paramour. She opened a fresh treaty of reconciliation with the master of Avis, and offered her hand to the Count of Transamar, a relation of King John's, upon condition of his murdering his kinsman, her son-in-law. The plot was betrayed by an accomplice; the queen dowager was sent prisoner to Castile, and one principal intriguer thus removed from the scene of action.

The king of Castile now proceeded against the master of Avis as a rebel. Their troops met, and the king was defeated in a pitched battle; but was able nevertheless soon afterwards to besiege the regent in Lisbon. That town was inadequately garrisoned and provisioned; but, encouraged by Don John's presence, and by the great exertions which his friends throughout the kingdom were making for its relief, it resisted gallantly; and despite great suffering from privations, defended itself until an epidemic broke out in the besieging camp, which compelled John to raise the siege.

The Castilian monarch now endeavoured to get rid of the regent by assassination. He offered the count of Transamar a free pardon for the crime projected against himself, in consideration of his perpetrating a similar one upon the person of his rival. Transamar closed with the offer, and sought accomplices. Amongst others he invited Count Gonsalo Telles, the queen dowager's brother, to join in the attempt. Upon this nobleman, the regent had bestowed ample domains, and he is said by some writers to have revealed the plot to him against whom it was directed; whilst others affirm that it was discovered by mere accident. Most of the conspirators effected their escape; but one of them, Garcia Gon-

salves de Valdez, was seized and burnt alive. In retaliation for this execution, one of his confederates, named Duque, who had secured himself in Torres Vedras, of which he was governor, cut off the noses of six Portuguese prisoners, whom he sent, thus mutilated, to the regent. In the first emotion of anger, Don John ordered six Castilian prisoners to be similarly mangled; but before the messenger could leave his presence, stopped him, saying, 'I have sufficiently vented my indignation by issuing such orders; to execute them were disgraceful. Do not hurt the Castilians.' This is esteemed one of the noblest passages of the master of Avis's life, and touched even his adversaries with admiration. Prisoners were thenceforward treated with more humanity.

The nation was by this time thoroughly weary of the disorders incident to such civil contests, and the *Cortes* assembled to investigate and decide upon the right of succession. They determined that Beatrice queen of Castile was the lawful heiress; but that her husband's assumption of the title of king of Portugal, in violation of the marriage-contract, had forfeited her right. The Chancellor then proposed the master of Avis, already chosen regent by the people. Vasco da Cunha, a highly respected nobleman, objected that the *Infante* Don John, King Pedro's legitimate son by Iñez de Castro, was next in succession to Beatrice, and that his captivity could not possibly rob him of his right. The Chancellor's answer turned mainly upon the *Infante*'s hopeless imprisonment, and the number of pretenders to the crown, which, as he asserted, authorized the nation to select from amongst them, whomsoever they should prefer. This sophistical argument had probably less weight with the assembly than the skilful address of the master himself, who, professing his own unfitness for royalty, offered to acknowledge his brother the *Infante* as king; to govern for him as regent, and deliver up the authority to him as soon as his liberation from his Castilian prison should be effected. This apparent disinterestedness gained all suffrages to the speaker's real wishes; and upon the 6th of April 1385, the master of Avis was proclaimed king by the title of John I.; or it should rather be said, was elected, as his undisputed illegitimacy could allow him no shadow of hereditary right.

The new king was only twenty-eight years of age, and possessed qualities well calculated to justify the exaltation he had somewhat unjustly and fraudulently attained. His disregard of his brother's undeniable right, the dissimulation with which he seduced others to concur in that disregard, and the death of the count of Ourem, are the only blots in his otherwise admirable life; and these are altogether overlooked by the Portuguese in their grateful admiration of his merits as a sovereign. He ruled wisely and prosperously. He pardoned all his enemies, averring that clemency best consolidated new governments; and readily confirmed many laws passed by the *Cortes*, rejecting only one, by which the freedom of choice in marriage, enjoyed by all his subjects, was denied to him.

John and Beatrice of Castile did not of course recognize the right of election assumed by the Portuguese *Cortes*, and still prosecuted their claim to the throne. The fortune of war for some time fluctuated; and John of Portugal was so inferior in power to his competitor, that he would fain have delayed any decisive engagement until the arrival of the duke of Lancaster, whom he had strenuously urged to take this opportunity of renewing his endeavours to establish his wife's right to the kingdoms of her forefathers; and whom he was daily expecting with a considerable army. He found himself however under the necessity of giving battle, before he received this accession of strength; and he successfully exerted himself to counterbalance his disparity of numbers, by exciting the spirits and confidence of his troops. For this purpose he so artfully disseminated rumours of the sickly and distressed condition of the enemy, that he instigated his own army to force him to the battle he had predetermined to fight. He gained a complete victory. The duke of Lancaster soon afterwards landed with his English troops; Portugal was cleared of enemies, and the allies prepared to invade Castile. John of Gaunt was accompanied by his family; and King John married Philippa, his eldest daughter by his first wife, Blanche, heiress of Lancaster.

The invasion of Castile was less successful than the defence of Portugal. The English troops suffered so much from the heat of the climate, that the duke of Lancaster was glad to lead

Castile
from A.D.
1379—1380.

them back to the English dominions in France. Sufficient impression had however been made upon Castile to induce a desire of peace, and a compromise was the consequence. Constance of Lancaster renounced her pretensions to the crown, in consideration of her only daughter Catherine's marriage with Don Henry, John's eldest son; to whom, upon his nuptials, was assigned the title of prince of Asturias, borne ever since by the heir apparent, first of the Castilian, and subsequently of the Spanish monarchy. A truce was at the same time concluded between Castile and Portugal, leaving the title to the latter kingdom undecided. Upon the death of John of Castile without children by Beatrice, this truce became a peace, King John of Portugal being readily acknowledged. Castile had now no interest in the title of Beatrice, who, when the lawful impediment to her succession as lineal heiress was removed, had no longer a champion to assert her right.

The most important act of John of Castile's domestic administration was the new modelling the council of Castile, which he limited to the number of twelve; viz. four nobles, four prelates, and four *letrados*, literati, or lawyers; these last being commoners; now first admitted to such high office. John died in 1390, of a fall from his horse.

During this period Aragon had been wholly occupied with its internal and Italian affairs. John I. though a mild prince, was almost as much harassed with rebellion as his tyrannical father had been. The chief grievance complained of by his Aragonese subjects was of a very whimsical kind. His queen was warmly attached to a lady named Donna Caraza Vilaragut, who excelled as a poet and musician; and her Majesty, delighting in her favourite's talents, had established at court academies of poetry and music. These were considered as Mahometan abominations, and provoked such bitter wrath among the Aragonese, as actually to produce insurrection; and the king was in the end forced to prohibit his queen's elegant amusements, and to banish her talented friend. The usual troubles prevailed in Sardinia, which he at length pacified, by conciliating Donna Eleanora di Arborea, the heiress of the principal turbulent chieftain of that island. In 1391, he married his nephew Don Martin

the younger, by papal dispensation, to his kinswoman Queen Maria of Sicily, and sent the newly wedded pair home to the bride's kingdom, with his brother, Don Martin the elder, the bridegroom's father, to direct their councils. John had only two daughters, Joanna, married to the count of Foix, and Violante, to the duke of Anjou. Upon his death in 1394, he bequeathed his kingdom to his brother, wholly disregarding his daughter's pretensions. The *Cortes* confirmed the deceased monarch's will, and committed the government during Martin's absence in Sicily, to his consort, who successfully repulsed the countess of Foix's attempt to recover what she deemed her lawful birthright. King Martin afterwards negotiated with both his nieces, and purchased of them the surrender of their claims.

In Castile, the new king, Henry III., was only eleven years old; and the factions of the various pretenders to the regency, as usual, filled the kingdom with disorder. Henry put an end to them, by assuming the administration in person at the age of thirteen. He possessed strong intellect, and an energetic character, although of a very delicate frame; and even at so early an age he displayed the qualities of a great king. His reign was rather useful than brilliant, as might be expected under a monarch who habitually professed himself more afraid of the curses of his subjects, than of the swords of his enemies.

He speedily suppressed all internal disturbances, and sent home his aunt, Leonora, queen of Navarre, who had forsaken the simple and unostentatious court of her husband, to participate in the gaieties, the splendour, and the political intrigues, of her brother King John's. By the exemplary frugality with which Henry renounced the pomp of royalty, reducing his household to the scale of a private gentleman's, and by the firmness with which he repressed the encroachments of the courtiers, accustomed to enrich themselves at the expense of king and public, he replenished the treasury, drained by the calamitous wars of his father, and the profusion of his grandfather. He endeavoured to preserve peace with all his neighbours; but in this he was occasionally disappointed. A war broke out with Portugal; and Dennis, the youngest son of Pedro and Iſez de Castro, invaded that kingdom, supported by a Castilian

Aragon
from A.D.
1366—1390.

Castile
from A.D.
1390—1406.

army. He found many adherents who proclaimed him king; but John's power was by this time too firmly established to be shaken, even by rightful claims, aided by the interest which the sad fate of the mother shed over her son. Don Dennis was repulsed, and the war languished.

The first war that had occurred with Granada was equally contrary to the wishes of both kings. Josef II. had, in 1391, succeeded his father, Mohammed V. whose example he followed, endeavouring rather to make his people happy, than to enlarge his dominions. But the nation was less wise than the sovereign. Rendered insolent by the peace and prosperity they had so long enjoyed, the Moors inveighed against Josef for the amicable relations he maintained with Henry. Their bigotry was stimulated by his youngest son, Mohammed, who employed it as the instrument of his ambition. At the head of the discontented, he besieged his father in his palace, and was upon the point of obtaining Josef's abdication in his own favour, when the interposition of the ambassador of Fez rescued the king from his rebellious son, at the expense of violating the faith of treaties. The ambassador persuaded the insurgents to turn their fury against the unbelievers, rather than against their sovereign; and, immediately abandoning Mohammed, the Granadans implored Josef's pardon, and his consent to lead them against the Christians. Josef yielded to necessity, and invaded Murcia.—Henry was assisted to defend it by Charles III. of Navarre; and want of success presently cooled the martial ardour of the Moors. They willingly retreated to their own territories; and Josef's explanation of the constraint under which he had acted, produced the renewal of a truce, equally desired by both parties.

Josef died in 1396; and Mohammed instantly seized upon the sovereign authority, throwing his elder brother Josef, the right heir, into prison. Mohammed VI. immediately renewed the war with Castile, and began it by surprising Ayamonte.

Henry's death left the care of avenging this aggression to his successor. Under Henry, the contests with the popes respecting church patronage, which had subsisted ever since Alfonso

X.'s alteration of the old Gothic law upon the subject, reached their height. The kingdom rang with complaints of the intrusion of Italians into every benefice and ecclesiastical dignity; and the *Cortes*, to remedy the evil, passed a law declaring foreigners incapable of holding any church preferment in the realm.

John II. was a babe in arms at the death of Henry III.; and the *Cortes*, dreading the prospect of a long regency, offered the crown to Don Ferdinand, the deceased king's brother. The *Infante* nobly refused to usurp his nephew's right, but undertook to govern for him, as joint regent with the queen-mother, Catherine of England. Don Ferdinand vigorously prosecuted the war with the Moors, regaining Ayamonte, and several other places. The recovery of Antequera was the fruit of a victory so brilliant, that it procured the conqueror the title of the *Infante* of Antequera. But this war, however glorious, was one of self-defence, not aggrandizement; and when the king of Granada, discouraged by adversity, was disposed to treat, the regent readily concluded a truce. He as readily confirmed the peace which the queen-mother had made, upon equitable conditions, with Portugal. The *Infante* of Antequera's honourable refusal of one crown was recompensed ere long with another; which he certainly owed, as will presently be seen, more to his reputation than to his hereditary claims.

The reign of Martin of Aragon was disturbed by insurrections, both in his own dominions and in his son's. The troubles of the latter kingdom became more serious, when, in 1401, queen Maria and her infant son died. She bequeathed her kingdom to her husband, who besides was, after his father, her collateral heir; but he, by his misgovernment and his licentious conduct, offended the Sicilians, and provoked rebellion. He contracted a second marriage with Blanche, the youngest daughter of Charles III. of Navarre; and two years afterwards, died a victim to his irregularities; his father did not long survive him. Neither of the Martins left any legitimate children.

In those days the law of succession in the collateral and the female lines was so indefinite, that the failure of direct male heirs always produced great disorder and uncertainty. The *Cortes* of Aragon, Catalonia, and Valencia, as-

Granada
from A.D.
1391—1406.

Aragon
from A.D.
1399—1416.

Castile
from A.D.
1406—1411.

sembled in their respective kingdoms, to investigate the claims of the various pretenders to the crown, and ascertain in whom the right of succession really lay. But Catalonia was the only one of the three kingdoms in which the *Cortes* assembled quietly, and proceeded to business. In Aragon and Valencia discontented minorities seceded from the main bodies, constituting distinct assemblies, assuming to themselves the title of *Cortes*, or States, and distracting both kingdoms with civil war. Pope Benedict XIII. and Charles of Navarre actively interfered to restore peace, and negotiated a truce between the conflicting parties. So little was it observed, that in Aragon, Don Antonio de Luna, the head of one faction, having invited the archbishop of Saragossa, the leader of the other, to an interview, fastened a quarrel upon his reverend adversary, and murdered him upon the spot; whilst in Valencia the successful party compelled the son of the viceroy, who had supported their defeated rivals, to bear the severed head of his murdered father, as in triumph, before them. This last act of atrocity, by revolting all men's feelings, turned the tide of civil discord. The opposing assemblies now treated and concurred; after which they formed a sort of congress, consisting of three deputies from the *Cortes* of each of the three kingdoms, to discuss and decide the important question of succession.—Sicily, Majorca, and Sardinia, being regarded as dependencies, were allowed no voice. Sardinia during the interregnum was distracted with feuds and broils;—so was Sicily, where Queen Blanche, widow of Martin the younger, had acted as regent since his death, but now saw her authority disputed. In Majorca, tranquillity was preserved by the discretion of the governor, Moncada.

The candidates for royalty, upon whose pretensions the nine appointed judges were to decide, amounted to seven. They were the count of Denia, descended from a younger son of James II.; the count of Urgel, sprung from a younger son of king James's eldest son, Alfonso IV.; the countess of Urgel, mother to the last claimant, and youngest daughter of Pedro IV.; Frederic, count of Luna, a natural son of Martin the younger's, legitimated according to the forms of Spanish and ecclesiastical law, by his father, grandfather, and the pope, but for the sole and distinct purpose of enabling him to inherit Sicily; Violante,

queen of Naples, daughter of John I.; her son Lewis, duke of Calabria; and, finally, Ferdinand, the *Infante* of Antequera, second son of Leonora, queen of Castile, second daughter of Pedro IV. The line of Leonora's eldest son took no part in the contest, either on account of John II.'s infancy, or to avoid the union of the two crowns of Castile and Aragon. According to the law of succession, now generally established, the claims of two only of these candidates could require consideration. If females were excluded from the throne, the count of Urgel was clearly the lineal male heir; if they were admitted, a fact scarcely to be disputed by any of the parties, since all alike derived their pretensions from queen Petronilla, Violante's right was equally incontestable; and it is to be observed, that if she was entitled to succeed at all, she ought to have been previously preferred to her uncle Martin. Both the count of Urgel and the queen of Naples were, however, passed by, in favour of the *Infante* of Antequera—the younger son of the sister of a king, whose daughter was still living. Ferdinand was chosen and proclaimed king in 1412; and as immediately acknowledged in Sicily, Majorca, and Sardinia, as in the electing kingdoms. The measures of the two Martins, in behalf of Don Frederic, were thus as completely foiled in the state they had intended for him, as in those to which the young man himself had attempted to extend them.

Ferdinand's reign was disturbed by two rebellions of disappointed rivals, the count of Urgel and his mother, both of which he suppressed. He continued, after his elevation to the Aragonese throne, to govern Castile as regent; but, unfortunately for both kingdoms, he enjoyed his new dignity only four years, dying in 1416, whilst John of Castile was still a minor. Alfonso V., who succeeded his father Ferdinand, was adopted by Queen Joanna II. of Naples, and immediately repaired to Italy, where he spent some years, first in defending that princess against her numerous enemies, and afterwards in hostilities against herself, when, offended at his encroaching upon her authority, she adopted Lewis of Anjou in his stead. In consequence of his being personally so much engaged in Neapolitan affairs, Alfonso, during the greater part of his reign, left the government of Aragon to his brothers

The eldest of these princes, Don John, married Blanche, queen-dowager of Sicily, who, by the death of her brother and elder sisters, had become heiress of Navarre. Charles, the first-born of this marriage, was, upon his birth, created by Charles III., his maternal grandfather, prince of Viana, the title borne by Navarrese heirs apparent. Charles of Navarre, after he had assisted to allay the tumults of the Aragonese interregnum, concerned himself no further in Spanish politics. The chief business of his life was endeavouring to obtain some compensation from the French kings for his French patrimony; and through the weight of his English connexion, (Henry IV. of England having married his sister Joanna, dowager duchess of Brittany,) he at length received a paltry one, in the duchy of Nemours. He died in 1435, and was succeeded by Blanche and her husband John, who were jointly crowned king and queen of Navarre.

Alfonso of Aragon, after his quarrel with his adoptive mother, revisiting his hereditary dominions for a short time in 1423, took and plundered Marseille, a town belonging to his Angevine enemies, in his way home. During his stay he was chiefly occupied with the great Church schism between the two antipopes. He acknowledged, and for a while cordially supported, Benedict XIII., the successor of Clement VII., but subsequently offended him by sending ambassadors to the council of Constance, and urging Benedict to submit, like his antagonist, to the authority of the fathers of the church there assembled, who invited both pontiffs to lay down the papal dignity, and thus make way for the election of a successor, whose title should not admit of dispute.

Upon Queen Joanna's death, Alfonso again quitted Spain to enforce his claim to the kingdom of Naples, derived from her adoption. The rest of his life he passed wholly in Italy, induced to remain there, partly, it is said, to escape from the jealous disposition of his queen, Maria of Castile, who, during his residence in Aragon, had put his mistress, Margaret de Híjar, to death. Alfonso did not immediately obtain full possession of the kingdom of Naples, being opposed by the Neapolitan partizans of the house of Anjou and their allies, the chief of whom were the duke of Milan

and the republic of Genoa. The war was of considerable duration, and its favourable termination was at last brought about in a somewhat unusual manner. Alfonso was a bold warrior and able captain, but disdained to owe success to aught except fair fighting. When he was besieging Gaeta, the commandant, pressed by hunger, turned the women, children, and other useless mouths out of the town. Alfonso's generals recommended driving them back, thus to starve out the garrison the sooner. But the king, saying he had rather lose a town than his character for humanity, relieved, and suffered them to pass. The immediate consequences of his liberality were such as might have been anticipated. Gaeta, by getting rid of supernumeraries, was enabled to hold out until the long expected Genoese fleet, dispatched for its relief, appeared in sight. Alfonso's own fleet lay off Gaeta. He embarked, fought the Genoese, was defeated and taken prisoner, with his two brothers. The siege of Gaeta was of course raised; but the ultimate result of this disaster produced a very unlooked for alteration in the aspect of the Neapolitan contest. The royal captives were delivered over by the Genoese to the duke of Milan, upon whom Alfonso so wrought by his cogent arguments and representations of the danger of allowing the French to establish themselves in Italy, that he utterly changed the politics of the Milanese government. The duke released his prisoners, and concluded an alliance, offensive and defensive, with the king of Aragon, as king of Naples.

In Spain, meanwhile, upon receiving intelligence of Alfonso's captivity, Queen Maria assembled the *Cortes* of the three kingdoms to deliberate upon the means of procuring his release. Their anxious discussions were interrupted by the arrival of the king of Navarre, with the welcome tidings of his own and his brother's liberation; and the joy of the *cortes* induced them to grant the funds requisite for the spirited prosecution of the Neapolitan enterprise. This liberal supply, and the conversion of Italian enemies into friends, enabled Alfonso rapidly to complete the subjugation of Naples.

CHAPTER XI.

John I. of Portugal's wars in Africa—His third son, Don Henry, sends out ships of discovery—Explores the

*Western coast of Africa—Jusef III. rightful king of Granada restored—Civil wars in Granada—John II. of Castile, conjointly with the king of Tunis, reinstates Mohammed VII.—War between Castile and Granada—Disorders in Granada fomented by Castile—Disorders in Castile—Unpopularity of John's favourite, Don Alvaro de Luna, who is banished and recalled—The king joins his enemies—Luna executed—Civil wars in Granada, Navarre, and Catalonia—The Infante John of Aragon subdues his son, the lawful king of Navarre, by Blanche's death—Disorders in Portugal—Alfonso V. of Portugal's African wars and conquests—Prosecution of Maritime Discovery—Death of Don Henry.**

IN Portugal, when peace was once restored and confirmed, king

Portugal
from A.D.
1267—1438.

John soon re-established his finances by an economy pervading his government and household. He spent little in pomp and splendour; lived frugally, and associated upon an easy footing with the friends of his youth. He was wont to say that conversation was the cheapest of pleasures; and he introduced literary pursuits amongst his courtiers. When he had replenished his exhausted treasury, John made abundant compensation to those whom the inevitable expenses of war had obliged him to offend by revoking the ample donations, with which, upon first receiving the crown, he had recompensed the services that had helped to place it upon his brow.

But after satisfying these just claims, John neither lavished his money upon friends and favourites, nor hoarded it in his coffers. Finding himself at peace with his Christian neighbours, he vigorously prosecuted the war against the common and hereditary foe, attacking the Moors in Africa, where he seems to have meditated recovering the old Gothic province of Mauritania, or at least so much of it as constituted the province of Algarve beyond the sea. He besieged and took Ceuta in the kingdom of Fez, which, through the instrumentality of

his many sons, he held, against repeated assaults of the Moors, during the remainder of his reign; although at such an expense of blood and treasure, that his wisest counsellors recommended its demolition and abandonment. Another employment of John's wealth ultimately produced far more glory and power, as well as opulence, to his kingdom, than his Mauritanian conquests. His third son, Henry, was the first projector of those remote maritime enterprises and geographical discoveries, that opened new channels to the commerce of Europe, poured the riches of the Indies into Portugal, exalted the reputation and consequently the energies of her sons, brought immense realms in Asia and America under her sceptre, and temporarily elevated her to a rank amongst the nations of Europe, altogether disproportionate to her natural extent and population.

Prince Henry was grand master of the order of Knights of Christ, instituted by King Dennis upon the abolition of the Templars, to do battle constantly with the Mahometans. The grand master had accompanied his father to the siege of Ceuta, and there highly distinguished himself even beyond his brothers; which circumstance, combining with his strong sense of the duties of his sacred office, inspired him with an irrepressible desire to conquer and convert all who denied the truth of our holy religion. But expeditions of the kind he meditated against Mahometan misbelievers, whether in Spain or Mauritania, could only be undertaken by the authority and under the control of the king, and the *infante* in consequence turned his thoughts towards the more distant heathen. His studious disposition and especial taste for geography, astronomy, and mathematics, also contributed, in all probability, not a little, to give his schemes of conquest and conversion that direction. These sciences Don Henry assiduously cultivated at Sagres, a sea-port town he had himself founded near Cape St. Vincent in Algarve, where he drew around him learned men, travellers, and mariners. When he had speculatively satisfied himself of the possibility of sailing round Africa, of which, at that time, little beyond the northern coast was known, and of thus reaching the East Indies, he built and collected vessels in the harbour of Sagres, and sent them forth upon voyages of discovery. The dis-

* The authorities principally relied upon in this chapter, are Yriarte, Ferreras, Garibay, Conde, Quintana, Marib, La Ciede, Du Costa, *Cronicas dos Reys de Portugal*, *Collecção de Livros inéditos da Historia Portugueza*, Universal Modern History, *Da Asia de Joao de Barros e Diogo de Couto*, 17 tom. 8vo. Lisbon, 1778. This history of the exploits of the Portuguese in Asia, is held in the highest estimation both for authenticity and style.

patch of the first two was determined so suddenly one morning, that it was believed the prince had been favoured with an especial revelation upon the subject during the preceding night, a mark of divine favour of which his great devotion, and the virginal purity of his morals, were judged to render him worthy. Don Henry fitted out these first expeditions at his own expense; but the king soon entered into his son's views, and took the principal charge upon himself.

Navigation was then still almost in its infancy. The name of Cape Non had been given to the southernmost African promontory yet known, and terrified the imagination of the ignorant, almost as much by its very sound as by the thousand superstitious terrors connected with all beyond it, particularly with the torrid zone, then supposed to be actually uninhabitable from heat. For many years Don Henry's mariners advanced only a few leagues past the dreaded Cape, and Portugal resounded with murmurs against the waste of men and money occasioned by the *Infante's* mania for discovery. But Don Henry persevered, and his father countenanced him. Gradually his captains grew more enterprising, emboldened in some measure by the assistance his astronomical science afforded them. The first, and, during King John's life, only great fruit of these labours, was the discovery and settlement of the island of Madeira, about the year 1418. But far from appeasing the popular clamour, this only increased it; the colonizing the island being regarded as a frightful drain upon the population. Nearly about the same time the Canaries were accidentally discovered by an English ship, driven from her course. A private adventurer, a Frenchman named de Bethancourt, with a mixed French and Spanish crew, conquered the savage natives, and took possession of some of these islands, which his heirs afterwards sold to Prince Henry.

In 1433 King John died, after having married his eldest son and heir, Edward, called by the Portuguese Duarte, to the *Infanta* Leonora of Aragon. Edward's reign was not prosperous; he found the treasury exhausted, and the country impoverished by his father's liberality, African wars, and maritime expeditions. He endeavoured to remedy the existing distress by economy, sumptuary laws, and the more violent measure of claiming

for the crown, in default of heirs-male, the forfeiture of all lands granted by his predecessors. The dissatisfaction which such a claim necessarily provoked was prodigiously increased by the conduct of John das Regras, the chancellor, who had proposed it, and having an only daughter, obtained in her favour an exemption from his own law. But all these measures had far less effect in replenishing the royal coffers, than had the king's prosecution of the African war, in yet further draining them. Reluctantly yielding to the wishes of two of his brothers, the *Infantes* Henry and Ferdinand, he sent an expedition under their command against Tangiers. Their forces were inadequate to the enterprise, and the African princes united against them. After much gallant fighting the *infantes* were fain to promise the restitution of Ceuta as the price of the free re-embarkation of their troops; and one of them was further compelled to remain as a hostage for the fulfilment of this promise. The lot fell upon Ferdinand. The treaty was disappointed at home; Edward could not endure to abandon his father's conquest, and his counsellors shrunk from the disgrace of advising such a step. Everything short of the restoration of Ceuta was proffered for Don Ferdinand's ransom, but in vain. Equally fruitless was the mediation of the kings of Castile and Granada. Ferdinand died in Mussulman captivity, and has been canonized as a martyr. A severe fit of illness, the consequence of mortification at his defeat, at the violation of his engagement, and at the desertion of the brother he had left as its pledge, brought Don Henry to the brink of the grave. Upon his recovery, retiring to Sagres, he devoted himself wholly to his favourite pursuits, and never again visited his brother's court. Edward died of the plague after a five years' reign, leaving two infant sons.

At Granada, meanwhile, Jusef, the rightful king, unexpectedly recovered his throne, at a moment when he had little hope of preserving his life. His usurping brother, Mohammed, was taken ill, and, understanding his case to be desperate, in order to secure his son's succession, he wrote to the *alcayde* of Salobrena, to whom he had intrusted the safe keeping of Jusef, to cut off his prisoner's head, and return it by the bearer of the letter. The *alcayde* was

Granada
from A.D.
1407-1427.

engaged at chess with the prince, whose amiable qualities had won his affection, when this cruel mandate was delivered to him. He sat speechless with horror at its purport, whilst Ahmed, the messenger, urged the necessity of prompt obedience, and his own immediate departure with his allotted burthen. The prince took the paper from the *alcayde's* hands, read it, and calmly asked a few hours to take leave of his family. Ahmed refused this request, and again urged an immediate execution, as his own life depended upon his reaching Granada at the appointed minute. With great difficulty he was at length persuaded to allow time for finishing the game at chess. The distressed *alcayde* could not play, and the intended victim quietly pointed out the blunders by which his antagonist was giving him the victory more rapidly than he desired; when, just as the decisive checkmate could no longer be deferred, two noble cavaliers arrived at full gallop from Granada, bringing intelligence of Mohammed's death; and those who were about to deprive the prince of life kissed his hand as their sovereign. Granada immediately acknowledged him as Jusef III.

Jusef was by nature a pacific monarch; but his love of peace was insufficient to induce him to stoop to do homage to Castile; a humiliation that seems to have been resisted or submitted to according to the respective characters of the rulers of either kingdom. The *Infante* of Antequera, then regent of Castile, was not of a temper to give up what he thought his nephew's right; and the war, which had been interrupted by a truce, was renewed. It was quickly terminated, however, by another truce, that left the question of homage still undecided; and during the remainder of his reign Jusef preserved peace. His brilliant and chivalrous court was thronged with exiles and malecontents from the different states of the Peninsula, and was visited by all those young and noble gallants, who found obstacles opposed at home to the settlement of their disputes by the established mode of duel; for which Jusef willingly afforded every facility, presiding over the lists in person.

Jusef died in 1423, and was succeeded by his son Mohammed VII. surnamed *el Hayzari*, or the left-handed. The new king was haughty and reserved, and immediately incurred the ill-will of his subjects. He had scarcely reigned

four years, when his cousin, Mohammed *el Zaquir*, excited a rebellion, dethroned him, and usurped his place. Mohammed VIII. (as *el Zaquir* is reckoned, notwithstanding the temporary character of his usurpation) was affable in his deportment, and captivated the populace by restoring the various sports and spectacles which Jusef had encouraged, and Mohammed *el Hayzari* had suppressed. But he persecuted all the adherents of his predecessor, and was disliked by the higher classes. Jusef *aben Zeragh*, who had been Mohammed VII.'s *hagib*, and the numerous members of his widely-spreading family, (the *Abencerrages*, probably, of Spanish romance,) were objects of anxious suspicion to Mohammed VIII. They received timely warning of a plot for their destruction, and most of them escaped from Granada. Those who remained were assassinated by the usurper's orders. Jusef *aben Zeragh* and forty of his kindred fled to Castile.

In Castile, John II., though only thirteen years of age when he lost his uncle and guardian, had ever since ruled in person. Dread of the evils usually accompanying a regency, had heretofore led to the assumption of the government by kings as young, and to submission on the part of the nation to such assumption. The experiment had answered, those boy-monarchs proving equal to the charge they undertook; and if it did not in like manner answer upon the present occasion, the failure did not proceed from John's youth. Through life he was a weak king, although deficient neither in intellect nor in personal bravery; he was entirely destitute of his father's strength and firmness of character, and abandoned his authority, at all periods of his life, either to favourites and flatterers, or even to persons whom he detested, but had not energy to resist. To this king, amidst the generous glow of his opening manhood, the *Aben Zeraghs* presented themselves, and told the story of their sovereign's wrongs and of their own persecutions. John's lively imagination and youthful gallantry kindled with indignation at the details he received from the Moorish fugitives; and his favourite, Don Alvaro de Luna, newly created Constable of Castile (the highest military dignity) and grand-master of St. Iago, an able general, who loved war as affording him opportunities of gaining reputa-

Castile
from A.D.
1412—1498.

tion, encouraged his master's sympathy for the dethroned Mohammed VII. John pledged his word to reinstate his Mussulman brother-king, and wrote to the king of Tunis, with whom the object of his compassion had taken refuge, to propose their co-operating for that purpose.

Supported by the forces of his two friends, Mohammed VII. entered his former kingdom; but, as it seemed, he scarcely needed their succours. Every town as he approached opened its gates; and the troops sent to oppose his progress deserted in such numbers to their lawful sovereign, that the usurper's general durst not hazard an engagement, but was glad to lead back a remnant of his army to Granada. The capital followed the example of the other towns, and Mohammed VIII. shut himself up in the Alhambra, which he fortified. *El Hayzari* immediately besieged him there; and the partizans of the usurper, frightened at the hourly increasing number of their enemies, seized and delivered up their unfortunate leader to his rival. Mohammed VIII. was forthwith beheaded, and Mohammed VII., once more undisputed king of Granada, endeavoured to win the regard of his subjects by correcting the errors of his former government.

But gratitude to the friends of his adverse fortunes was not one of the virtues which Mohammed judged it expedient to practise. He refused or evaded payment of the sums due to Castile, for the expenses incurred in his restoration. The war that ensued proved as unfavourable to Granada, as the ill faith of its sovereign merited. De Luna defeated the Moorish armies and captured their towns; and Jusef ben Alhamar, a wealthy noble belonging to the royal family, seized the opportunity of the consequent dissatisfaction to revolt. Assisted by the Castilians, he dethroned Mohammed and took his place. He, too, is numbered amongst the kings as Jusef IV., though his usurpation lasted even a shorter time than Mohammed VIII.'s; at the end of six months he died, and Mohammed VII. recovering his authority, found himself king of Granada for the third time. Experience had not taught him honesty in his foreign relations. The war with Castile was renewed, and the successes of King John and the Constable De Luna very materially reduced the Mussulman kingdom.

Its final ruin was perhaps only averted by the dissensions that arose amongst its enemies.

Able as Don Alvaro had shown himself both in the cabinet and in the field, his boundless power, and yet more his selfish use of it, accumulating wealth and dignities upon his own head, provoked universal detestation. The queen and prince of Asturias joined with the nobles confederated against the Constable; and the king, unable to resist, abandoned his favourite and banished him from court. John II. now fell into a state of dependence upon the triumphant faction, as complete as that in which he had voluntarily been held by the Constable. This, however, did not last long. The admonitions of the bishop of Avila recalled the prince of Asturias to his filial duty; he implored his father's pardon, was reconciled to him, and joined him in raising the royal standard against the confederated nobles. These were supported by King John of Navarre and his brother the *Infante* Henry of Aragon, who, it will be recollected, were the king's first cousins, and stood in the direct line of succession to the throne. They moreover possessed large estates, as the appanage of younger branches of the royal family, in Leon and Castile, which gave them both an immediate interest and a controlling influence over the affairs of those kingdoms. Their interference, nevertheless, introducing Aragonese and Navarrese troops, blends a character of foreign war with the intestine disorders of John the Second's reign.

The king and prince engaged the rebels and their allies near Olmedo, and completely routed them. The *infante* of Aragon fell in the battle, and numbers of insurgent nobles were made prisoners. John II. restored to full power, immediately recalled his exiled favourite, re-established him in his former authority, and loaded him with new honours. This conduct offended the prince, and injured the harmony that had recently prevailed between father and son.

The king himself, soon afterwards, began to feel his favourite's power oppressive; and it became actually intolerable to him when, upon the queen's death, the Constable insisted upon his master's taking the Portuguese *Infanta* Isabella to wife, instead of a French princess of whom he had made choice. The prince, irritated at his father's second

Granada
from A.D.
1429—1449.

Castile
from A.D.
1439—1450.

marriage, revolted again; but ere long submitted, and was forgiven. Soon after this second reconciliation, king, queen, and prince seem to have conspired together against the tyrannical favourite, whom it has been said John II. spent nine-tenths of his life in supporting against the nation, and the last tenth in trying to get rid of. The love which the king speedily conceived for his young queen, did not lessen his hatred of the Constable who had forced her upon him; nor did gratitude for the crown she owed him, reconcile Isabella to the despotism of a subject. De Luna was well aware of the enmity of the royal family; but for a while maintained his post in their despite, living in covert hostility with them. At length his audacious temper led him to break through all bounds, and even John's yielding nature was aroused to action. Don Alfonso de Vivaro, treasurer, and a favourite of the queen's, was the object of De Luna's especial jealousy and apprehension, although the rivals preserved an external show of amity. The Constable invited the Treasurer to join a party of his friends, assembled upon the platform-roof of a tower. The invitation was accepted, and the hated and incautious visitor was thrown over the battlements.

De Luna was now a declared rebel. After some resistance, he surrendered upon the king's plighting his word, either that his life should not be touched, or that he should suffer no injustice. Historians differ as to the precise words of the promise, though to ascertain them would be essential to the estimate of John's moral character; since, whatever were the promise given, the late all-powerful Constable perished upon a scaffold, and was indebted to private charity for a grave; the whole of his immense wealth being confiscated. John did not long survive his former favourite, dying A.D. 1460. He was distinguished as a patron of literature.

Granada did not peaceably enjoy the interruption of the war with Castile, occasioned by the troubles just related. Mohammed VII., notwithstanding his best endeavours to conciliate his subjects, continued to be unpopular, and for the third time an insurrection overturned his throne. The head of this new rebellion was his nephew, Mohammed ben Ozmin, who, deposing and imprisoning him, assumed his place as

Mohammed IX. in 1444. The friends and partisans of the captive monarch were too conscious of his unpopularity again to attempt his restoration; but resolving not to acknowledge the usurper of his rights, they invited another of his nephews, Mohammed ben Ismael, who had fled in discontent to Castile, to place himself at their head. He answered their call, followed by all the Granadan exiles; and was supported by John II., as far as the distracted state of Castile would allow. The contest between the two cousins lasted ten years; during which time the kingdom was drenched with her children's blood. In 1454, Mohammed ben Ismael triumphed. Mohammed ben Ozmin, after perfidiously massacring the leading men of Granada, escaped from the city, fled, and disappeared for ever from the scene.

Alfonso of Aragon had no legitimate offspring; and his brother, the *Infante* John, although he had borne the title of king of Navarre ever since his father-in-law's death, preferred the delegated power which the king's continued absence, and his own situation as presumptive heir, gave him in Aragon, to the government of his wife's hereditary kingdom. Queen Blanche resided in Navarre, which she ruled wisely and mildly, but could not preserve from implication in her husband's Castilian

Aragon
from A.D.
1443—1461.

cabals, or from material consequent suffering. She died in 1441, enjoining her only son, Charles, prince of Viana, not to assume the title of king of Navarre without his father's consent. She left two daughters, Blanche, married to the prince of Asturias, and Leonora, to Gaston de Foix. Her widower retained the title of king of Navarre, but left the government of the country nearly as much to his son, as he had previously done to his wife. Charles was an amiable prince, but quickly incurred his father's dislike by endeavouring to maintain Navarre neutral amidst the Castilian factions in which King John became more embroiled than ever, after his second marriage with Joanna, the daughter of the admiral of Castile, one of the most turbulent nobles of that distracted kingdom. The prince of Viana was provoked by the king's unfatherly treatment to forget his promised forbearance, and assert his claim to the crown which,

Navarre
from A.D.
1460—1464.

Granada
from A.D.
1443—1464.

in point of law, had devolved to him upon his mother's death. He was joined by his eldest sister, Blanche, the divorced queen (upon the plea of barrenness) of Henry IV. of Castile, who had now succeeded to John II. The king of Navarre, exasperated by his children's resistance to his authority, caused the prince of Viana to be seized, threw him into prison, and, pronouncing that he and Blanche had forfeited their right to even their maternal heritage by their insurrection, formally disinherited them, and declared Leonora countess of Foix heiress of Navarre. The *Cortes* of Aragon, Catalonia, and Valencia interfered in behalf of a prince whom they regarded as their future sovereign, but in vain; and the father's unkindness, according to some authors, so preyed upon the son's mind, as to occasion a slow fever, of which, after a nominal reconciliation with King John, he died in 1461. According to other writers, he was poisoned by his step-mother Queen Joanna, who, as they assert, confessed the crime upon her death-bed. Charles bequeathed his rights to his sister Blanche; her father thereupon committed her to the custody of her younger sister the countess of Foix, to whom he likewise intrusted the government of Navarre. The countess is said to have subsequently conceived that King John was disposed to do his eldest daughter justice, and to have freed herself from her rival by poison. It is hardly necessary to remark, that these eternally-recurring accusations of poisoning, are seldom or never supported by proof: but upon the present occasion they draw a sort of probability from the will of Blanche, by which, disinheriting Leonora and her family as her enemies, she bequeathed her rights to Henry IV. of Castile.

In Portugal, the queen-dowager, Leonora of Aragon, had been appointed regent by the deceased king's will. But the Portuguese, always jealous of dowager queens, especially when of Spanish extraction, did not submit to her authority. Queen Leonora seems to have deserved their jealousy. She applied to the eldest of her husband's brothers, Don Pedro duke of Coimbra, for assistance in her difficulties, which he honestly afforded her. Nevertheless she was so incensed at the *Cortes* assigning only the care of her son's person and education to her, and to Don Pedro, with a council of nobles, the regency,

that she confederated with Don John, a younger brother, and the count of Barcellos, an illegitimate brother of King Edward's, against him who had so recently befriended her. The result of their cabals did not answer the expectations of the caballers. To quell the disturbances that the queen and her allies had excited throughout the kingdom, Don Pedro was appointed sole regent, when his great prudence quickly restored tranquillity. He found it impossible however to conciliate the hearty good will of the count of Barcellos, even by creating him duke of Braganza. The new duke's eldest son affected, indeed, the utmost devotion to his kind uncle the regent; but both father and son assiduously laboured to prejudice the king's mind against him, through the instrumentality of the youthful nobles who were the associates of their sovereign's studies and pleasures.

Alfonso V. was, however, fully sensible of his uncle's abilities and merits; and when, upon his attaining to his majority, the regent, in the *Cortes* convoked for that purpose, surrendered his office, the young king concurred in the prayer of the assembly that Don Pedro would still assist him with his councils. With the approbation of the *Cortes*, Alfonso married his cousin Isabella, the duke of Coimbra's daughter, and for two years the uncle and father-in-law continued to rule with nearly his pristine authority. During this period the duke of Braganza and his eldest son, created count of Ourem, were incessantly plying the king with flattery of his own capacity, with ridicule of the duke of Coimbra's gravity and caution, and with insinuations touching his excessive and dangerous popularity. At length they so wrought upon Alfonso's ambitious and somewhat suspicious temper, that the coldness and general alteration of his deportment towards Don Pedro drove the latter from court.

More serious imputations were now brought forward. Don Pedro was charged with having poisoned King Edward, Queen Leonora, and the *Infante* Don John. Not a shadow of proof was advanced; no credit whatever was given to these accusations by the public; and the indignation of the duke of Coimbra's friends was violently aroused. Don Henry hastened from his retirement at Sagres, to vindicate his brother, and was taxed with being his accomplice. Don

Portugal
from A.D.
1418—1493.

Ferdinand, the duke of Braganza's second son, left his government of Ceuta, and repaired to court to defend his revered uncle against his own father and brother. And Don Alvaro de Almada, count of Abrantes, reputed the most chivalrous cavalier of his day, appearing in the Council-chamber in full armour, flung down his gauntlet, and challenged Don Pedro's accuser, whoever he might be, to mortal combat. The king had probably never believed the calumnies advanced against his uncle and father-in-law, and now openly approved the conduct of his defenders. The next attempt of the adverse faction was to irritate the duke of Coimbra to insurrection. In this they failed, but contrived to affix upon him appearances which they interpreted into guilt. He was persuaded to visit the court for the purpose of pleading his own cause, and to take with him an armed escort for his protection. His journey, so attended, was represented as an insurrectionary movement. Troops were sent to stop his progress; his escort was attacked, and he himself slain in the affray. By the orders of his nephew and son-in-law, the rights of sepulture were denied to his corpse, which was secretly buried by some peasants. Much bitterness was displayed towards the duke's family. His second son was thrown into prison; the eldest, Constable of Portugal, escaped similar treatment, only by flight; the property of both was confiscated, and the queen found herself wholly unable to soften her husband towards her nearest relations. In course of time, however, Don Pedro's innocence was fully established; when his remains were transferred with princely honours to a royal sepulchre, and his children reinstated in their lands and dignities.

The object of the ambition of Alfonso V. was Africa, where two of his uncles had been defeated, and one had perished; and his designs upon that country were encouraged by the measures of Pope Calixtus III. who proclaimed a crusade against the African Mahometans. In this expedition, Alfonso purposed taking a principal part, and in honour of it first coined the gold pieces called *cruzados*. The crusade excited no general interest in Europe, and was abandoned even by the pope, but not by the king of Portugal. He sailed for the kingdom of Fez, accompanied by his uncle and brother, the Infantes Henry and Ferdinand; and the

fruit of this enterprise was the capture of the town of Alcaçar. In a second attempt, directed more especially against Tangiers, the scene of St. Ferdinand's captivity and death, Alfonso was foiled with great loss, but not disheartened; and in two subsequent expeditions, his perseverance was amply repaid. He ravaged the country, took many strong places, and by the terror of his arms, induced Tangiers voluntarily to surrender; thus avenging his own and his uncles' preceding disasters. Alfonso was further rewarded with the title of The African.

The king's military ardour had not so engrossed his mind, as to prevent his zealously promoting his uncle's exploring voyages. When the progress of discovery reached the coast of Guinea, the tide of public opinion, which had so long set against Don Henry's schemes, and so severely tried the prince's firmness and perseverance, turned at once in their favour. Gold was more plentiful in that district of Africa, than in any previously known place, and the trade carried on with the natives yielded it in abundance. Another source of wealth was found in the slaves there captured, and transported to Portugal; the seizure of the poor negroes being justified upon the plea of saving their souls by their conversion to Christianity: a plea, the plausibility of which should, however, be judged rather according to the bigotry and superstition of the fifteenth century, than to the enlightened ideas of the nineteenth. The riches thus brought into Portugal excited the jealousy of Castile. John II. advanced claims to both the Guinea coast and the Canaries, which were resisted by Alfonso. They remained undecided at John's death, and were more strenuously revived by his successor Henry IV., surnamed the Impotent, upon his accession to the Castilian throne. An amicable interview between the two youthful kings, who alternately entertained each other at Badajoz and Elvas, settled the dispute. The king of Castile renounced his utterly unfounded pretensions to the Guinea coast, and the Infante Henry, whose disinterestedness was very uncommon, readily gave up to that monarch his purchased sovereignty of the Canaries. His chief object in making the acquisition, really seems to have been the conversion of the barbarous natives, and that object he did

not conceive likely to be obstructed by any change of Christian masters. These arrangements, and the friendship of the two monarchs, were sealed, by the marriage of the king of Castile, who had previously divorced Blanche of Navarre, as has been stated, with Alfonso's sister Joanna.

The *Infante* Don Henry lived to see the African coast explored as far as Sierra Leone, and the Azores and Cape de Verd Islands colonized; upwards of three hundred and seventy leagues of coast, besides the various islands, being thus discovered under his direction during forty-three years, reckoning only from his first real success, the discovery of Madeira. Henry had the further satisfaction of obtaining from Pope Martin V., a bull, bestowing upon the crown of Portugal all these, and all future discoveries to India inclusively; all lands belonging to the heathen being then considered as in the pope's gift. Don Henry died in 1463, aged sixty-seven, leaving his fortune and his title of duke of Vizeu to his nephew Don Ferdinand, the king's brother.

CHAPTER XII.

War between Castile and Granada—Mohammed X. pays Henry IV. tribute—Henry's favouritism—Civil war in Castile—Henry's brother Alfonso proclaimed king—Dies—His sister Isabella acknowledged by Henry as heiress instead of his daughter Joanna—Alfonso of Aragon leaves Naples to his illegitimate son Ferdinand; his hereditary realms to his brother John king of Navarre—John's son Ferdinand marries Isabella—Renewed civil war in Castile—Death of Henry IV.—Alfonso of Portugal supports Joanna—Peace between Castile and Portugal—Ferdinand succeeds to Aragon—He and Isabella Kings of Spain—Civil wars in Granada—Abu Abdallah rebels against his father Muley Hassan—Proclaims himself king—War of Ferdinand and Isabella against Granada—Abdallah el Zagal, brother of Muley Hassan, gains a victory over the Spaniards, and is proclaimed king—Muley Hassan abdicates in his favour—Civil war in Navarre—Severity of John II. of Portugal—Conspiracies—The Duke of Vizeu

*implicated—The king slays him—Cape of Good Hope discovered—Ferdinand and Isabella support Abu Abdallah against Abdallah el Zagal, whom they vanquish—Besiege Abu Abdallah in Granada—Conquest of Granada.**

Few reigns have opened more auspiciously than that of Henry IV. of Castile. The impending hostilities with Portugal were averted, as we have seen, by a compromise which gave him half of what he claimed. In his wars with Granada, he early made himself master of Gibraltar, whilst the governors of his frontier towns incessantly ravaged the Mussulman territories, gradually narrowing them by various small conquests. This border warfare produced many of the romantic adventures that have furnished the subjects of Spanish ballads. A specimen of these may be permitted to interrupt the sketch of Henry's early prosperity, and enliven the too frequently dry records of early history.

Ferdinand Narvaez, commandant of Antequera, stood in the foremost rank of Castile's adventurous frontier governors. One day a party of his men, who had been out upon a marauding expedition into the hostile territories, brought home with them a young Moorish cavalier, handsome in person, and splendidly attired, whom they had surprized alone. The captive declared himself the son of the *alcayde* of Ronda; and the burst of tears accompanying his words astonished Narvaez, as altogether unbecoming the son of so gallant a war-

Castile
from A.D.
1450—1469.

* The authorities principally relied upon in this chapter, are, Yriarte, *Ferreras*, Garibay, Conde, Quintana, Da Costa, *Cronica dos Reis*, *Collecção de Livros inéditos de Historia Portugueza*, Barros e Canto, La Cleda, Olanome, Marbix, *Universal Modern History*, *Historia General de España, compuesta, emendada, y añadida, por el Padre Juan de Mariana*, 2 tom., fol. Madrid, 1678: this history enjoys a high reputation, and is very entertaining, but not to be compared for critical judgment, and consequently for authenticity, to that of Ferreras. *Considerations sur les Causes de la Grandeur et de la Decadence de la Monarchie Espagnole, par M. Sempere, Ancien Magistrat Espagnol*, 2 tom., 12mo., Paris, 1826: this work is rather philosophically political and statistic, than historical; but the author, who served both the third and fourth Charleses, and emigrated upon Buonaparte's usurpation in 1804, had great opportunities of knowledge, and his book, although partial, especially perhaps to the Bourbon kings, abounds in useful information. It has been much relied upon in the few political views contained in this first book, (though they were so few, that this general reference seemed sufficient,) and will be more frequently cited hereafter.

rior as that *alcayde*. The young Moor explained that he wept, not his captivity, but the disappointment of his dearest hopes; that he loved the daughter of a neighbouring *alcayde*, who had promised to wed him secretly that very night. 'Plight me your word to return,' said Narvaez, 'and you are free to visit her.' The youth stood beneath his lady's window ere dawn, and told her that he was a prisoner, that he had come only to bid her an eternal farewell. The maiden replied, 'Can I live free whilst thou art a prisoner? My lot must be one with thine; and the contents of this casket will ransom us both, or support us in captivity.' Before the shades of the next evening fell, the youth and maiden presented themselves to Narvaez; and he, touched by their love and fidelity, released them and escorted them in safety to Ronda.

The hostilities between the Moors and Christians, and the successes of the latter, ceased only when Mohammed X. became the vassal of Castile. In his relations with his Christian neighbours, Henry was equally prosperous. By purchasing the king of Navarre's Castilian estates, he deprived that ambitious kinsman of half his power of interfering in Castilian affairs; and ere long an opportunity presented itself of repaying him in kind. The Catalans were indignant at the king of Navarre's treatment of his eldest son; and recoiling from the idea of owning, after the death of the absent Alfonso, so unfeeling a prince as their sovereign, they now revolted against his delegated authority as regent, and offered their crown to Henry of Castile and Leon.

These fair prospects were early overcast by the effects of Henry's levity and indolence, and of that addiction to favouritism, in which he even exceeded his father. His treacherous and rapacious minion, Don John de Pacheco, whom he created Marquis of Villena, was far less able and more criminal than Don Alvaro de Luna; and is said to have received a bribe from Lewis XI. of France, to prevent the union of Catalonia with Castile. Certain it is that the union was not effected; and that the French king, who at this very time was carrying on intrigues for the annexation of Catalonia to France, was shortly afterwards acknowledged by the Catalans as their feudal sovereign.

All the disorders of John II.'s reign now distracted Castile with tenfold vio-

lence. The marquis of Villena became jealous of Don Beltran de la Cueva, who soon rivalled him in the king's good graces, and so exclusively possessed the queen's, that he was generally believed to be the father of the *Infanta* Joanna, the only offspring of the queen, and who, in allusion to her supposed adulterous origin, was popularly termed *la Beltraneja*, or the Beltranian. Don Beltran was loaded with honours beyond any predecessor in royal favour; being created count of Ledesma, duke of Albuquerque, master of St. Iago, and *mayordomo* of the palace.

The king caused the *infanta* to be formally acknowledged by the *Cortes* as heiress of the kingdom. But the prevalent opinion of her illegitimacy, the hatred and envy borne to the new favourite, and the cabals of Villena, whose jealousy was envenomed by finding himself in a state of some peril upon the detection of his intrigues with France, produced disturbances so violent, that Henry was compelled to sanction the revocation of this solemn act, and to declare his half-brother, Don Alfonso, his heir. But this did not satisfy the insurgents. With an affectation of legal forms they investigated the whole conduct of Henry, pronounced him incompetent to govern, deposed him, and proclaimed Alfonso, then only fifteen years of age, king in his stead, crowning their new monarch with all accustomed ceremonies. So outrageous a proceeding of course provoked Henry to retract his late concessions. He again asserted Donna Joanna's rights, and a civil war ensued, which was waged with fluctuating success, and did not cease even upon the death of the young *anti-king*, whose fate is by some historians called mysterious. He was one morning found dead in his bed, to which he had retired over night in seemingly perfect health. No marks whatever of violence were perceptible upon his person; but suspicions were entertained that his factious partizans had murdered him, through jealousy of the talent and high spirit he discovered; and in the hope of finding a more manageable puppet in his sister the *Infanta* Isabella, whom they immediately proclaimed queen. If the insurgent party really perpetrated such a crime from such a motive, their conduct was as absurd as it was atrocious. No one could be less adapted for a puppet than Isabella. She was some years older than her deceased

brother, her character was consequently more formed, and she was as much distinguished by her virtue and prudence, as by her abilities. She positively refused to rob her brother Henry of his rightful crown, and a negotiation was set on foot, which terminated in the king's divorcing his queen for infidelity, disinheriting the *Infanta* Joanna as illegitimate, and acknowledging his sister the *Infanta* Isabella as his heiress, upon condition of retaining the royal title and authority for life.

The tranquillity thus restored was interrupted by Donna Isabella's marriage. From amongst many suitors she selected Ferdinand, the son of the king of Navarre by his second marriage, and his heir, since the prince of Viana's death.

John had, in 1468, succeeded to all his brother Alfonso's hereditary dominions. Naples, as his own conquest, the deceased monarch had judged that he was entitled to dispose of at his own pleasure, and bequeathed accordingly to Ferdinand, his natural son, by his unfortunate mistress Margaret de Hija. John's first business upon his accession was the pacification of Catalonia. The lively and turbulent natives of that province had soon grown weary of their connexion with France, and resuming their independence, had invited several individuals to assume their government. Amongst others they had offered their crown to Don Pedro, Constable of Portugal, the son of the murdered duke of Coimbra, and, by his mother, grandson of that Count of Urgel, who had, on Martin's death, been one of the competitors for the crown of Aragon. Don Pedro, accepting the offer, had repaired to Catalonia, and been slain in the contest with John, then king of Navarre and regent of Aragon. Various subsequent endeavours to establish an independent government having failed, the Catalans relaxed in their opposition to John, and at length submitted to his authority. The new king was now generally acknowledged, and declared his son and heir Ferdinand, king of Sicily.

It is evident that, in making choice of the king of Sicily for her husband, Isabella acted with her usual judgment; her marriage with the heir of Aragon promising to unite the most powerful of the separate Spanish king-

doms into one yet more powerful state. But the connexion was contrary to Henry's inclination, and again he revoked all past arrangements. He once more acknowledged Joanna as his legitimate daughter, and endeavoured to strengthen her party by matrimonial alliance. He affianced her successively to a French prince, to Don Henry, the son of the *Infante* Henry of Aragon slain at the battle of Olmedo, and finally to her maternal uncle, Alfonso of Portugal, then a widower. Alfonso had hitherto avoided any involvement in the Castilian broils; but he now earnestly solicited a papal dispensation for the unnatural marriage proposed, and prepared vigorously to enforce his bride's pretensions. But in Castile, meanwhile, the quiet firmness of the queen of Sicily effected her reconciliation with her royal brother, and her consequent reinstatement in, what it is difficult to know whether to term, her right or her usurpation. Further changes in Henry's determinations were prevented by his death; which occurred A.D. 1474.

Granada had, during this time, been similarly disturbed as her Christian neighbour and rival. Muley Aly Abul Hassan had, in 1466, succeeded his father Mohammed. He was early provoked to declare war against Castile, by the conduct of Henry, who openly supported the rebellious *seals* of Malaga, and admitted him as an immediate vassal of Castile. The war between the two kingdoms produced no consequences worth notice, both monarchs being too much engaged with disturbances at home, for either to attack the other efficiently.

Isabella did not, upon her brother's death, succeed quietly to an uncontested and untroubled throne. Donna Joanna had a strong party in the kingdom: Alfonso of Portugal, with the concurrence of his son and council, declared in her favour, and gave weight to his declaration by his arms; a war, though languidly carried on, existed with Granada; and Ferdinand (who, had females been excluded, was the next male heir to the Castilian crown) was so exasperated at the restrictions imposed upon the authority he wished to exercise in his wife's dominions, that he actually meditated abandoning Castile, and retiring to Aragon. Queen Isabella urged that the admission of her preferable claim

Aragon
from
A.D. 1461,
and
Navarre
from A.D.
1464—1469.

Granada
from A.D.
1465—1474.

Castile
from A.D.
1474—1476.

Castile
from A.D.
1469—1474.

was indispensable to the future succession of their then only child, the Infanta Isabella; and at length appeased her consort by her mildness, good sense, and conjugal submission, although she never carried this last virtue to such an extent as could in any manner prove injurious to her subjects, or detrimental to the rights of her crown.

The government was conducted in the joint names of the royal pair. Ferdinand and Isabella proposed a truce to Muley Aly Abul Hassan, upon condition of his paying them the tribute his ancestors had paid to theirs. The Moorish king replied that arms were now forged where of yore tribute was coined. The negotiation went on nevertheless, and in the end the Christian sovereigns were glad to conclude with Granada a two-years' truce, afterwards prolonged, which was equally necessary to both kingdoms, and allowed the king and queen of Castile to devote their undivided attention to the maintenance of Isabella's title against the *Infanta Joanna*, and her Portuguese betrothed uncle.

Alfonso invaded Castile, and was of course joined by all Joanna's partizans. Much blood was shed, and much suffering endured by both parties, but for a considerable time no decided advantage was gained by either. At length a signal defeat experienced by the king of Portugal at Toro, convinced him of the impossibility of establishing his niece's pretensions without further assistance; when he determined to visit France in person, and endeavour to obtain support from Lewis XI. He was encouraged to take this unusual step, by the favourable manner in which all the overtures of the Portuguese ambassador had been received by that crafty monarch, who was then at war with King John, the father of Alfonso's enemy Ferdinand, for the small remnant of Aragon's once extensive French provinces. The king of France received the king of Portugal with every demonstration of friendship, and promised the most cordial co-operation, so soon as peace should be fully restored betwixt himself and Charles the Bold, duke of Burgundy. Alfonso immediately visited the Burgundian court, to endeavour to negotiate a peace, thus important to his views. He failed however, and the duke equally failed in his attempts to open his visitor's eyes to the

faithless character of Lewis XI. Upon Charles's death Alfonso confidently expected the fulfilment of the promises he had received; when he discovered that Lewis was engaged in negotiation with Ferdinand and Isabella.

Alfonso's mortification and disappointment at this discovery were so great, that he resolved to make a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, and there spend the rest of his life. This resolution was no sooner formed than the king of Portugal proceeded to put it in execution. As the first step he wrote to his son, the *Infante John*, whom he had appointed regent during his absence, bidding him assume the royal title without further delay, since he himself should never return. The nobles who had attended their sovereign to France, prevailed upon him however to change his purpose; and the French king, who no longer expected to derive benefit from his presence or friendship, gladly furnished him with vessels for his conveyance home.

The regent Don John had meanwhile governed well; he had carried on the war without much disadvantage, and protected his frontier from the enemy. When apprehensive of being attacked at Evora with superior numbers, he ingeniously averted the danger by making his small body of cavalry gallop about the country, so as to produce such a show of dust and trampling, as convinced the Castilian leader that Don John had been joined by very considerable reinforcements. Upon the receipt of his father's letter, the regent caused himself to be proclaimed king. A few days afterwards he was informed that King Alfonso had landed in Portugal; and he asked the duke of Braganza, with whom and the Archbishop of Lisbon he was then walking, how he should receive him? 'As your father and your king,' promptly replied the duke. The young monarch stood silent, flinging stones into the river; and the prelate whispered to the duke,—'That stone shall not light upon my head.' The newly-proclaimed sovereign, after a hard struggle, conquered himself, sank back into the *Infante*, and was as obedient a son as ever. But it may be presumed that the unpalatable advice had some share in producing in Don John's mind the ill-will, or the suspicions, which, as will be seen, afterwards proved fatal to the duke of Braganza. The Archbishop quitted Portugal for Rome.

Portugal
from A. D.
1464—1479.

The *Infante* and the nation were by this time weary of a war in the success of which they had but little interest. That little was diminished by the Pope's revoking the dispensation granted for the incestuous marriage projected, but still unsolemnized, between the uncle and niece. Alfonso nevertheless persevered two years longer in the struggle; but was ultimately constrained to abandon it as hopeless. In 1479 he concluded a treaty of peace with Ferdinand and Isabella, by which he acknowledged them as king and queen of Leon and Castile; and agreed that the *Infanta* Joanna should remain single until the prince of Asturias (a child born since his mother's accession to the throne) was of age to marry, when he should either espouse her, or if disinclined to fulfil the contract, should pay her a sum of money by way of compensation. Donna Joanna, offended at this stipulation, immediately retired to the Portuguese convent of Santa Clara, where she took the veil. Alfonso of Portugal did not long survive this treaty.

The dominions for which Ferdinand and Isabella had been thus successfully contending, were far superior in power to Portugal, and Alfonso could not so long have maintained the struggle for his niece's pretensions, had not the exertions of the king and queen of Castile been hampered by the necessity of resisting Joanna's domestic partizans, and weakened by the disorders ever attendant upon civil war. The bonds of the law were everywhere relaxed, if not broken, and the whole country was in a state of anarchy of which one instance may give some idea. Don Alonzo de Aguilar, governor of Cordova, authorized the rescue of two murderers, whom the officers of justice were conveying to prison by order of Don Diego de Melo, the *corregidor*, or chief magistrate, of the town. The tumult drew Don Diego to the spot in execution of his duty, when he was violently attacked and forced to take refuge in a church. Aguilar dared not in person violate the sanctuary; but he employed a body of Mahometan prisoners, who of course had no scruples touching Christian churches, to do that for him which he shrank from doing for himself. They broke open the sacred edifice and dragged out the *corregidor*, whom Aguilar then confined in one of his cas-

ties to extort the restitution of a pledge he had given Melo that he would make compensation for damage done in a private feud or war with the count of Cabra. Conduct so flagitious was Isabella forced to pardon in consideration of Aguilar's releasing her *corregidor*.

To repress such lawless excesses, and to enforce the execution of equal justice, was one great object of Isabella's reign. For this purpose she afforded the utmost encouragement to the *hermandad*, or brotherhood, an association formed for mutual protection against the licentious tyranny of the turbulent and guilty nobles, and the inferior criminals whom they protected, and which, being regarded as an encroachment upon their feudal privileges, was violently opposed even by those nobles who were faithful to their duty, and had no occasion to fear it for themselves. Ferdinand's illegitimate brother, the duke of Villahermosa, was appointed general and judge of the *hermandad*. She further astonished her court and the whole nation by inflexibly rejecting all offers of money, when she most needed it, and all intercession, even from those whose support was most essential to her, in behalf of a Galician nobleman, named Alvar Yañez de Lugo, who had murdered the only witness to a fraud he had committed. Isabella persisted in ordering his execution.

In the same year in which Isabella's title to her kingdom was finally recognized, died John II. king of Aragon and Navarre; and Ferdinand succeeded to all his dominions except Navarre, the maternal inheritance of his half-sister, Queen Leonora. He was now sufficiently occupied with the administration of his patrimonial states, and more freely allowed his consort to rule hers at her own discretion. The government of their respective kingdoms remained separate during the lives of the wedded sovereigns, and those kingdoms long afterwards retained their several constitutions; but the separate names of Castile, Leon, and Aragon, may be considered as thenceforward merged in the common appellation of Spain.

Ferdinand and Isabella proceeded to confirm and extend their right to the title of Kings of Spain, by energetically bending their powers to the conquest of all that

Castile
from A.D.
1476—1479.

Aragon and
Navarre
from A.D.
1469—1479.

Spain
from A.D.
1479—1494.

the Mahometans yet held in a country, which had once been almost wholly subjected to their sway.

One preparatory measure, which was represented by the clergy as indispensable to obtain the blessing of heaven upon the glorious enterprize, the queen is said to have taken with great reluctance, and to have long resisted. Spain has since had cause to mourn that her extreme piety prevailed in the end over her strong judgment, and her enlightened humanity. In 1480 Isabella yielded to her confessor's urgency, and sanctioned the introduction of the Inquisition into Castile. Its first seat was at Seville. A few years afterwards Ferdinand erected a second tribunal in Aragon, where it was as unwelcome as before. The severity of its proceeding so exasperated the Aragonese, that the chief inquisitor was assassinated in the church. The crime was imputed to the new converts from Mahometanism and Judaism, and the victim, being considered as a martyr, was canonized, and revered as a saint. But the fierce temper of the free Aragonese, and their passionate attachment to their privileges, may sufficiently explain their having been impelled to the guilt of sacrilege and murder, in resentment of an infraction of their rights. It is remarkable that even whilst, in compliance with the dictates of mistaken piety, Ferdinand and Isabella were establishing this tremendous engine of ecclesiastical tyranny in their dominions, they resolutely opposed every open encroachment of papal authority upon their own, and suffered no interference on the part of the Roman pontiff with the church patronage of Spain.

During the period of truce, Muley Aly Abul Hassan, had at length subdued the rebellious wali of Malaga; but the quelling of his revolt was followed by family dissensions that quickly spread through his kingdom. Queen Zoraya, the mother of the heir apparent, Abu Abdallah, conceived a jealousy of a Christian slave, by whom the king had two sons, *Cid Alnayer*, and *Cid Yahie*, that at first distracted only the harem and the court, but soon extended its mischievous effects to the city of Granada, which was split into the factions of Zoraya, and of the fair Christian.

The king's domestic troubles did not however absorb his attention. At the expiration of the truce in 1481,

ere the sovereigns of Spain were fully prepared for hostilities, Muley Aly suddenly invaded Andalusia, where he surprised and took Zahara, a very strong fortress. Joy, triumph, and congratulations surrounded the conqueror, when, as we are told by Arab historians, a Mahometan holy man standing forth, solemnly predicted that the ruins of Zahara would fall upon the heads of the captors; and that the last hour of the Moors was about to strike. The Granadans failed in their subsequent attempts upon other towns, but committed great ravages in the open country. The kings of Spain retaliated by pouring their troops into the kingdom of Granada. They took Alhama and besieged Loxa. Muley Aly Abul Hassan strove vigorously to recover the one place, and relieve the other; but just as his exertions seemed upon the point of being crowned with success, he was recalled to his capital by intelligence of another impending revolt.

Zoraya, in the virulence of her jealousy and hatred of a rival, had lavished her treasures and her influence in organizing and increasing a faction, through whose agency she projected deposing her husband, and placing her son Abu Abdallah prematurely upon his father's throne. The king upon reaching Granada imprisoned both mother and son; but Zoraya, by bribing their jailers, gained admittance for herself and her women to Abu Abdallah's apartment; where they formed a rope of their veils and robes, by means of which they let the prince down from the window. Abu Abdallah joined his partizans, and was immediately proclaimed king. Granada now became a scene of blood, and conflict; the father occupying one fortified palace within its walls, the Alhambra, and the son another, the Albaycin, whilst their factions battled in the streets. The old king, hoping that military success against the Christians might recall his subjects to loyalty, quitted his strong hold to attempt the relief of Loxa. He succeeded, and routed Ferdinand's army; but during his absence, his son seized upon the Alhambra, and thus made himself sole master of the capital. Muley Aly Abul Hassan retired to Malaga, of which his brother, *Cid Abdallah*, surnamed *el Zagal*, was wali.

The kings of Spain, eager to revenge the affront received before Loxa, sent

Granada
from A.D.
1475—1484.

length subdued the rebellious wali of Malaga; but the quelling of his revolt was

an army to ravage the district of Malaga. The wali led out his troops to oppose the enemy. The hostile bands encountered, fought, and *Cid* Abdallah was victorious. The Spaniards fled, leaving one of their generals, the count of Cifuentes, a prisoner. This victory exalted the reputation of the warrior who had gained it; and, as if Granada were not yet sufficiently distracted, a third faction arose, that, disdaining alike the age of Muley Aly, and the incapacity of Abu Abdallah, proclaimed Abdallah *el Zagal* king, as the only man capable of saving the country. Abu Abdallah thought to retrieve his cause by rivaling his uncle's fame, and led his troops to relieve Lucena, which Ferdinand was then besieging. His attempt was unsuccessful; he was defeated and taken prisoner. He flattered himself however with hopes of deriving benefit even from his failure; and actually recovered his liberty upon condition of doing homage for his kingdom to the Spanish sovereigns, after which ceremony he was nominally supported by them, as lawful king of Granada. During his captivity his father had regained possession of the Alhambra: Abu Abdallah was now introduced by his partizans into the Albaycin, and again the walls of Granada inclosed two kings.

One day of frightful bloodshed passed. The second dawned; and again the conflict between the adherents of either monarch was recommencing in the streets, when *Cid* Alnayer, the Christian slave's son, prevailed upon his father to avoid a repetition of the preceding day's horrors by abdication. The friends of Abdallah *el Zagal* now came forward urging the people to reject the worn-out father and worthless son in favour of the hero of Malaga; and notwithstanding the opposition of Abu Abdallah and his party, Abdallah *el Zagal* was proclaimed king, and very generally acknowledged. On his way from Malaga, the new monarch met and defeated a body of Spanish troops, whose heads he brought with him to Granada. This was esteemed a most auspicious omen. Upon his arrival his brother gladly received him into the Alhambra, acknowledged him as his successor, and retired to private life. Muley Aly Abul Hassan survived his abdication only two years. The Alhambra and the Albaycin were still held, and the streets of Granada still contested, by two rival monarchs nearly related, although somewhat less

closely than before; whilst the realm for which they fought was rapidly crumbling from their grasp. Indeed, frightfully as the kingdom of Granada was convulsed from within, and disproportionate as was the force assailing it from without, its continued independent existence seems incredible. That it did still exist and maintain the struggle some years longer, is a proof of the inconceivable exertions, which, under any circumstances, a gallant nation can and will make against foreign aggression.

The kings of Spain had no allies in their Moorish war. Only two Christian kingdoms now remained in the Peninsula, besides their own, Portugal and Navarre. Navarre was in a state of utter exhaustion and debility. Queen Leonora, during her long administration as regent for her father, had, by her violence of temper and want of judgment, consummated the ruin of the country; destroying rather than draining its resources, and inflaming the civil war that had so long raged. The title of queen she had little time to enjoy, dying within a month of her accession. She was succeeded by her grandson, Francis Phoebus, so named from his beauty. Her eldest son Gaston, the young king's father, had married the French princess Magdalen, and been accidentally slain at a tournament, leaving this son and a daughter, Catherine. Francis Phoebus was only twelve years old at the time of his grandmother's death, but was a youth of the fairest promise, and it was more to the enthusiasm his appearance excited than to the influence of his mother and uncles, that the submission of the nation was due, when the royal family repaired to Navarre, after having, by an act of amnesty, so far conciliated the adverse factions, as to render the kingdom a tolerably safe residence. The reign of Francis Phoebus was however very short: he died in 1483, and his sister Catherine was proclaimed queen. Ferdinand and Isabella sought the young sovereign's hand for their son and heir John, prince of Asturias, and whilst urging their suit, occupied her kingdom. The princess Magdalen, more naturally than judiciously, preferred a connexion with her own country, and removed her daughter to France, where she married her to John d'Albret, a French prince. Some troubles ensued, but in the end, Catherine and her hus-

Navarre
from A.D.
1479—1492.

band were acknowledged by the Navarrese, and recognized by the kings of Spain, who promised to protect them, and restored the portion of their dominions they had occupied.

In Portugal, John II., who was now upon the throne, devoted his attention principally to domestic administration, to the prosecution of maritime discoveries, and to the cultivation of the commercial advantages to be therefrom derived. He was an austere sovereign; and although he was imbued with a love of justice that induced him both to endeavour to correct before he punished, and to applaud the judges who gave sentence against himself, in any suit to which he was a party, his reign was disturbed by the consequences of his harshness. He set on foot a rigorous investigation into the titles by which the nobility enjoyed many of their privileges, and held such of their estates as had been granted them by his predecessors. The privileges in question John esteemed detrimental to public justice; and the grants of lands he regarded as a criminal squandering of public property. But the nobility were indignant at such an attack upon their rights; and none so much so as the duke of Braganza, who held all his property by the obnoxious tenure, and who, knowing himself to be personally disliked by his royal kinsman, perhaps thought the measure especially intended for his ruin. He entered into a private correspondence with the Spanish court, which, when it was discovered, he asserted had no object but the protection of the legal and hereditary rights of his order. The king is said to have frequently warned the duke that he was aware of his secret, and therefore guilty intercourse with a foreign state. The duke disregarded the intimation. The duchess of Braganza was sister to John's queen; and, like her, daughter to the deceased King Alfonso's brother, Don Ferdinand, duke of Vizeu. But this doubly close connexion, by blood and marriage, with the sovereign, could neither save the duke of Braganza, nor soften the fate of his family. The duke, after some delay, was seized, tried for a treasonable correspondence with Spain, condemned, and executed. The widow fled with her children to Spain. The duke's brothers were proclaimed traitors, and the whole property of the family was confiscated.

The harshness of the investigation

which the duke of Braganza had endeavoured to resist, and the excessive severity with which the illegality of his measures was punished, probably gave rise to a subsequent conspiracy against John, which was revealed by a woman named Margaret Tinoco, mistress to the bishop of Evora, one of the conspirators. Many persons of the highest rank and consideration were implicated in her disclosures, at the head of whom was the duke of Vizeu, cousin to the king, brother to the queen, and to the fugitive duchess of Braganza. It is asserted that before the king could take any decisive steps against conspirators so numerous and powerful, and entitled by their station to free access to the royal presence, he was repeatedly so surrounded by them, as to be completely in their power, and exposed to the most imminent danger, from which he was only extricated by great boldness and address. Once, it is said, they attacked him whilst following him up the staircase of the palace—when he coolly turned round to inquire what was the matter; and the assailants desisted in utter confusion. Such a state of things could not be suffered to continue; but public proceedings against the duke of Vizeu seem to have been judged impracticable. The king therefore summoned the duke to court, under colour of employing him upon some affair of public importance; and when he appeared, plunging a dagger into his heart, laid him dead at his feet. After this strange example of a vigour beyond the law, the duke's accomplices were seized, and legally tried; very many were executed, and all were rigorously punished. John then sent for Manuel duke of Beja, the duke of Vizeu's younger brother, who, still a boy, was brought to court by his governor, Don Diego de Silva, both trembling with affright. But the king, after explaining to his youthful relation the motives of his extraordinary conduct, assured him that he should always regard him as a son; and in proof of kindness restored to him the estates forfeited by the duke of Vizeu's treason. He did not, however, allow him to assume his brother's title, and he remained duke of Beja.

The troubles and misfortunes just narrated, did not divert John's attention either from the measures requisite for securing to Portugal the command of the productive trade with the coast of Guinea, or from encouraging and sti-

mulating men of science (of whom he formed a *junta* or council) to devise means of yet further facilitating navigation. By sending out materials ready prepared, he had a fortress erected in a strong position of that African region, before the natives suspected the intention; and in 1486, he added to the former titles of the kings of Portugal, the new one of Lord of Guinea. The following year his vessels of discovery, assisted by a further application of astronomy to navigation, which was the result of the labours of his scientific counsellors, completed their survey of the western coast of Africa; and Bartholomew Dias, who commanded the successful expedition, gave to its southernmost extremity the name of *Cabo Tormentoso*, or Stormy Cape, from the tempestuous weather encountered by the fleet in its vicinity. This voyage occupied nearly a year and a half. The king, conceiving that he discovered in the situation and appearance of this promontory, as described to him, the promise of achieving the great object of desire in sailing round Africa into the Indian ocean, changed this appalling denomination into the more auspicious one, which it still bears, of the Cape of Good Hope. But the monarch's favourable opinion of the newly found Cape, could not inspire any navigator, during the continuance of his reign, with resolution to double it. John's geographical researches were not confined to the sea. He despatched two officers of his household upon overland journeys: one to Ethiopia, to seek the realms of Prester John, a supposed Christian pontiff and potentate in the East, who had long excited European curiosity, and was about this time supposed to be identified with the king of Abyssinia; the other to India, to acquire geographical information that might tend to facilitate the long-desired maritime voyage to that country.

Although John II. took no part in the war with Granada, he lived upon friendly terms with Ferdinand and Isabella; and his only son, Don Alfonso, married their eldest daughter the *Infanta* Isabella. But, within a year from his nuptials, the young prince was accidentally killed in his father's presence, by his horse falling with him as he rode a short race with a courier. The king was now without an heir, and endeavoured to procure the legitimation of his natural son Don George, who was still a

child, with a view to substituting him in the place of the deceased *infante*. He met with decided opposition to his project from his queen, who, in addition to the ordinary feelings of a wife towards the living proofs of her husband's infidelity, was of course the zealous advocate of her brother, the duke of Beja's, claim, as next heir. The queen's resistance to Don George's legitimation was supported by the nobility; and Pope Alexander VI., whilst he granted such a bull of legitimation as might authorize the holding of the grand-masterships of Avis and St. Iago, refused to extend it in contravention of the right of the lawful heir to the throne. The king apparently submitted; but he still lavished wealth and honours upon the boy, and secretly encouraged, if he did not instigate, the formation of a party in favour of his succession. The duke of Beja, alarmed and offended, left the court in disgust, and retired to his country residence.

Meanwhile Ferdinand and Isabella steadily pursued their design of extirpating the last remnant of Mussulman domination in Spain. Under the show of supporting their vassal, Abu Abdallah, they wrested one by one every place in the kingdom from Abdallah el Zagal, whose prowess and gallantry, counteracted as he was by civil dissension, could only prolong the struggle. The war lasted ten years from its commencement by the Moorish capture of Zahara. In every campaign Ferdinand commanded his army in person; and Isabella not only by her diligence and frugality supplied him with all things requisite for his operations, but frequently appeared in the camp, animating the zeal of the troops by her resolution, and further encouraging them by her solicitude in providing for their wants, contributing to their comforts, and securing due tendance for the sick and wounded. However feminine in its manner were this participation in her husband's military toils, it occasionally exposed the queen to considerable danger. While the Spanish army was besieging Malaga, a Moor issued from the town with the intention of assassinating both the king and queen. To obtain an opportunity of executing his design, he demanded an audience of the royal pair, in order, as he said, to reveal to them a certain method of penetrating into the besieged city. The supposed deserter

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1492—1498.

was conducted to head quarters, and introduced into the apartment of Donna Beatrice de Bovadilla, the queen's favourite lady. Seeing Donna Beatrice richly dressed, and engaged at chess with Don Alvaro de Portugal, a member of the Braganza family, the Moor mistook the players for his destined victims, and suddenly attacking them, killed Don Alvaro, and wounded Donna Beatrice, ere he could be seized or disarmed. Isabella, whose chamber adjoined her attendant's, heard the disturbance, and entering the room to inquire its cause, witnessed the bloody scene.

Abdallah *el Zagal's* active services against the invaders, and consequent absence from Granada, enabled his nephew to obtain entire possession of that capital, where he indulged in the pleasures of royalty, taking no share in the war, and possibly flattering himself that his liege lords were really carrying it on for his benefit. It is needless to detail the progress of the conquest, year by year. In 1490 so very little of the kingdom was left, that the contest, on the part of Abdallah *el Zagal*, unsupported by the power, wealth, and population of the city of Granada, was manifestly hopeless.

Cid Yahie, a nephew of Abdallah *el Zagal* and of Muley Aly, despairing of success, voluntarily surrendered Baza, a town of which he had the command, to Ferdinand, receiving ample domains in compensation. Yahie immediately afterwards visited his royal uncle Abdallah *el Zagal*, and by demonstrating to him the utter impossibility of further resistance, prevailed upon him to follow his example, and give up his only remaining towns, Almeria and Guadix, together with his regal dignity, upon similar conditions. But after this forced resignation of royalty, the uncrowned monarch found it irksome to reside, the subject of a stranger, in the country he had been accustomed to govern; and with the willing concurrence of the Spanish sovereigns, to whom he could not but be an object of apprehension, he sold the estates that had been granted to him, and passed over to Africa. Yahie is said to have fought stoutly on the Christian side; and he may well be supposed eager for revenge upon the royal kinsman whose guilly folly and cowardice had brought such calamities upon his family and his kingdom.

Abu Abdallah was now sole king of

Granada; but if he expected the restoration of the towns and provinces taken by his avowed protectors from his uncle, he was destined to be cruelly disappointed. Ferdinand, on the contrary, having possessed himself of all save the capital, summoned Abu Abdallah to surrender that into his hands, in conformity, as he alleged, with a secret article in the treaty, under which the Moorish prince recovered his liberty after his defeat before Lucena. Abu Abdallah seems not to have disavowed the existence of such an article, for he strove to palliate his refusal by ascribing it wholly to the opposition of his nobles and people. Ferdinand, disregarding these excuses, as soon as the return of spring facilitated military operations, led an army of 50,000 men into the plains of Granada, and encamped a few miles from the walls.

The inhabitants, the king, and his ministers, were all thunderstruck at this ominous sight. Muza ben Abul Gazan, a noble Granadan cavalier, upbraided them all publicly with their pusillanimous despondency; and exhorting the timid to trust in the valour of 20,000 gallant youths, whom the town could readily supply, encouraged the king and people to prepare for defence. The conduct of that defence was intrusted to Muza; and for a while his sallies, at the head of his brave followers, occasioned the besiegers far more loss than they cost the besieged. In pitched battles, however, the Spaniards proved superior to the Moors, and many such were fought in the space between Ferdinand's camp and the city walls. In these engagements, Gonsalvo de Cordova, afterwards surnamed the Great Captain, first acquired distinction. Frequent repulses gradually damped the courage and spirits of the Granadans, who were, after a while, entirely pent up within their walls. Different divisions of the Spanish army now ravaged the adjacent districts which still belonged to Granada, and occupying every approach to the city, cut off its supplies; whilst Isabella, who had joined her royal consort, to prove how fixed was the determination never to relax in exertion until Granada should have fallen, built a wooden town upon the site of the encampment, to afford the troops shelter during the inclemency of the approaching winter. The town thus built was named *Santa Fé*, or Holy Faith. Had the queen's

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invincible constancy needed confirmation, she might have found it in the steady resolution with which her confessor, Father Hernando de Talavera, rejected every bishopric she pressed upon his acceptance, uniformly answering, 'Mudam, I will hold no see, but that of Granada.'

The Granadans, who were suffering from want since the interception of their convoys, sank into despair at the sight of these demonstrations of perseverance on the part of their besiegers. Vain were now all the efforts of Muza to revive their enthusiasm, and to persuade his fellow-citizens rather to meet an honourable death, than endure the oppression and infamy that must await them, especially their women, under the yoke of a hostile race, who detested their religion. The king and the people resolved to capitulate, and the lofty-minded Muza, mounting his horse, issued from the city gates, and, making his way through the besieging army, disappeared. What became of him was never known.

Granada surrendered upon condition that the Mahometans should retain their property and arms, enjoy the free exercise of their religion, and be governed by their own laws, administered by their own *Cadix*. The king was to be endowed with large domains in the kingdom of Granada; but he preferred receiving their value in money, and, like his uncle, quitted Spain for Africa. It is said that after leaving the palace of his fathers, Abu Abdallah paused upon a hill, whence, for the last time, he

could behold the city of Granada, and wept bitterly, when his mother, Zoraya, who accompanied him, now probably repenting of the criminal exertions by which she had, for his exaltation, prematurely torn the sceptre from his father's grasp, indignantly exclaimed, 'Aye, weep the loss of thy kingdom like a woman, since thou couldst not defend it like a man!'

In January 1492, Ferdinand and Isabel made their triumphant entry into Granada. It was immediately constituted an archiepiscopal see, to which the queen's inflexible confessor was appointed. *Cid Yahie*, who had by his example and persuasions facilitated the final reduction of the kingdom, was named governor of the Moors, and his cousins, *Cid Yahie*, and *Cid Alnayer*, were amply provided for. Thus finally terminated the domination of the Mahometans in Spain, nearly 800 years after their first conquest of the Peninsula. Ferdinand, in honour of this great achievement, was complimented by the Pope with the title of the Catholic King, by addressing his pontifical letters, '*Regi Hispaniarum Catholico*.' The designation of 'King of the Spains' gave great offence in Portugal, where it has always been contended that the term Spain must continue to comprehend, as it did before the Moorish invasion, the whole peninsula, which is now properly divided into Castile and Portugal. The honorary appellation of Catholic King has been constantly borne by the successors of Ferdinand and Isabella.

Granada
A.D. 1491.

Spain
A.D. 1492.

BOOK II.

CHAPTER I.

Isabella's compact with Columbus—He sails on his voyage of Discovery—Ferdinand recovers Cerdagne and Roussillon from France—Columbus discovers the West Indian Islands—His second voyage—Misconduct of Spaniards in Hispaniola—Charles VIII. of France conquers Naples—Ferdinand and Isabella reinstate Ferdinand of Naples—Marriages and deaths in the Royal Family—Vasco de Gama sent out by Manuel of Portugal—Doubles the Cape of Good Hope—Reaches Calcut in the East Indies—Prosecution of Columbus's discoveries—American Continent discovered—Disorders in Hispaniola—Calumnies against Columbus—His ill usage—Triumphant acquittal in Spain—Further opposition and ill usage in Hispaniola.*

THE romantic portion of Spanish history is now finished, and we are about to enter upon what may be termed the political,—the events of which concern the whole European commonwealth, and will frequently require some detail of the history of other countries, to render them intelligible. We have seen the great object of the ambition of every Spanish sovereign, from the days of Pelayo, accomplished, and the whole Peninsula brought under Christiansway.

Of the newly-conquered parts, however, the inhabitants were still Mahometans, to whom it had been found expedient, if not necessary, to assure the free exercise of their religion. This concession was painful to the queen's devotional feelings; and whilst she took all right and lawful means to effect their conversion

to Christianity by instruction, she probably thought to atone for the supposed impiety of the indulgence, by concurring in the exclusion of the Jews from Spain. The Jews had given offence by siding with Joanna during the civil war: nevertheless this impolitic measure seems to have been really the fruit of bigotry, on the part of both Ferdinand and Isabella, rather than of resentment, and clearly not of the rapacious desire to confiscate their wealth, from which that persecuted race had so often suffered in Spain, and throughout Europe; for they were now permitted to dispose of their property,—upon condition of exporting its proceeds in merchandize, not in gold, silver, or jewels—and large sums, offered by the Jews for leave to remain, were steadily rejected. Many of them removed to Portugal, whence a few years afterwards they were similarly expelled. This expulsion was however represented as an indulgence; a considerable number having been previously burnt to death.

The next measure, subsequent to the capture of Granada, was altogether Isabella's own, and was one which in its results has exercised a lasting influence upon the condition of the whole human species, civilized and uncivilized. This was the contract, which, on the 17th of April, 1492, she signed with Christopher Columbus.

Christopher Columbus was the son of an indigent wool-comber of Genoa, but had received an education superior to what might have been expected from the circumstances of his family, and had directed his attention chiefly to sciences connected with navigation. After his education was completed, he, for many years, pursued a sea-faring life upon the Mediterranean, where, from the constant hostilities then raging, not only between Christians and Mahometans, but also amongst all small states, and many powerful vassals of large states, every mercantile voyage was a cruise. He afterwards married the daughter of one of Prince Henry of Portugal's best mariners, B. Monio de Palestrello, from whose papers he acquired much knowledge concerning nautical affairs; and domiciliating himself in Porto Santo, one of the new-found islands, colonized

* The authorities principally relied upon in this chapter are, Yllarte, Ferreras, Quintana, *Collecção de Livros inéditos de Historia Portugueza*, Barros e Couto, Da Costa, La Ciede, Gilkisson, Sempere, *Universal Modern History*. History of America, by Dr. Robertson, 3 vols. 8vo. London. 1780. Life of Christopher Columbus, by Washington Irving, 4 vols. 8vo. London. 1828. These two works are too well known to require any statement of their value. *Chronica do Serenissimo Senhor Rey Dom Manuel*, por Damiao de Goes, fol. Lisboa. 1749. Goes had, like the preceding chroniclers, access to all official documents, and he wrote his Chronicle of Manuel by order of that king's last surviving son, Cardinal Henry.

by Palestrello, he sailed in some of the Portuguese discovery fleets. From all these sources of information, and his previous studies, Columbus was induced to adopt the opinion, entertained by some of the ancient philosophers, that the earth is spherical; and he thence argued that it must be possible to reach India, whither the Portuguese were then shaping their course eastwards round Africa, by sailing westward; and the magnitude of the enterprize he had thus conceived was, to his imagination, brought more within compass, by a persuasion that the size of the earth was very much less than its now ascertained dimensions, and that consequently India, or rather China, could not be very far off in this westerly direction. So early as 1474 Columbus had proposed this new course for a voyage of discovery to John II. The king referred it to the committee of learned men whose labours were then affording such facilities to navigation; they rejected it as chimerical, and John declined embarking in the scheme: thus forfeiting for Portugal the glory of discovering a new world, and the entire dominion of America.

Many years seem to have passed ere Columbus, thus discouraged, took any energetic measures to seek another patron for his project. He next proposed it to his native Genoa, which, like Portugal, rejected it; and in 1483, being then a widower with one son, he visited Spain. There, in the prior of a Franciscan monastery, situated near a little sea-port town, called Palos de Moguer, in Andalusia, he first found a mind capable of appreciating his views. This prior, whose name, John Perez de Marchena, deserves to be recorded, entered warmly into the ideas and reasonings of Columbus, and gave him an introduction to the queen's confessor, taking charge of his child, the young Diego, whilst the father should try his fortune at the Spanish court. The whole energies and means of the kings of Spain were, at that period, engrossed by the war with Granada. The high-minded Isabella was nevertheless deeply impressed with the grandeur and boldness of the idea; and, like King John, she referred the proposal to a committee of learned men to examine into its merits, who, like their Portuguese brethren, pronounced it altogether visionary and impracticable. Still the queen rather delayed than positively refused, and

Columbus did not despair. He remained in Spain, watching every opportunity of urging his suit, whilst he sent his brother Bartholomew to England to make similar proposals to Henry VII. Various untoward accidents so delayed B. Columbus's voyage, that, although the project met with a more favourable reception from the judicious English monarch than it had before experienced, by the time Bartholomew brought the tidings to his brother, it was too late for England to profit by his enterprize. the treaty with Isabella having been already concluded.

When the successful termination of the Moorish war left her leisure to turn her mind to other matters, Isabella again gave ear to the representations of Columbus. His arguments and those of his true patron the Franciscan prior had by this time wrought a change in the opinions of some of her counsellors; and although the cautious Ferdinand still declined any participation in so wild a scheme, Isabella determined to undertake the adventure on behalf of her own realms; and, her treasury being utterly exhausted, proposed to pawn her jewels for the purpose of raising the money requisite to fit out the three vessels with which Columbus was to explore unknown oceans. Lewis de Sant Angel, receiver of the ecclesiastical revenues in Aragon, however, advanced the needful sum, without reducing her to such extremities. And C. Columbus at the age of fifty-six, after having for eighteen years endured all the disappointment, mortification, and ridicule, usually lavished upon speculative schemers, at length on the 3d of August, 1492, set sail upon his bold voyage of discovery.

This year was further memorable for the signature of treaties, that, if they did not actually begin, led the way to the beginning of the new era in the history of modern Europe, since which the history of every country has become more complicated, by the involvement of each country in the affairs of its neighbours. The change in question began with Charles VIII. of France, who, upon attaining to his majority, was impelled by a youthful and foolish ambition to invade the kingdom of Naples, to which he laid claim in right of his relationship with the former kings of the house of Anjou. In order to be at liberty to undertake this distant conquest, Charles negotiated disadvanta-

geons treaties with his neighbours; and, by that concluded with Spain, he restored to Ferdinand the counties of Roussillon and Cerdagne, which John of Aragon and Navarre had pawned to Lewis XI., Charles's father, for money with which to put down the Catalonian insurrection.

It is asserted by Spanish historians that Charles showed manifest symptoms of bad faith, in his suspicious procrastination of the delivery of the two provinces, the sole remnant of the once ample Aragonese dominions in France. Ferdinand however was not to be trifled with, and he compelled their surrender.

Meanwhile Columbus was prosecuting his arduous enterprize; but when, after leaving the last of the already discovered islands, he had sailed for two months and a half upon unknown oceans, without reaching India, China, or even Japan, the bold adventurer himself began to feel alarmed as well as astonished at the immense extent of shoreless sea; and his sailors and pilots became so thoroughly frightened, that he now found almost as much difficulty in persuading them to proceed, as he had formerly experienced in obtaining vessels to make the attempt. It is said that he at last promised to turn back if no land should be seen in the next three days, and that, within the specified time,

West Indies
A.D. 1492.

on the 12th October, they made one of the Bahama islands, which Columbus named San Salvador.

The wonderful strangers, in their floating castles, were received with reverence and kindness by the simple natives, whom Columbus called Indians, from his persuasion that he had reached, if not India itself, yet the neighbourhood of that land of wealth. A persuasion which was confirmed by the quantity of gold he found amongst the islanders, and, strangely enough, not shaken by their evident state of barbarism. In an intercourse carried on by signs, neither party comprehending a word of the other's language, it is not surprising that mistakes should have occurred, and that he should have understood their replies to his inquiries whence they procured their gold, according to his preconceived notions, as directing him further westward to Japan. He prosecuted his voyage from San Salvador, himself and his men in the highest spirits. He discovered, besides several small islands, the

larger ones of Cuba, and Hayti, as it was then called by the inhabitants, and is now again called by its negro lords, after bearing in the interval the names of Hispaniola and St. Domingo. They were everywhere equally well received, and in this last island Columbus, with the consent of the *cacique*, as the native chiefs were termed, built a wooden fort, in which he left a scanty garrison of Spaniards, under the command of one of his trustiest associates. On the 4th January, 1493, Columbus set sail on his return, carrying with him, as tokens and trophies of his success, a quantity of gold, specimens of the various productions of the islands, and several natives. He was driven by stress of weather into the Tagus on the 4th March, and was kindly received by the king, notwithstanding the mortification John must have felt upon the occasion. Columbus put to sea again as soon as the weather permitted, and reached Palos on the 15th of the same month.

The joy, the exultation, excited in Spain by the arrival of Columbus, cannot be described.

Spain
A.D. 1493.

He was loaded with honours, and confirmed in the promised dignities of admiral and viceroy of the newly discovered regions, as well as in various pecuniary privileges. A difficulty however arose as to Isabella's right of conferring such dignities, or benefiting in any way by the discovery,—Portugal claiming those regions as comprized within her grant from the Pope: all parties, it will be remembered, alike believed them to be a part of India. The question was referred to a *junta* of learned men of both nations, at the same time that application was made to the reigning Pope (Alexander VI.) concerning it. The *junta* decided that the discoveries of Columbus were not included in the Portuguese grant; and his holiness finally, as he conceived, terminated the dispute, by drawing a line across the Atlantic, from pole to pole, and adjudging all lands discovered or to be discovered on the east of that line to Portugal, all on the west to Castile. This bull of division was no sooner obtained than a new, and far more powerful expedition was prepared for prosecuting discoveries so happily begun. Men of all ranks, including noble cavaliers, now flocked to partake in the glories of the enterprize, in the spoils of a land teeming with gold; and Isabella, to whom, as to Columbus, the conversion

of the heathen natives was a principal object, sent an ample supply of monks as missionaries. With these the admiral sailed in September of the same year.

Upon reaching Hayti he found his fortress in ruins, and all the garrison slain. The unruly temper of the Spanish adventurers had, upon his departure,

shaken off all bonds of subordination. The soldiers had indulged in the most licentious and offensive outrages against the natives; and afterwards, by quarrelling amongst themselves and with their commander, they had afforded to men, whom they had exasperated to the uttermost, but whom, as savages, they too much despised to fear, opportunities for destroying them in detail. It cost the admiral (Columbus's favourite title) much labour and exertion to replace matters upon their former footing. He effected it, however, and then, despatching the greater part of his little fleet to Europe, he set sail with the remainder to continue his discoveries, and, as he hoped, to find his way to Japan at least, if no farther. He now left a considerable colony established upon the island. In this voyage he discovered a great number of the West Indian islands, though of course he did not reach any part of Asia. But the misconduct of his unruly colonists, the noble cavaliers hardly brooking his authority, again produced hostilities with the natives, which compelled Columbus to reduce Hispaniola by arms to positive subjection. He sent five hundred Indians to Spain, with his brother Diego, to be sold for slaves, and imposed on the islanders a sort of poll tax, or tribute, of a specified quantity of gold or cotton, not large, but nevertheless not to be provided without a degree of labour to which that feeble and indolent race were wholly unaccustomed, and which reduced them to actual despair.

The attention of the kings of Spain was, during this period, chiefly occupied with the affairs of Italy. Charles VIII. crossed the Alps, and entered Italy to execute his intention of invading Naples, in 1494. Alfonzo king of Naples upon succeeding to his father Ferdinand, applied to his kinsman the king of Spain for assistance, as did Pope Alexander VI.; but the king of Spain had received a high price for his neutrality, and refused to interfere except by mediation. This proved ineffectual, and Charles overran

the kingdom almost without opposition. —Alfonzo, like his father Ferdinand, having rendered himself so odious to his subjects by tyranny and cruelty, that they would not fight in his cause. In this extremity Alfonzo resigned his crown to his son Ferdinand II., trusting that the amiable qualities of the young prince would, by awakening affection in the hearts of the Neapolitans, inspire them with resolution to defend their country. But it was either too late, or the Neapolitans hated the unoffending youth for the offences of his progenitors. Their indifference compelled Ferdinand to fly, and in 1495 Charles found himself master of Naples.

The violence and licence, in which Charles indulged his followers and his army, quickly transferred to him the hatred borne by the Neapolitans to their former sovereigns. The Italian states, which, actuated by aversion to those tyrannical princes, had beheld their overthrow with indifference, took fright at the prospect of seeing so powerful a monarch as the king of France established amongst them, and Ferdinand of Spain conceived similar apprehensions at the consequences of his neutrality. By his ambassadors he stimulated those states, and Maximilian, emperor of Germany, to form a league against France, which he himself invaded through Roussillon. Charles was now alarmed in his turn. He quitted Naples with the larger part of his army, and returned to France, fighting an indecisive battle with the allies by the way. Ferdinand then sent over a body of troops, under the command of Gonsalvo de Cordova, who quickly expelled the French, and reinstated Ferdinand II. in his kingdom.

This was about the brightest period of the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella. The Moors were subdued; their French provinces regained; their kinsman, who was married to a niece of Ferdinand's, was restored; a new world was discovered that promised to prove a fruitful source of wealth; and marriages, seemingly the most fortunate, were concluded for their children,—their son and heir Don John having married the daughter of the Emperor Maximilian; their second daughter Joanna, Philip, the son and heir of that monarch, by Mary of Burgundy, and already, in right of his deceased mother, sovereign of the rich and fertile Netherlands; the third, Catherine, was affianced to Arthur prince of

West Indies
from A.D.
1493—1494.

Italy
from A.D.
1494—1495.

Spain
from A.D.
1494—1495.

Wales; and Manuel duke of Beja, having this year succeeded to his cousin John II., despite all intrigues in favour of the illegitimate Don George, solicited and obtained the hand of the eldest *infanta*, the widow of the prince of Portugal. These brilliant prospects were however soon clouded in the point nearest to the heart of a mother. The prince of Asturias died within a few months of his marriage, and his widow bore a dead child. The queen of Portugal was now

Spain
from A.D.
1496—1497.

invited to Spain, to be for the second time sworn to as heir-ess of the kingdom. She came, but scarcely had she been regularly acknowledged by all the several states, ere she died in childbed; and the same ceremonies were renewed with increasing gloom in regard to her new-born son Don Miguel, who was acknowledged heir of both Spain and Portugal, and seemed destined at length to unite the whole Peninsula into one kingdom. These hopes were cut off, in a few more months, by the death of the infant heir. The superstition of many Spanish writers has represented this series of domestic calamities in the royal family as the chastisement due to the guilt of the king, who shortly before, upon the early death of Ferdinand of Naples, (exhausted it is said by the fatigue of the war,) had concluded a treaty with Charles of France for dividing the kingdom of Naples, and despoiling the new king Frederic, a brother of Alfonso's, of his rights. This iniquitous treaty, however, if already signed, was not put into execution for some years.

All the success of the Spanish and Portuguese naval expeditions had as yet failed, it seems, to establish their importance in public opinion, for upon

Portugal
from A.D.
1498—1499.

Manuel's accession it had been seriously debated in his council whether the attempt to reach India round Africa should be further prosecuted or abandoned. Fortunately the bolder arguments so far prevailed, that the new king determined to carry on the attempt at a moderate expense, and in July, 1497, four years after the discovery of America, he despatched Vasco de Gama, with three ships, to double the Cape of Good Hope, and endeavour to reach India. Dias, the discoverer of that promontory, who had the command of one of the annual ships employed in the trade with the Coast of Guinea, was commis-

sioned to guide him thus far on his course, ere proceeding upon his own voyage.

In the month of November Gama successfully doubled the formidable Cape, and sailed up the Eastern coast of Africa, as far as Mozambique. Here he found a Moor from Fez, who, acting as interpreter between him and the natives, facilitated the conclusion of a treaty, in virtue of which the king of Mozambique was to furnish the adventurous navigators with pilots well acquainted with the course to India. But, whilst they were taking in wood and water, a quarrel arose with the natives, to whom the fault is of course imputed. The pilots made their escape, and hostilities ensued. They did not last long; the terrors of the Portuguese fire-arms soon compelling the Africans to submit. Another, and as the king assured Gama, a better pilot was supplied, and on the 1st April, 1498, he sailed from Mozambique. The new pilot proved quite as ill-disposed as his predecessors, endeavouring to betray the fleet into the power of his countrymen at Mombaza; and being alarmed with apprehensions of detection, by the bustle apparent in the crew of Gama's ship, which had accidentally grounded, he also made his escape. It was not till they reached Melinda that they found really friendly natives. From that port Gama at last obtained a pilot who steered him right across the gulph to the coast of Malabar.

The first place in India made by the Portuguese, was Calcutt. Here Gama announced himself as an ambassador sent by the king of Portugal to negotiate a treaty of alliance with the sovereign, the *zamorin* of Calcutt, one of the most powerful princes of that part of Hindostan, to establish commercial relations, and to convert the natives to Christianity. How far this last object of his mission was agreeable to the bigoted Hindoos, or the equally bigoted Mahometan conquerors, who were then the masters of those wealthy regions, we are not distinctly told by the Portuguese historians; but the *zamorin* appears in the first instance to have received Gama well, and been upon the whole pleased with his visit. This friendly intercourse was interrupted, as we are assured, by the intrigues of the Moors or Arabs, who being in possession of the pepper trade, and indeed of the whole spice trade, were jealous of interlopers. Quarrels arose, and some acts of violence were committed. They ended, however,

in Gama's gaining the advantage, and friendship was restored between him and the *zamorin*. He procured cargoes of pepper, sailed from Calcutt, and reached Portugal in July, 1499, after a two years' voyage. He was received with the utmost exultation. The king in addition to his other titles, now assumed the strange one of *Senhor*, or Lord of the Conquest, Navigation, and Commerce of Ethiopia, Arabia, Persia, and India; and bestowed upon Gama those of admiral, and count of Vidigueira, besides a share in the royal monopoly of the trade with India. Manuel was at this time married, by papal dispensation, to Maria, the youngest sister of his deceased wife Isabella, according to the usual practice of the Portuguese court, where the ties of relationship seem to have been considered as recommendations, not bars, to marriage.

In Castile, during this time, the vilest calumnies had been circulated against Columbus, by the combined enmity of the colonists, who were impatient alike of the strict discipline he enforced, and of their subordination to one whom they regarded as an upstart, mercenary foreigner, and of Fonseca, bishop of Badajoz, afterwards patriarch of the Indies, to whom Isabella had committed the entire management of her Transatlantic affairs; and who, though an able man, was not superior to the influence of a petty malevolence, provoked by the high spirit of Columbus. To these calumnies the queen was induced to listen by her tenderness for her newly-acquired barbarian subjects, and her consequent dissatisfaction with the admiral's treatment of them. His consignment of five hundred slaves she had immediately restored to their native homes. She at the same time sent out a commissioner to inquire into the accusations against the admiral, and strict orders that the Indians should in every way be conciliated. She was further induced by Fonseca, in violation of her agreement with Columbus, to sanction the prosecution of his discoveries by other persons, upon terms very beneficial to the royal treasury: namely, the receiving a tenth of all the gold obtained, without contributing to the expense of the expeditions.

These marks of royal displeasure brought Columbus back to Spain. He committed his authority during his

absence to his brother Bartholomew, an able man of firm character, but naturally, as having achieved no wonderful deeds to redeem the stain of low and foreign birth, yet more obnoxious than the admiral himself, to the haughty and turbulent colonists. In Spain Columbus easily vindicated his conduct; but, partly from the machinations of his enemies, and partly from the exhausted state of the treasury, (drained by the Neapolitan expedition, and the expenses incident to the late royal marriages and successive installation of several heirs,) it was not till May, 1498, that he was enabled to sail upon his third expedition of discovery. Upon this occasion he actually did discover the great Southern Continent of America, and gave names to places upon the gulph of Paria. But he mistook the point of land that forms the western side of the bay for another large island, and thence provokingly lost the fame of the discovery. He proceeded onward to his colony, which he found in open rebellion against his brother; and he could no otherwise restore tranquillity, than by allowing a large body of the rebels to return to Spain in the vessels destined to continue the examination of these new regions. In consequence of these hinderances, the private expedition which sailed from Spain the following year, under Ojedo and Amerigo Vespuccio, a Florentine merchant, being secretly furnished by Fonseca with the charts made by Columbus of his last voyage, was enabled to explore the continent north-westward from the mouths of the Orinoco, and thus to defraud the real discoverer of part of his glory,—claiming the discovery of the continent as their own, and giving it the name of America, instead of that of Columbia, which it assuredly ought to have borne.

Even the surrender to the mulineers of ships, so essential to his own hopes and projects, had not enabled the admiral to reduce the colony to complete order. He was compelled to propitiate, rather than attempt forcibly to control, those who remained behind; and, for this purpose, to allow them to make slaves of the natives whom they employed in searching for gold. This contravention of her express orders again irritated Isabella, and a second time gave weight to the allegations of the admiral's inveterate enemies. She sent out Don Francisco de Bovadilla, in 1500,

America
from A. D.
1495—1503.

Spain
from A. D.
1497—1498.

with authority to inquire into the conduct of Columbus, and, should it prove criminal, to supersede him. Bovadilla is represented as a man of good sense and character, but the temptation proved too strong for his virtue, and he sent the viceroy of the new world with his two brothers home in chains.

Upon their voyage, the captain of the ship in which they sailed, offered to take off the insulting irons. 'No!' said Columbus. 'Their majesties have commanded me to submit to Bovadilla; by their authority he put these fetters upon me, which I will wear till they shall command them to be taken off.' He accordingly landed at Cadiz in chains, when a burst of universal indignation arose. The unpopularity, produced by misrepresentation, and by the public disappointment at the discovery of the new world not having been followed by an immediate and immense influx of treasure, vanished, and a reaction ensued, proportionate to the injudicious virulence of the admiral's enemies. Isabella ordered his instant release, and wrote to him with her own hand, expressing her regrets at his ill-usage, and inviting him to court. She likewise sent him money to defray his journey thither. He repaired to Granada, where the court then was, accompanied by the acclamations of the people; and Isabella received him with tears of emotion at the recollection of all he had done, and all he had suffered. Columbus had supported his ill-fortune without a complaint; but the sight of his queen's sympathy overpowered his fortitude. He flung himself upon his knees before her, and burst into so passionate a fit of weeping, as rendered him for some minutes incapable of addressing her.

Bovadilla was immediately superseded; but Columbus was not reinstated in his viceroyalty. Some notion now begun to be entertained of the magnitude and importance of the newly-found world; and Ferdinand's conviction that the viceroyalty of such regions was too great a trust to be committed to a foreign adventurer, induced Isabella at least to suspend his authority. He was despatched with a fourth expedition to explore further the southern continent, and if possible find a passage to Indis. In this last object it is needless to say that he failed. In the former he so far succeeded, that he explored a considerable extent of coast, and was very near lighting upon Mexico. It is im-

possible not to regret that he should have missed a discovery which would so abundantly have recompensed his toils, by insuring to him the reputation and respect necessarily contingent upon the ascertainment of the value of his New World. He sailed from Cuba, made the main land about the bay of Honduras, but unfortunately turning south-east instead of north-west, sailed along the Mosquito shore, towards the southern continent; and attempted to establish a colony, in which he was disappointed by the opposition of the natives, and the usual misconduct of the Spaniards. On his return he was shipwrecked upon the island of Jamaica, where he was detained a twelvemonth by the ill will of Ovanda, the new governor of Hispaniola, who, although two of the admiral's most attached followers boldly made their way in a country canoe to the colony with the tidings of his distress, wilfully neglected to send vessels for his relief. During that year Columbus restrained the hostile disposition of the natives only by making an use of his astronomical knowledge, which might be called quackery, were it not justified by actual necessity. He threatened to deprive them of the moon at a period when he knew that an eclipse would occur; and, when he saw the savages terrified by the seeming execution of his threat, promised to restore her if they bound themselves to comply with his wishes.

Upon reaching the colony he found it in great disorder, himself slighted, and the unhappy Indians, upon whom he had originally hoped to confer the benefits of civilization unmixed, more cruelly oppressed than ever. He could not endure to reside in such a scene, and returned, for the last time, to Europe, to solicit the restoration of his own authority. He found his sole protectress, Isabella, upon the brink of the grave.

CHAPTER II.

Computatory conversion of the Moors—Conquest of Naples by Ferdinand and Lewis XII.—The Great Captain expels the French from their share—Death of Isabella—Accession of Joanna and her husband Philip in Castile—Portuguese discover Brazil—Hostilities in India—Gradual increase of Portuguese possessions in India—Indian Mahometans obtain aid from Turkey—Victory of Mahometan

allies—Their defeat—Peace restored—Dissensions amongst the Portuguese in India—Albuquerque extends the Portuguese Empire from the Persian Gulf to Malacca—Establishes a yet more extensive trade—Death of Philip—Confirmed insanity of Joanna—Ferdinand obtains the Regency—Joins the league of Cambray against Venice—The Holy League against France—Seizes Navarre—Peace with France—War and Conquests in Northern Africa—Discovery of the Pacific—Death of Ferdinand—Death of John and Catherine of Navarre.*

VARIOUS occurrences had, during the absence of Columbus, occupied and harassed the queen. She had experienced much difficulty in prevailing upon

Spain
from A.D.
1495—1501.

Ferdinand to summon Joanna, now their heiress, with her husband, the Archduke Philip, to Spain, in order to the solemn recognition of her rights; and, when she succeeded, her daughter's visit brought her fresh grief instead of comfort. Joanna had probably never been blessed with strong intellects; she idolized her husband, and Isabella could not but perceive the ill effects produced by jealousy, and Philip's indifference, upon the princess's mind. Her mental disorder increased to partial insanity when he, disliking the Spanish gravity and state, pertinaciously adhered to his determination of returning to Flanders, whilst her approaching confinement prevented her accompanying him. This last domestic calamity preyed upon Isabella yet more heavily than her preceding misfortunes, and altogether undermined her constitution.

Her melancholy had already, perhaps, lessened her constancy in resisting the influence* of her intolerant clergy, and she had given way to their desire of expediting by harsh measures the conversion of the Mahometans, thus violating the conditions upon which Granada had surrendered. These severities provoked a rebellion, and the Spanish noblemen,

who first attempted to quell it, lost their lives amidst the stronghold of the Mahometans, the Alpajarra mountains. Ferdinand himself then marched against them, and by generalship at length forced them to submit. The more obstinate, or rather the more honest, Mahometans were allowed to remove with their effects to Africa, upon paying a large sum of money per head, which Ferdinand seems to have valued beyond industrious subjects; the remainder received baptism, and became nominal Christians.

The other transaction which had marked this period, though considered as glorious, was stamped by too much treachery and guilt to have been really gratifying to the pure mind of the conscientious Isabella. When Lewis XII. succeeded Charles VIII. upon the French throne, Ferdinand renewed or made the proposal for dividing the kingdom of Naples, justifying the plunder of a kinsman, upon the plea that Frederic had refused the marriage he had wished and recommended between the duke of Calabria, Frederic's son and heir, and Joanna, the daughter of his father Ferdinand I., by Joanna, Ferdinand of Spain's sister; and had, by ill treatment, obliged those two princesses to quit Naples for Spain. Lewis gladly embraced the offer; and when he had overrun the duchy of Milan, which he claimed in right of his grandmother, a Milanese princess, he called upon Ferdinand to assist him, according to agreement, in the invasion of Naples. The mode in which Ferdinand performed his part of the compact was as perfidious as the compact itself was unjust. He sent over the Great Captain, Gonsalvo de Cordova, with a powerful army, under colour of assisting Frederic against the invaders; and these pretended allies were, as friends, allowed to occupy many of the strong-holds of the kingdom; when, joining with the invaders, they turned their arms against him whom they had professedly come to defend. The Neapolitans were not more disposed than before to fight for their king or their independence. Frederic found resistance impossible, and showed his sense of his Spanish kinsman's conduct, by trusting his future destiny preferably to a stranger. He surrendered himself to Lewis's generals, and was conveyed a prisoner to France, where he spent the

Italy
from A.D.
1499—1503.

* The authorities principally relied upon in this chapter are, *Vilarte, Ferreras, Garthay, Quintana, Barros e Costa, Goez, Da Costa, Le Ciede, Harris, Glanville, Robertson, Universal Modern History, History of the House of Austria, by Archdeacon Cox, 3 vols. 4to. London, 1807. History of Brazil, by Robert Southey, 3 vols. 4to. London, 1810, &c. The great diligence with which Cox and Southey have consulted all accessible sources of information upon their several subjects, renders their respective histories of the House of Austria, and of Brazil, most satisfactorily authentic.*

remainder of his life in captivity. Tarento alone still held out, defended by the duke of Calabria in person. It was besieged by the Great Captain, and when reduced to extremity, surrendered, upon condition of the duke of Calabria's enjoying his liberty; notwithstanding the solemn ratification of which condition, the unfortunate prince was soon afterwards transferred, against his will, to Spain*, where he too lived and died a prisoner. In 1501 Naples was conquered and divided between the allies.

But the unjust conquerors of Naples did not long agree touching the division of their booty. The French and the Spaniards very soon began to charge each other reciprocally with encroachment, and the historians of either nation still labour to throw the guilt of aggression upon the other. It certainly appears likely that the king of Spain, who had so treacherously plundered his own relation, would not display a very scrupulous probity towards his accomplice; and it is certain that the Neapolitans, to whom the levity and licentiousness of the French troops were intolerable, expressed in various ways a marked preference for Spanish over French masters. Nevertheless, if both parties were not equally in fault, which is most probable, circumstances seem to acquit Ferdinand and his Great Captain of any regularly formed scheme to despoil the French of their share: since when, after much wrangling, war at last broke out between the commanders of the two conquering armies, the Great Captain and the duke of Nemours, the former was not duly prepared for the contest, and, for a while, the French had so decidedly the advantage, that the Spanish allotment must have fallen to France, had not the progress of her arms been checked by negotiations. The Archduke Philip, passing through France on his return to the Netherlands, took upon himself to settle the dispute in an interview with Lewis, by betrothing his infant son, afterwards the Emperor Charles V., to Lewis's eldest daughter, Claudia, upon condition that the kingdom of Naples should be resigned by both parties to the youthful pair. Immediate notification of this treaty was

sent by Lewis and Philip to the French and Spanish generals; but the latter, demurring as to the authority of the archduke, did not proceed to disarm; and Ferdinand, resenting the presumption of his son-in-law, refused to ratify the treaty. Having now received considerable sums from the Moors, he despatched abundant reinforcements to his general, who, thus seasonably strengthened, quickly expelled the French from Naples. The duke of Nemours fell in action.

Lewis, indignant at this breach of faith, made great exertions to revenge the violation of an iniquitous compact, sending one army to recover Naples, and another to invade Roussillon, by the restoration of which the French had certainly gained but little. The former of these armies was repulsed by the abilities of the Great Captain, and Ferdinand in person accompanied the duke of Alva to the defence of Roussillon, which they effectually cleared from invaders.

Spain
from A.D.
1501—1506.

But the joy of these successes was, before the end of the year, sadly overclouded to Spain. In the month of November, 1504, died Queen Isabella, who has been justly and happily eulogised by an elegant modern writer*, as the most beautiful of historical characters, the purest sovereign who ever sat upon a throne; and, estimating her by the standard of her contemporaries, (the only fair standard,) she was also one of the most enlightened. The encouragement she afforded to science was such, that the grandees had their children well-educated to please her; and the Inquisition, as she established it, was destined chiefly, if not solely, to watch over new converts from Judaism or Mahometanism. By her will, drawn up with the concurrence of her *Cortes*, Isabella left the regency of her kingdoms to Ferdinand, during the incapacity of her daughter Joanna, and the minority of her grandson Charles; having first received Ferdinand's assurance upon oath that he would not, by a second marriage, risk the separation of their united realms, through the birth of a male heir to his own patrimonial dominions.

With Isabella expired the tranquillity of Spain. The Archduke Philip immediately laid claim to the regency.

* Spanish writers, who seem more solicitous to clear the character of the Great Captain from the charge of perfidy than that of the king, endeavour to justify Gonzalez's conduct to the duke of Calabria by referring it to Ferdinand's express order.—A poor apology.

* Washington Irving.

or rather to the sovereignty of Castile, as husband to the insane queen, and the majority of the Castilians were induced to declare for him, partly by loyalty to Joanna, partly by dislike of Ferdinand, whose cold temper had been always peculiarly offensive to them, and who now increased their dislike by marrying again, in violation of his word pledged to the late queen, and, as they thought, evincing little feeling of her loss. His marriage was, however, of use to him, by producing peace with France. He chose for his bride Germaine de Foix, the niece of Lewis XII., who resigned his claims to his half of the kingdom of Naples in favour of the issue of that marriage, but to revive in default of such issue. Ferdinand, after a long contest for the regency of Castile, was in the end obliged to yield, and Philip obtained the government with the title of king. Ferdinand's concurrence was perhaps the more easily gained from his anxiety to visit Naples; the jealousy he had long entertained of the Great Captain, but which the benign influence of Isabella had hindered from breaking out during her life, having risen to an uncontrollable height since her death. The prompt loyalty with which Gonzalvo obeyed the mandate recalling him to Spain, proved Ferdinand's suspicions to be groundless, but does not seem to have allayed them.

In Portugal, meanwhile, the success of Gama had put an end to all doubts as to the prosecution of maritime enterprise.

In 1500 Manuel sent Pedralvares Cabral to India, and he, standing out more to the west than usual, accidentally discovered Brazil. Soon afterwards another adventurous Portuguese navigator, named G. de Cortereal, sailing northward, is said to have reached Greenland; but the northern continent of America had already, even before Columbus had discovered the gulph of Paria, been visited by English vessels under the command of John Cabot, a Venetian, employed by Henry VII.; and that portion of the new world did not appear sufficiently inviting to induce any warm competition for its dominion. Cabral had not the conciliatory manners of Gama, and soon after his reaching Calicut the Moors succeeded in so completely embroiling him with the natives, that hostilities ensued. A factor, whom he had placed on shore to superintend the collecting of pepper for the

cargo of his ships, was killed; and Cabral, after amply avenging his death, left Calicut, accepting the invitations of the kings of Cochin and Cananor to complete his cargoes in their ports. A war broke out in consequence between Cochin and Calicut, in which the former was nearly subdued. But Manuel now sent out fleets and troops sufficient for the protection of his allies. The *zamora's* armies were defeated, and driven from their conquests; the king of Cochin recovered the whole of his dominions, and was easily persuaded by the commander of those allies to whose prowess he was so much indebted, Albuquerque, to permit them to build a fortress in a strong position, which would enable them efficiently to protect the kingdom of Cochin, and insure the safety of the factors left in India to prepare cargoes of pepper and other spices. This was the first strong footing obtained by the Portuguese in India, and the first germ of their immense eastern empire. From this time forward they were engaged in constant warfare in that part of the world; the smaller princes seeking their friendship and protection, the more powerful opposing them; whilst the policy of the Portuguese was to spare and to court the native Hindoos, encouraging them to rise against their Mahometan masters, the real antagonists of the European adventurers.

The Mahometans were so much annoyed by the appearance of Christian arms in a quarter hitherto their undisturbed property, that they made representations upon the subject to the powerful Mameluke Sultan of Egypt, who sent an ambassador to Rome to alarm the Pope, as the spiritual head or father of Christendom, with menaces, that if he did not put a stop to all Christian aggression against the Mahometans, whether in Spain, in Africa, or in India, the sultan would take signal vengeance upon all Christians in his dominions, as well as upon Jerusalem and its holy places. The terrified Pope imparted the sultan's threats, backed by his own entreaties, to Ferdinand and Manuel. Upon the former they produced no effect whatever, and they rather inflamed than cooled the king of Portugal's eagerness to make war upon the misbelievers in every part of the world. In northern Africa, indeed, his expeditions had failed. Some had proved unavailing, some had

Portugal
from A.D.
1500—1505.

been directed to other more pressing objects; one having been employed to assist the Venetians against the Turks, a service which the Venetians now repaid by stimulating the Egyptian monarch against their former allies, whose direct intercourse with India seemed likely to injure their indirect trade with that country through Egypt. Manuel's zeal was unimpaired by his reverses, and he replied to his holiness that he intended both to make India Christian and Portuguese, and to destroy the sect of Mahometanism at Mecca; and that the holy father ought to assist his pious designs by preaching a crusade against the Turks in Europe, which should prevent their opposing him in Asia.

The days of crusades were past; no Christian league interfered with the movements of the Mahometans, and a powerful armament was equipped by the Sultan in the Red Sea, and

East Indies
from A.D.
1504—1515.

despatched to India to co-operate with the Mussulman sovereigns of that fine but never independent region, for the expulsion of the Portuguese. Don Francisco de Almeida, the first viceroy of the Portuguese eastern empire, and, like all the early commanders, an able man, was then in India. He had increased the profitable trade carried on there, by extending the Portuguese discoveries, (if we may give that name to the first reaching of one civilized country by the ships of another,) and establishing various new friendly connexions; he had also given a degree of consistency to a vice-royalty, which appeared rather unsubstantial, by inducing some tributary states of the larger Indian kingdoms, especially native Hindoo tributaries of Mussulman conquerors or their descendants, to transfer their allegiance and their tribute to Portugal, and by obtaining leave from different sovereigns, to build forts for the safety of the Portuguese factors, settled in their sea-ports. Almeida's son, Don Lourenço, with very inadequate forces, first encountered the Turkish armada near Diu. The Turks had been joined by the Cambayan navy, under the command of the captain of Diu, Melique Az, a Russian renegade, who, having been presented by a slave trader to the king or sultan of Cambay, had gained his liberty and his master's favour together, by his dexterity as an archer, displayed in transfixing with his arrow a kite that had most impertinently and

inauspiciously, on a day of battle, defiled the king's turban, as high in air he soared over head. The united Turkish and Cambayan fleets, Don Lourenço, with more temerity than judgment, attacked. He was defeated and slain, his vessels retiring, however, in good order.

The afflicted viceroy made every exertion to avenge his son's fall, and assembled a large fleet, with which he defeated that of the enemy, but concluded a peace with Cambay. Alfonso Albuquerque, the greatest of the great men Portugal sent to India, now arrived as Almeida's successor, and somewhat uncourtously demanded the instant surrender of his authority. Almeida, who deemed he was only to resign it at his departure, the usual practice, threw Albuquerque into prison; but the commander of the next fleet from Portugal took Albuquerque's part, and Almeida sailed for Europe under circumstances of insult unsuited to his services. What would have been the king's decision between the two able viceroys, to one of whom he had incurred, and to the other was incurring, so vast a debt, is unknown, as Almeida lost his life on his homeward voyage, in a squabble between his servants and a party of negroes. Albuquerque's subsequent services abundantly effaced all recollection of any impropriety in his conduct towards his deceased predecessor. During his government he extended the Portuguese dominions in the east, from Ormuz, at the mouth of the Persian Gulph, to Malacca,—took Goa, a very valuable sea-port, where the seat of government was subsequently fixed,—established a friendly intercourse with the Shah of Persia, and sent vessels to open a trade with the Molucca or Spice Islands. All this was effected ere his death in December, 1515, within twenty years from Gama's first voyage.

In Castile, King Philip was sedulously destroying the good will at first shown him by his wife's subjects. He quarrelled with the Inquisitors, neglected Cardinal Ximenez and the Duke of Alva, whom Ferdinand had recommended to him as his ablest counsellors, indulged the rapacity of his Flemish favourites, and, finally, ill-treated Joanna, endeavouring to have her declared insane, and, as such, confined. The grandees, upon this attempt, positively required to see their queen. They visited her at one of her best moments, and found her

Spain
from A.D.
1506—1512.

quite rational. Their report raised the indignation of the Castilians to its utmost height, and a rebellion seemed upon the point of breaking out, when it was stayed by Philip's sudden death, in consequence of drinking cold water when over-heated.

But this event was far from producing immediate tranquillity. The shock finally confirmed Joanna's insanity. She kept the corpse in her own chamber, so jealously excluding all women, except her own immediate domestics, that she even refused other assistance than theirs at the birth of her child, the *Infanta* Catherine; and she pertinaciously refused to listen to any kind of business, or even to sign a paper, merely answering, to every application, 'My father will see to it.'

Ferdinand was then in Italy, endeavouring to secure his possession of his newly-acquired kingdom of Naples. He was labouring, at once to counteract the dangers he feared from the Great Captain's popularity, and to obviate the possibility of future mischief from any recognition of right in his young queen, Germaine, as whose marriage portion the French half of the kingdom having been confirmed to Ferdinand by Lewis, might be reclaimed in the event of her dying childless. But Ferdinand's absence was not the only difficulty with which Castile had to contend. Philip's follies had not reconciled the Castilians to their late queen's husband. They still hated him, and various measures were proposed to avoid his government. One party proposed committing the regency, during the minority of the prince of Asturias, to that prince's paternal grandfather the Emperor Maximilian, and negotiated his free passage through Navarre. Another would have named the queen's second son, Ferdinand, a child, in fact meaning to govern themselves in his name. A third would have re-married her. In such a state of anarchy, all the disorders that Isabella had with difficulty repressed, revived and distracted the country. The following year, 1507, Ferdinand returned to Spain, and by the influence of Alva and Ximenez, obtained the regency. His firmness and prudence, joined to Cardinal Ximenez's great abilities, soon restored the country to its former tranquillity.

The interests of his Neapolitan conquest kept Ferdinand perpetually engaged in the various and fluctuating wars and leagues of the different Italian

states with France and the empire. By his accession to the league formed at Cambray against Venice, he obtained from the Venetians, as the price of peace, some Neapolitan sea-ports which they had seized. He afterwards turned against his former allies, joined the Holy League, as it was termed, formed by Pope Julius II. and the Venetians, for the expulsion of the French from Italy; and he is said to have done so only upon condition of the Pope's excommunicating the king and queen of Navarre, as adherents of the schismatic council of Pisa. Certain it is, that those sovereigns were thus excommunicated; and that the king of Aragon turned the sentence to his own advantage.

He proposed taking his share of the war by invading the south of France and assisting his son-in-law, Henry VIII. of England, to recover Guienne. To facilitate this invasion, Ferdinand demanded from the Navarrese sovereigns a free passage for his troops through Navarre, and that the prince of Viana, together with some strong places, should be placed in his hands as pledges for the safety of his troops during their passage. These last demands Catherine and her husband rejected, offering to observe the strictest neutrality. To that offer

Navarre
from A. D.
1492—1512.

Ferdinand replied, by accusing them of having concluded an alliance, offensive and defensive, with France, upon the strength of which accusation he sent the duke of Alva with a powerful army to occupy their kingdom. A show of negotiation was still kept up, some old pretensions to the crown were produced, founded upon the close family connexion between the kings of Aragon and those of Navarre, or the will of Blanche, and the excommunication, which gave the ancient Pyrenean kingdom to the first occupant, was insisted upon. The Aragonese faction, which, in opposition to a French faction, had so long existed in Navarre, supported Alva; and his preponderating numbers bore down all opposition; whilst the presence of an English army in Guienne, awaiting Spanish co-operation, prevented the oppressed sovereigns from obtaining effective succours from France. Pamplona surrendered upon terms. Alva solemnly swore, in the name of Ferdinand, to respect and maintain all laws, rights and privileges of the Navarrese; and most of the other fortified towns followed the

example of the capital. The king and queen retired to France, whence the former returned with a French army to attempt the recovery of his wife's dominions. But he found the Spanish forces too powerful, and again evacuated the kingdom; or, at least, by far the larger part of it, which lies south of the Pyrenees, and has, ever since 1512, formed a part of the Spanish monarchy;—a natural and important union, had it been brought about by just means. John and Catherine retained the royal title, with which they ruled the small French portion of Navarre.

The English commander, the marquess of Dorset, meanwhile was complaining of the non-execution of the stipulations of the treaty with England,

Spain
from A.D.
1512—1515.

on the part of Spain. The season for military operations was consumed by Alva in conquering and securing Navarre; and the English army returned home without recovering Guienne. Ferdinand had now gained all he had purposed by the war, and made peace with Lewis, leaving his allies to shift for themselves.

The Castilian dominions in Africa were likewise extended during Ferdinand's regency. Cardinal Ximenez, with the regent's sanction, fitted out an armament at his own expense, with which he took Oran; and this acquisition exciting a desire for conquest in Africa, similar to that animating Portugal, many attacks upon the Moors were made with considerable success. Ferdinand, besides, assisted his son-in-law, Manuel, in the only prosperous one of those many African expeditions, that consumed the wealth he derived from India: namely, the expedition in which Manuel took the sea-port town of Arzila, in the empire of Morocco.

It was upon this second assumption of the regency of Castile, that the king of Aragon seems to have begun really to appreciate the importance of the discovery of Columbus, who had not long survived his royal friend and patroness. In 1507 Ferdinand established a council for the especial management of Indian affairs, composed of able men. Without the licence of this council, no trade could be carried on with the New World, nor could any individual repair thither. He further regulated a church establishment for those provinces, over which he al-

Spanish
America
from A.D.
1504—1517.

lowed the pope as little control as was compatible with Catholicism. These Transatlantic dominions certainly were rapidly increasing in consequence, notwithstanding the frightful decline of the native population, resulting from the Spaniards both compelling the Indians to labour beyond their strength, and driving them from the fertile and, to them, genial plains, to the cold and barren mountain regions, where mines are usually found. Diego Columbus, the admiral's eldest son, had instituted a suit against Ferdinand, for the restitution of the rights, honours, and privileges assured to his family; and obtained from the Council of the Indies a sentence in his favour. This favourable decision obtained him, probably, the hand of Donna Maria de Toledo, a niece of the duke of Alva, and the powerful influence of his wife's family prevented tergiversation on the king's part. Ovando was recalled, and Don Diego sent out as governor to Hispaniola, whither he was accompanied by many of his new connexions, and whither the splendour of the sort of court he and his lady held, quickly attracted colonists of a rank far superior to any of the preceding adventurers, and from whom most of the noble Creole families in Spanish America are descended.

In 1510, Don Diego employed Velasquez, one of his father's associates, to conquer and colonize Cuba; and various unsuccessful attempts, by private persons, at establishments upon the continent, ended in one feeble colony upon the Isthmus of Darien, under Balboa. Balboa was an able and enterprising man: he conciliated the neighbouring Indians, from whom he obtained such information of the wealth of the Peruvian empire, as impelled him to make his way across the isthmus, when he discovered the Pacific Ocean. He sent tidings of his discoveries and schemes to Spain, requesting means to conquer Peru. The tidings and schemes were gladly received; but the jealousy which every man of abilities excited in the breasts of the king and his Indian minister, Fonseca, prevented their intrusting the projector with the execution. They sent Pedrarias Davila to supersede Balboa as governor of Darien. Internal dissensions ensued, which ended in Balboa's execution upon a false accusation; and Pedrarias having offended the natives, could get no information from them. The Peruvian project was, therefore, abandoned as illusory.

Such was the prosperous state in which Ferdinand left an immense empire to his grandson Charles,—no affection for whom had, however, inspired or sweetened his exertions. He seems to have entertained for the young prince (whom, indeed, he had scarcely ever seen, Charles having been entirely educated in the Netherlands) no sentiments except the jealousy kings so often betray of their successors. He even sought to weaken the future sovereign of Spain by giving to Don Ferdinand, his younger grandson, the three grand-masterships of St. Iago, Calatrava, and Alcantara, which, as too formidable in the hands of subjects, he and Isabella had, with some difficulty, irrevocably united to the crown; a mischievous grant, only prevented by the earnest remonstrances of his trustiest counselors. His joy when Germaine bore him a son, who would have separated Aragon, Catalonia, Valencia, Sicily, and Naples, from Joanna's realms, was unbounded; and upon the early death of this infant heir, his anxiety to see him replaced is said to have impelled him to the use of drugs that entirely destroyed his already-failing strength, and brought on a succession of illnesses which terminated his career on the 23d of January, 1516.

Ferdinand has been as highly praised by Spanish historians as he is bitterly vituperated by the French. His true eulogy is in the regrets of his own subjects, which seem to have been real; and his character must be judged from his history. He was a bad husband to Isabella. Perhaps the best *trait* recorded of him, is his refusing, when in great want of money, a free gift offered him by the Aragonese nobles, upon condition of his repealing a law that allowed the vassals of the nobles to seek redress of their grievances from the royal tribunals. He replied, 'I will not sell my subjects' liberty for money. I have emancipated the nobles' vassals from their masters' yoke, and will keep them free.'

The despoiled king and queen of Navarre shortly followed the usurper of their rights, dying in the months of April and July, respectively, of the same year. They left their French dominions and regal title to their son, Henry II. of Navarre.

CHAPTER III.

*Able regency of Ximenez—Charles arrives in Spain—Is proclaimed king jointly with Joanna—Death of Ximenez—The rapacity of Charles's Flemish favourites disgusts the Spaniards—Charles elected emperor—Rebellion of the Comuneros, or municipalities—Their leader, Padilla, affects to act in Joanna's name—Charles conciliates the nobles and clergy—Comuneros advance in their demands—They are defeated—Padilla taken and executed—The confederated cities gradually submit—Rivalry between Charles and Francis I.—Francis secretly assists Henry of Navarre to invade his kingdom—Navarre conquered and recovered—Open war between Charles and Francis—Charles, by his wise clemency, finally suppresses the rebellion of the Comuneros.**

By Ferdinand's death, Joanna became queen of the whole monarchy of her parents, enlarged as it had been, even since her own accession to the one-half, by her father's policy. But Joanna's mental infirmity grew worse and worse. Her son Charles, therefore, was invited to Spain; and the government remained until his arrival, in the hands of Ferdinand's natural son, the archbishop of Saragossa, and of Cardinal Ximenez, whom the deceased king had appointed severally regents of Aragon and of Castile. To the former no objection was made; but Ximenez was of a family, though noble, reduced to great poverty, and the haughty Castilian grandees disdained submission to one whom they esteemed their inferior. He had besides provoked

* The authorities principally consulted for this chapter are, Yriarte, Ferreras, Quintana, Barros e Couto, Góes, Da Costa, La Ciede, Sempere, Cox's House of Austria, Universal Modern History, *Cronica do muito alto e muito poderoso Rey destes Reynos de Portugal, Joam 3 deste nome*, por Francisco d'Almeida, seu Conde e seu Cronista mor, fol. Lisbon, 1643—a chronicle resembling the former for authenticity. History of Charles V., by Dr. Robertson, 4 vols. 8vo. London, 1777—it is almost superfluous to say, that this is a standard book. *États sur les Mœurs et sur l'Esprit des Nations, et sur les principaux faits de l'Histoire depuis Charlemagne jusqu'à Louis XIII.*, par M. de Voltaire; *Œuvres Complètes* de M. de Voltaire, 100 tom. 12mo. Basle, 1793—a work of considerable value to the philosophic investigator of history, from the extraordinary powers of the author's mind, but not to be depended upon for facts, which are frequently distorted or discoloured, perhaps unconsciously, to suit preconceived theories.

much ill-will, by the rigour with which he had investigated those grants of lands and privileges that royal profusion had lavished to the impoverishment of the exchequer, and had enforced the fair pleas he found for resuming many. A deputation of these grandees arrogantly questioned him as to his powers, and the late king's right of naming a regent; when the cardinal, coolly leading his interrogators to a window, showed them a large body of troops under arms, and answered, 'By those powers I govern Castile until Prince Charles shall arrive, or shall supersede me.' That this last alternative was not an empty profession, he soon had occasion to prove. When Adrian, bishop of Utrecht, a Fleming, who had been the prince's preceptor, arrived with his pupil's authority to assume the regency, it would have cost Ximenez but a word (such was the Castilian abhorrence of the Flemings since Philip had disgusted them with his nation) to free himself from his rival; but he at once received him as his colleague, and governed conjointly with him.

Boldness and wisdom were the characteristics of the cardinal's administration. He repulsed a French invasion of Navarre, on behalf of the despoiled sovereign; and by dismantling every fortress throughout that kingdom, except Pamplona, which he proposed to render impregnable, according to the military science of the day, he projected to make it impossible for an invading army thenceforward to do more than overrun the country, and retreat upon the advance of superior forces. He proceeded steadily with Ferdinand and Isabella's plans for reducing the exorbitant power of the nobility, and adopted one measure, which, had it been persevered in, might have preserved to Spain her liberties, and delivered her from the feudal tyranny of the privileged orders, without exchanging it for the more noxious yoke of despotism. This was the establishment of a burgher militia, to be raised and trained by the great towns. Ximenez' object was not to strengthen the towns, but to give the crown troops, independent of the barons; and the citizens seem to have viewed the scheme in the same light, as a mere burthen, without advantage to themselves. They submitted reluctantly, and after the projector's death the plan dropped. Ximenez was much thwarted, and in every way annoyed by the influence of the Flemish court. He remon-

strated warmly against the assumption, by the prince of Asturias, of the regal title, to which he could have no right during his mother's life. But when he found his opposition vain, he exerted himself as strenuously to obtain Charles's recognition as king in Castile, as though he had himself advised the measure; and, in despite of the indignation of the Castilians at this indecent denouncement of a mother's infirmity by a son,—at this ungracious usurpation of a parent's rights,—the cardinal succeeded in causing Joanna and Charles to be acknowledged as joint queen and king. In Aragon, the archbishop's abilities proved unequal to the task; and the disorders excited by the attempt continued until the young prince's own arrival in Spain.

This event was retarded by all the influence of William de Croy, Seigneur or Lord de Chievres, who had superintended Charles's education, and during his pupil's minority, governed the Netherlands, under the authority of the Emperor Maximilian, to whom the Flemings themselves had committed the regency. In these offices, De Chievres had acquitted himself well; but his natural avarice could not resist the temptation of maintaining himself the sole channel for the distribution of favours, which he was, so long as his former pupil, and now master, (Charles was legally of age, though barely sixteen at his grandfather's death,) could be detained in Flanders. At length, however, the exhortations of Ximenez and of the emperor, joined to the murmurs of the Spaniards, prevailed, and the young king repaired to Spain, accompanied by his Flemish ministers and courtiers.

It was still the object of these persons to prevent all intercourse between Charles and the able regent of Castile; an object that, unfortunately for Spain, was but too easily accomplished. The cardinal, upon his journey to receive his sovereign, was seized with severe illness, ascribed to poison, but no unnatural effect of great fatigue in advanced age. Unable to proceed, he wrote to entreat an interview, and to admonish the young king as to his future course. The latter, either influenced by his favourites, or irritated by the admonitory tone of the letter, answered by permitting the cardinal to retire to his diocese, and repose his declining age after a long life of toil. Ximenez died a few hours after reading the letter.

This extraordinary man united to the most splendid political abilities the learning of a recluse, and the profound piety, the ascetic mortifications and penances, of the cloister. He displayed the magnificence becoming an archbishop of Toledo, a primate of Spain; but amidst it he constantly wore sack-cloth, slept upon a board, and fed upon the meagre diet of his austere order, the Franciscan. He visited and encouraged the most indigent members of his family, but would not enrich them, and expended his immense revenues upon the poor, upon wars with the infidels, in building public granaries, in founding the university of Alcalá, and a chapel, with twelve canons, for the performance of the old Mozarabic ritual, for which he professed peculiar reverence, and in the general encouragement of learning. The first polyglot Bible was published at his expense.

The influence of the Flemings was now, for the moment, unopposed and uncontrolled, Charles appearing to be so mere an instrument in their hands, that he began to incur the contempt of Spain, as little superior in intellect to his imbecile mother. The Flemings, knowing him better, suspected possibly that their reign would be short, and made the most of the opportunity, selling every public employment and every favour with the most audacious venality, and yet more exasperating the Castilians by appropriating high offices to themselves, contrary to established laws; Sauvage, a Fleming, being appointed Chancellor, and William de Croy, a nephew of De Chievres, and still under the canonical age, archbishop of Toledo.

A general spirit of dissatisfaction was now fermenting throughout Spain. The cities of Castile began to confederate; at first, only for the purpose of giving weight to their remonstrances against the illegal intrusion of foreigners into the highest dignities of church and state; though, as is usual in such cases, they soon enlarged and extended their views. The *Cortes* of Aragon and Catalonia still resisted Charles's desire to obtain the title of king and a grant of money. They at length yielded, but the subsidy they gave was very inferior to his expectation and his necessities; and the whole kingdom expressed the most violent displeasure, when, soon afterwards, the king's sister, the young and lovely Leonora, who had been promised to the prince of Portugal, was

given in marriage to his father, King Manuel, now the widower of two of her aunts.

This third marriage seems to have at last withdrawn Manuel's mind from those African expeditions, to which his heart and soul had been previously devoted. In them he had so entirely consumed his Indian wealth, that upon one occasion, when the prevalence of the plague prevented the assembling of the *Cortes*, he was impelled by necessity to impose a tax by his own authority. The urgency of the case was generally received as a sufficient excuse; but one magistrate, a man of little consideration either for birth or wealth, opposed its payment at Evora. The king sent for him, and endeavoured by argument, flattery, threats, and imprisonment, to overcome his resistance; till convinced, at length, of his inflexibility, he dismissed him with high praises of his patriotic firmness, and abandoned the illegal tax. Upon the death of Queen Maria, Manuel's vexation at the almost constant failure of his attempts to recover the African province of Algarve beyond the sea, (during his whole reign he re-conquered only three African towns,) had inspired him with an intention of abdicating in favour of his eldest son, and devoting himself, as grand-master of a military order, to the effecting his favourite schemes. Some symptoms, however, of both an undue impatience for power and an arbitrary temper, betrayed by the prince of Portugal upon the occasion, induced him to give up his project—when he married Leonora, and occupied himself with the internal and colonial interests of his kingdom.

The attention of the king of Spain was about this time completely abstracted from the discontents of his subjects by an event that opened to him a prospect of greatly increased power and dignity. This was the death of his paternal grandfather, Maximilian, who had long been endeavouring to secure the imperial crown to Charles, the undoubted heir of his dominions as Archduke of Austria. The intrigues and negotiations of the two rival candidates for the empire, Charles of Spain and Francis I., who had lately succeeded to the French throne, do not belong to the history of Spain. It is enough to say that the former was

Portugal
from A.D.
1500—1512.

Spain
from A.D.
1512—1522.

ected; that the rivalry of the two young monarchs, which first appeared upon this occasion, gave birth to a series of wars in which almost all Europe was involved; and that Spain had little cause to rejoice in her king's elevation, his imperial dignity costing her much blood and treasure spent in quarrels not directly affecting her interests. Charles I. of Spain was, as emperor of Germany, Charles V., by which denomination he is known in European history; for Spanish historians he remained Charles I.

Germany was at this time full of religious dissensions and disorders, excited by the novel doctrines of the Reformed Church, which the celebrated Martin Luther had recently promulgated, and by the injudicious measures that Pope Leo X. had adopted, in order to suppress what he esteemed heresy. These disorders had begun under Maximilian, and much increased during the interregnum. The emperor's presence was therefore indispensable in his new dominions, but his departure from Spain was the occasion of great evils in the country he left.

Unable to spare time for a repetition in Valencia of the contests and delays that had harassed him in Castile, Aragon, and Catalonia, Charles determined to send Adrian, who had recently received a cardinal's hat, to that province, there to hold the *Cortes* in his name, swear fidelity to the constitution, and receive the oaths of allegiance. This substitution was vehemently resisted by the Valencian nobles as a violation of the laws and constitution. Whilst the emperor's indignation against the refractory nobles was at its highest, the citizens and populace of the city of Valencia, having been stimulated by a seditious monk to take the law into their own hands with respect to some unpunished criminals, were so pleased with this exercise of power, that they proceeded to form themselves into a *hermandad*, or confraternity, possessed themselves of the government of the city, elected municipal officers, and sent deputies to court to petition against the feudal privileges of the nobility, which were more oppressive in Valencia than in any other part of Spain. The emperor, incensed at the nobles, encouraged these popular complaints against the objects of his own anger, and sanctioned the acts of the people. The other Valencian towns followed the example of the capital.

The Castilian tumults were directed against the emperor's own measures. Want of money induced him to summon another *Cortes*, and want of time to appoint the place of assembling in Galicia. This was as unwonted as the early renewal of a demand for money. The cities were indignant, and their deputies presented forcible statements of grievances requiring redress. The jealousy which the nobles about this time began to entertain of the towns, enabled the emperor to elude the petition of the deputies, and obtain the supplies he needed; when, naming Cardinal Adrian regent of Castile, and two noblemen of Aragon and Valencia respectively regents of those kingdoms, he embarked at Coruña, and set sail to take possession of the empire.

It is noticed by historians as remarkable, that during this first residence in Spain, the young king discovered no symptoms of the great talents and energetic character by which the Emperor Charles V., was distinguished. But it is to be observed that, having been born and bred in Flanders, he was not then familiar with either the manners or the language of his peninsular subjects; and that his governor, de Chievres, had acquired a species of paternal authority over him in his early boyhood, such as the strongest minds are not perhaps the first to shake off. When to these considerations is added that of his unripe years (he was born in 1500, and, therefore, barely seventeen when he landed in Spain), his deficiency in political sagacity will hardly be thought surprising.

When it was publicly known that the emperor had obtained a grant of supplies, and quitted Spain without redressing a single grievance, the indignation of the cities knew no bounds. In Segovia, the deputy who had suffered himself to be thus duped was put to death by the people; and in other cities, where the deputies prudently avoided the wrath of their constituents, they were executed in effigy. In more efficacious measures, Toledo took the lead. There the citizens flew to arms, expelled all the constituted authorities of royal nomination, elected municipal governors and councils, to whom they gave the name of *Comunidad*, raised troops from amongst themselves, of which they intrusted the command to Don John de Padilla, the eldest son of a Castilian nobleman, and invited all the other

cities of Castile to follow their example, —an invitation which was very generally obeyed. The nobility and clergy, severally offended by the appointment of Cardinal Adrian to the regency, and of De Croy to the Archbishopric of Toledo, were at this period not disinclined to unite with the *Comuneros*, as the partisans of the *Comunidades* termed themselves.

The complaints of the insurgents were well founded; the insurrection bore a formidable aspect, and many members of Adrian's council advised conciliation. But the most unwelcome seem always most ready to provoke civil war, and the cardinal determined to quell the revolt by force. He accordingly sent a body of troops against Segovia, the guiltiest of the confederated cities. Padilla led a body of *Comuneros* to oppose the assailants, and the royal troops were defeated with the loss of their artillery. An officer, named Fonseca, was now sent against the rebel city with a larger army, which he was ordered to provide with cannon from the magazines at Medina del Campo. But the inhabitants of that place refused to part with the artillery; Fonseca attempted to take it by force, and to cut short resistance, set the town on fire. The loss of life and property in consequence was great, and the exasperation of the public mind proportionate. The flame of insurrection spread through Leon, Galicia, and Estramadura. It was already raging in Valencia and Murcia, and was only kept down in Aragon and Catalonia, by the good sense and energy of the regent Don John de Lanuza. Andalusia alone seems to have partaken but little in the prevalent temper.

Padilla was now at the head of considerable numbers of troops, and of a *Junta* formed of deputies from the confederated cities; and he resolved by a bold measure to gain a legal sanction of his proceedings. He led his troops to Tordesillas, where Joanna had resided ever since her husband's death, and made himself master of the town and of the queen's person. He visited her majesty, and chancing to find her in a lucid interval, informed her of the state of affairs, of her son's mal-administration, and her people's sufferings. She replied, that she had not known of her father's death, or she would herself have attended to the government, and naming Padilla captain-general, she authorized him to act in her name. The sanguine Padilla

now thought all was secured; but Joanna quickly relapsed into her usual condition, and could not be induced to sign a paper, or exercise any other function of royalty. The *Junta* and Padilla, however, still acted in her name, and the Castilians were delighted at the idea of being governed by the daughter of the idolized Isabella.

The emperor was by this time aware of the serious character of the insurrection, and had recourse to conciliatory measures. He appointed the Constable and the Admiral of Castile, two powerful noblemen, co-regents with Adrian, and offered to concede all that had been demanded at the last *Cortes*. But the *Comuneros* and the *Junta* now rejected what at an earlier period would have amply satisfied them. They demanded, further, the confirmation of every old liberty, some rather extravagant privileges, great curtailments of the already very limited royal authority, and above all the restriction or abolition of many feudal prerogatives of the nobility. They had, however, no longer power to enforce their demands. The nobles, gratified by the appointment of the constable and admiral, and offended by the *comuneros'* attack upon their order, went over, for the most part, to the side of government, and the constable's son, the Count de Haro, took the command of the royal forces. His military skill proved an overmatch for Padilla's. He recovered possession of Tordesillas and of the queen; defeated the insurgents in several actions, and at length, at Villalar, took Padilla prisoner. He formally executed him the following day. The cities now vied with each other in submission, Toledo alone continuing to resist. There Donna Maria, Padilla's widow, resided; a woman of high spirit, who by her courage and address, induced the citizens still to defend the cause for which her husband had fallen; until the death of the Flemish archbishop, and the nomination of a native to that high dignity, drawing off her clerical partisans, Donna Maria found her influence gone. The town and citadel capitulated, and she escaped with her infant son to Portugal, where she ended her days in exile. The Valencian insurrection, which extended to Majorca, was fiercer and more sanguinary; but was at length, like the Castilian, suppressed, the efforts of the viceroy being aided by the nobility. And the consequence of these, as of all

unsuccessful rebellions, was a material accession of power to the triumphant party, and a proportionate reduction of those rights, for the extension of which the vanquished had fought and suffered.

The death of de Chievres, during the progress of these disorders, having emancipated the emperor from tutelage, his powerful mind and character now began to develop themselves, as did also that rivalry between him and Francis I., which, in the collision between two powerful and ambitious princes, scarcely needed to be enkindled by a contest for the empire.

Francis had repeatedly summoned the emperor to restore Navarre to Catherine's son Henry; a restitution which the emperor had as often evaded, by alleging his own pretensions to that kingdom. Francis thought that the Spanish troubles during the rebellion of the *comuneros*, offered the lawful king a favourable opportunity of recovering his dominions, and accordingly supplied Henry with men and money for the enterprise, whilst disclaiming the invasion, and maintaining the outward appearance of peace and friendship with the sovereign whose territories were invaded. Henry, assisted by the French party in Navarre, overran the open country and besieged Pamplona; the fortifications projected by Ximenez were yet incomplete, and the place fell. The siege is rendered memorable by one remarkable event. Amongst the garrison was the celebrated Ignacio Loyola, who received a wound in the defence of the city, and during the confinement requisite for its cure, his ardent mind conceived the first idea of the extraordinary monastic order which he afterwards founded,—that of the Jesuits.

After the fall of his capital, Henry met with little resistance. His kingdom was soon regained, and, leading his army across the frontiers, he laid siege to Logroño. But the place defended itself stoutly; the troops that had just conquered the Castilian rebels hastened to its relief; and Henry with his French troops was routed, driven back into Navarre, and through Navarre over the Pyrenees, again losing his kingdom as rapidly as he had recovered it.

Francis sanctioned a similar attempt upon the Netherlands in a similar way, disowning the adventurer whom he supported. This incursion equally failed, but drew on open hostilities, the chief scene of which was Italy; where the

kingdom of Naples and the duchy of Milan were claimed by both the emperor and the French king. The latter had conquered Milan from the Sforza family, who had long held that duchy, and the emperor now commissioned his able generals, Antonio de Leyva, a Spaniard,—the marquis of Pescara and Prosper Colonna, Italians—and Lannoy, viceroy of Naples, a Fleming, to expel them, and reinstate Francis Sforza, as a vassal of the empire. In this they succeeded, partly from their own abilities, partly from the detestation borne by the Italians to the French, (whose levity was far more disgusting to their jealous tempers than the arrogance of the Spaniards, or the roughness of the Germans,) and partly from the folly of the French court, that wasted, in idle pleasures, the money requisite for the necessary expenses of the army, including the pay of the Swiss mercenaries. During these operations the death of Pope Leo X. vacated the papal see, to which the emperor procured the elevation of his preceptor, Cardinal Adrian, thus strengthening and tightening the hands of the alliance he had contracted with Leo.

The emperor now returned to Spain, visiting England in his way to invigorate the friendship existing between himself and Henry VIII., and to pacify Cardinal Wolsey's resentment at the neglect of his claims in favour of Adrian's, in the late papal election. He accomplished both objects, and landed in Spain in June 1522. Here he completely extinguished the last lingering spark of rebellion by his judicious clemency. Upon reaching Valladolid, he caused a general amnesty to be proclaimed in his presence in the market place, both forbidding further prosecutions, and rescinding past sentences of dishonour or confiscation. From this amnesty eighty persons were, indeed, excepted; but that seems to have been done merely to inspire terror, for not above ten or twelve were executed; and when an officious courtier offered to tell the emperor where one of the excepted persons was concealed, he replied, smiling, 'You would be more usefully employed in telling the unfortunate gentleman where I am.'

CHAPTER IV.

Discovery and invasion of Mexico—Warlike character and resistance of the Mexicans—During conduct of

Cortes—Harassed by the governor of Cuba—Conquest of Mexico—Discovery of the Straits of Magellan—Disputes between Spain and Portugal, concerning the trade to the Moluccas—Provisionally settled upon the double marriage of the royal families—Progressive extension of the Portuguese dominions in India—Acquisition of Diu and the Moluccas—Mahometan Princes seek aid from Constantinople—Siege of Diu, by Turks and Indians—Ungrateful treatment of the Portuguese Viceroy—Battle of Pavia—Capture of Francis—Recovery of the Milanese—Treaty of Madrid—Liberation of Francis—He refuses to execute the treaty—Storming of Rome—Capture of Pope Clement VII.—Peace amongst the Christian Powers.*

WHILST the transactions related in the last chapter were taking place, considerable changes had occurred in the Spanish possessions in America, the extent of which was constantly increasing. The distressed condition and frightful mortality of the Indians, under the severe labour required from them by their cruel taskmasters, had long been a subject of the deepest regret to the benevolent Bartholomew Las Casas, a Dominican monk, one of the first missionaries sent to America. When he despaired of producing any effect by his remonstrances to the colonists, he returned to Spain to endeavour to procure laws, prohibiting the forced labour of the natives. Here Charles had found him upon his first visit to Spain, and immediately despatched commissioners to inquire into the state of the case, who confirmed the worthy Dominican's statements, but also confirmed the counter-statements of the colonists, that without such forced labour the mines could not be worked, or the soil cultivated. Various laws were passed to regulate and moderate what it seemed hopeless to prevent; and when such laws proved wholly futile to repress the avarice of men, far removed from the restraining authority of government, Las Casas proposed the transportation of negro slaves to America, as substitutes for the Indians.

Spanish
America
from A.D.
1518—1522.

The proposal was at once adopted, and has continued to be generally acted upon till within the present nineteenth century. It is impossible not to smile at this surprising expedient of a whimsical and partial humanity, that relieves one race of men at the expense of another; but it must be remembered that the slave-trade, horrible and revolting as it is, was no invention of the good monk's, having been already mentioned as a main branch of the commerce with the coast of Guinea. Las Casas merely extended to the West Indies what was already practised in Europe; and it must be further acknowledged in favour of the real humanity of his plan, that the robust negroes performed, without injury to their health, that work which was death to the feeble Indians.

In 1518, Velasquez, governor of Cuba, selected Fernando Cortes, as a clever man, whose poverty insured his submission, to undertake, in his name, and upon his account, with eleven vessels of different sizes, and six hundred and seventeen men, the conquest of the newly-discovered empire of Mexico, with its presumed boundless treasures and inexhaustible gold mines. But the expedition had not yet sailed, when Velasquez, beginning to suspect that his deputy was not likely to prove quite as subservient as he desired, endeavoured to deprive him of his command. Cortes, foiling the attempt, reached the Mexican coast safely, and now fully determined, whether such had been his original intention or not, to throw off his dependence upon Velasquez. He found the Mexicans a very different people from all the Americans previously known to the Spaniards; warlike, advanced to a certain degree of civilization, subject to a regular form of government, and entertaining lofty ideas of themselves and their monarch. The then reigning emperor, Montezuma, was represented to Cortes as a bold and able warrior, who had obtained the crown by his military achievements, and had since reduced almost every neighbouring nation to subjection. Cortes assumed the character of an ambassador from the Emperor Charles V. to this mighty emperor of the West, and as such insisted upon visiting his court, which it was the grand object of Mexican policy to prevent.

After long and fruitless negotiation, Cortes determined to proceed to the capital of the empire, despite the opposition of the Mexicans. But he also

* The authorities principally consulted in this chapter are, Yriarte, Ferréras, Barros e Couto, d'Andrade, Da Costa, La Cede, Voltaire, Robertson, Coxe, Universal Modern History.

determined that his hazardous enterprise should be attempted for his own benefit. To insure this, he founded the town of Vera Cruz, on the sea-coast; and forming a corporation, after the municipal model of Spain, out of his little army, he received from the authorities so constituted the offices of chief justice and captain-general, thus involving all in the guilt of his rebellion. He then burned his ships, at once to strengthen himself with their crews, and to render flight hopeless; and leaving a garrison in Vera Cruz, set forward with the remainder of his band. He fought and beat all who opposed him, and gaining the friendship of those who feared Montezuma's power and ambition, obtained a reinforcement from Tlascala, a native republic yet unsubdued, the bravest and most warlike of Mexico's neighbours. Thus aided, Cortes made his way to the capital, which was seated in the centre of a lake, accessible only by narrow causeways, and impregnable without the command of the lake.

Montezuma's character seems to have sunk under the enervating influence of arbitrary power, for he displayed none of the energy of an usurper and conqueror. He received the Spaniards with deference, professing to believe them the kindred of the first founder of the Mexican empire, of whom the tradition ran, that he had come thither from far distant eastern countries to instruct the then ignorant natives; and that he had announced the future visitation of the descendants of his kinsmen, to reform whatever abuses might, during the interval, arise in Mexico. But if Montezuma was sincere in this belief, he probably did not desire the improvement expected to be brought about by his white visitors; for whilst he was thus expressing reverence and affection for his guests, he ordered his generals to attack the Spaniards left at Vera Cruz, and their Indian allies, in which attack several Spaniards were slain. This disaster was privately reported to Cortes by one of his Indian allies, who made his way to him disguised as a Mexican. The daring adventurer immediately resolved to secure himself against similar danger, by holding the emperor's own person as a hostage for his safety; and Montezuma actually suffered a handful of strangers to make him prisoner in the midst of his guards and people, and to compel him to declare

that it was by his own free-will and pleasure that he removed to the quarters assigned the Spaniards, for the better enjoyment of their society. He was further compelled to give up the generals, who had only obeyed his orders, and whom Cortes tried and executed for what he termed the horrible sacrilege of shedding Spanish blood. And, as if all this had been little, Cortes, as an additional expiation, dared to put fetters for a few hours upon the powerful sovereign, in the heart of whose dominions he then was, with only a few hundred men.

And even to this indignity, as well as to his imprisonment, the address of Cortes reconciled Montezuma, over whom he acquired an absolute ascendancy in every point (even to the acknowledging himself a vassal of the European emperor, the presumed heir of his own ancestry), with the single exception of his religion, which Cortes vainly urged the captive monarch to change.

This good understanding was interrupted by the arrival of a fresh expedition from Cuba, sent by Velasquez to wrest from his rebellious deputy an authority thus abused. Cortes felt it indispensable to hasten with the better part of his little troop to the coast, in order to obviate the evils of divided councils. He arrived unexpectedly; by superior ability surprised his enemies, made the leader prisoner, and reinforced his feeble numbers, by persuading nearly all the troops sent to crush him to join his standard.

But his absence had been attended with fatal effects at Mexico, as the capital was named. Alvarado, the officer whom he had left in command there, was unequal to the task of either restraining the violence and rapacity of his own men, or of conciliating the Mexicans. A horrible massacre of an unarmed multitude had been perpetrated on pretence of a conspiracy; and Cortes found war raging, and the Spaniards besieged in their quarters, notwithstanding their possession of the emperor's person. He was suffered, nevertheless, to enter the city, and lead his comparatively great reinforcements to his almost overpowered comrades. For a day or two the fighting was incessant, and the struggle frightful; the numbers, the fierce courage, and the desperation of the Mexicans, gaining, in some measure, the advantage over Spanish discipline. Cortes now had recourse to the

influence of Montezuma to repress the tumultuous assailants, and reduce his subjects to obedience. The captive monarch was accordingly led forth between two Spanish soldiers, to command his subjects to lay down their arms. But the furious multitude paid no respect to the orders of an enthralled sovereign; they continued their assault upon the Spanish quarters, and Montezuma was mortally wounded by a chance arrow.

Cortes had now lost his only hold upon the Mexicans. A more active and warlike emperor, named Guatimozin, succeeded, and the Spaniards were compelled to evacuate the city, which they effected with great difficulty. They suffered severely in battle, as well as from fatigue and privation, ere they reached the seacoast, and the neighbourhood of their Indian allies. Once there, Cortes again reinforced his bands from an armament sent against him by Velasquez; and now, with the assistance of the Tlascalans, he regularly conquered the country, fighting his way back to the capital, which he besieged by land and water. After a long resistance, and despite the gallant exertions of the new emperor, he took it in July, 1521. The town was sacked, and the plunder, in the precious metals alone, might have satisfied the most rapacious. But the appetite of all these adventurers for gold grew with what it fed on, and their expectations rose with every new discovery. Upon the present occasion those expectations had been extravagant; and the booty fell so short of the hopes entertained, that the troops believed the royal treasures had been concealed, and mutinied. To appease them, Cortes suffered the captive emperor to be tortured, but without wringing from him any information touching concealed treasure.

Cortes despatched accounts of his success to Spain, together with the share of plunder reserved for the emperor. Though his soldiers might have been disappointed, Charles was amazed at the amount of this seasonable supply of wealth; and notwithstanding some persecutions on the part of Fonseca, the conqueror was allowed to retain the government of his conquest. After a while, however, jealousy of his power induced such curtailment of his authority, that Cortes returned in disgust to Spain, where he was pacified with titles and honours, but could not obtain the restoration of his uncontrolled viceroyalty.

About this time, the great object of Columbus, the discovery of a westward passage to the East Indies, was achieved, but did not produce the advantages he had anticipated.

Portuguese
East Indies
from A.D.
1515-1522.

Ferdinand Magalhaens, a Portuguese officer, who had served under Albuquerque, and was well acquainted with every part of the Portuguese empire in the East, being offended at the refusal, first by Albuquerque, and then by the king, of some large reward to which he conceived himself entitled, renounced his allegiance, repaired to Madrid, and proposed to Ximenez, then regent, to attempt sailing round the continent of America, at its southern extremity, thus to reach and claim the Moluccas, where the Portuguese had now built a fort, (their ordinary first step towards obtaining complete possession,) and where they carried on the most lucrative branch of their spice trade. The cardinal was pleased with the bold plan, as was the young king, in his turn. But an expedition for the adventure was not immediately equipped; and it was not until August 1519, that Magalhaens sailed upon his daring attempt. He made the river Plata, which had been discovered two years before; and thence steering southwards, after contending with great difficulties, with tempestuous weather, the ravages of the scurvy, and repeated mutinies amongst his affrighted crews, he at length discovered, and made his way through the straits, still called after him the Straits of Magellan, as his name is modified to French and English pronunciation. His difficulties, however, were not over. He had reached the southern Pacific, but not the Moluccas: his provisions were exhausted, and sickness and mutiny still harassed him. He discovered various groups of islands; amongst others those since named the Ladrões and the Philippines, upon one of which, in an affray with the savage natives, Magalhaens was killed. The survivors prosecuted their voyage, and in November, 1521, reached the Moluccas.

The appearance of Spanish vessels off the Spice Islands surprised, as much as it offended, the Portuguese governor, de Brito. Negotiations and conflicts ensued, in which the native princes took part. At length the Spaniards, proving the weaker, withdrew; but their attempt was afterwards renewed from their American ports, and violent com-

plaints were made by Portugal. The disputes thus provoked lasted for some years, and were at last rather suspended than settled. John III., who in 1523

Portugal
from A.D.
1518—1530.

succeeded to his father Manuel, advanced the emperor a sum of money, of which he stood in great need for his European wars, and Spain agreed not to revive her claim to the Moluccas until she should have repaid the loan. It never was repaid, and the provisional agreement became, in fact, final, without the question of right being decided. This arrangement was further strengthened by a double marriage of Charles with John's eldest sister, Isabella, and of John (after he had been unwillingly induced, by the earnest remonstrances of his wisest counsellors, to resign his wish to espouse his young step-mother Leonora,) with Charles's youngest sister, Catherine.

John III. proved a gloomily religious prince, under whose influence his subjects are said to have grown hypocritical, and the Portuguese character to have been, in consequence, materially deteriorated. He introduced the Inquisition to repress the Jews. Under his reign, the oriental empire of Portugal continued to increase by the wars, which

Portuguese
East Indies
from A.D.
1523—1546.

the able statesmen and warriors, whom he sent out as viceroys and governors, waged, upon the most frivolous pretexts, against the different neighbouring princes. They took advantage of the dissensions of the princes of the Moluccas, to obtain the complete sovereignty of those valuable islands. The disorders provoked by the tyranny and consequent assassination of the sultans of Cambaya enabled them to wrest from those monarchs the important fortress and city of Diu; and similar convulsions in the Deccan gave them opportunities of considerably extending the Portuguese dominions in that wealthy country. It is to be observed, however, that the sovereigns thus lawlessly despoiled, were themselves equally lawless conquerors. They were the chiefs of the Mahometan hordes, who had overrun India, overthrown the native princes, and oppressed the Hindoos. The enslaved natives probably cared little for the expulsion of one foreign master by another, if they had not cause to rejoice at exchanging the wantonly cruel tyranny of oriental despots for the more orderly extortion and oppression of a civilized people.

The increase of the power of the Portuguese now alarmed all the Mahometan potentates, and they applied to Constantinople for assistance to expel the Christian intruders. Again the request was enforced by a Christian power, Venice, whose jealousy of the Portuguese rivals of her own commercial greatness extinguished all nobler feeling, all religious sympathy. Solymán, thus doubly urged, equipped a powerful armament in the Red Sea, which proceeding to the Indian Ocean, joined the Cambayan forces in besieging Diu. The defence, first by Antonio de Silveira, and afterwards by John de Mascarenhas, of this place, or rather of the fortress, for the town and rest of the island were quickly abandoned as untenable, ranks amongst the most celebrated feats of the Portuguese in India. They repulsed incessant assaults, the women labouring day and night at the fortifications, and venturing into the posts of greatest danger, to carry every needful assistance to the combatants, who, from their scanty numbers, could hardly ever quit the walls. During both sieges, the place was reduced to the utmost extremity; and upon both occasions was relieved by the seasonable appearance of the viceroy with a powerful fleet.

Of the viceroys and governors, who effected these acquisitions, scarcely one was duly recompensed. Many died in poverty, and Nuño da Cunha, who gained Diu for King John, was only saved by death from being dragged in chains to the foot of his ungrateful master's throne. During John's reign, the celebrated apostle of India, St. Francis Xavier, visited that country to attempt the conversion of the idolatrous natives; and the Portuguese obtained an establishment in China, and a free trade with Japan.

The war in Italy between the emperor and the king of France had been carried on with fluctuating success, the Duchy of Milan, for which they chiefly contended, being alternately gained and lost by both parties. The year 1524 proved decisive in the emperor's favour, though not exactly as he had anticipated. Francis's best general, and first prince of the blood, the Constable de Bourbon, exasperated by a series of affronts and persecutions originating in his rejection of the advances of the king's mother, Louisa of Savoy, had fled from

Spain
from A.D.
1522—1530.

France, and joined the emperor; whereupon a treaty had been concluded between that sovereign, Henry VIII., and Bourbon, for the invasion and partition of France, by which Charles was to recover Burgundy, unjustly taken from his grandmother, Mary of Burgundy, by Lewis XI., and to retain all disputed states and provinces; Henry was to be reinstated in the former dominions of his ancestors, Guienne, Normandy, &c., if not in the kingdom of France; and Provence and Dauphiny were to be erected into an independent kingdom for Bourbon, who was to marry the emperor's sister, Leonora, queen-dowager of Portugal. France was to be simultaneously invaded on different sides. But want of money prevented the projected Spanish invasion from Navarre; and Francis, by exciting the Scotch, occupied the English troops at home; besides which, Wolsey had ceased to favour the emperor, in consequence of his hopes of gaining the papacy through the imperial interest having been again disappointed by the Cardinal di Medici's succeeding to Adrian, under the name of Clement VII. Lannoy, Pescara, and Bourbon entered France from Italy, but being unsupported, could effect nothing. They were compelled to retire, and Francis, in the full exultation of success, pursued them into Italy, took Milan, and besieged Pavia. The place was resolutely defended by Antonio de Leyva through the greatest difficulties, from want of money to pay his troops, and scarcity of provisions, whilst Lannoy, Pescara, and Bourbon made incredible exertions for his relief. The latter, pawning his jewels for funds, raised a body of Germans, which so far augmented the numbers of the Imperialists, that Charles's generals now deemed themselves equal to encounter the French army. They attacked Francis under the walls of Pavia. The battle was long and bloody, but in the end, the French were completely defeated; and Francis, together with the king of Navarre, and many officers of high rank and reputation, were made prisoners.

The emperor received the intelligence of this important victory without any outward show of triumph. Upon reading the despatches, he retired into his oratory, where he spent half an hour in private devotion, before he publicly announced the news. This moderation, however, did not extend to the use he endeavoured to make of his advantages.

The terms of peace, which he proposed as the price of Francis's liberty, were, for himself, the restoration of Burgundy exempt from feudal homage, the abandonment of the feudal homage that Francis, as suzerain, or superior lord, claimed from him for Flanders and Artois, and the renunciation of all the French king's Italian pretensions; for Bourbon, Provence and Dauphiné; and full satisfaction for Henry VIII. Francis, upon first hearing these hard conditions, drew a dagger, passionately exclaiming, 'Better a king should die thus.' If he really meant self-destruction, he was prevented by his Spanish attendants.

Francis, partly at his own wish, was transferred to Madrid, where he hoped that a personal interview with Charles would procure him better terms; but the latter held it unfit to see his prisoner till all should be arranged. A struggle of mutual obstinacy now ensued, which lasted many months, and allowed time for a considerable change to occur in the policy of the other states of Europe. The magnitude of the emperor's demands, and the great accession of power he would attain if they should be complied with, alarmed his allies, and the Italian States, with the pope at their head, united their endeavours to obtain the prisoner's liberation. Henry VIII. entered into the league; and the captive king's mother, Louisa, as regent of France, of course, joined and supported, to the utmost of her power, a confederation, of which the object was her son's deliverance. By the ability and energy which she displayed, as well upon this occasion as generally, in guarding against the ill effects of Francis's misfortune, Louisa made some compensation for the evils which her passions and caprices had brought upon the kingdom.

To this general co-operation in favour of Francis, was added the double fear either of his effecting his escape, as Henry of Navarre had done, or of his despair driving him to abdicate in favour of his son, as he threatened to do, if it did not actually cost him his life;—it had already thrown Francis into a dangerous fever, from which he recovered by the cheering effect of a visit from the emperor. These combined causes produced some little relenting in the conqueror, whilst impatience of his irksome duration wrought a similar effect upon the captive. A treaty was at length concluded, by which Francis agreed to

restore Burgundy, independent as required, to relinquish his suzerainty over Flanders and Artois, and all his pretensions in Italy; to restore Bourbon's forfeited estates and other property, and to marry the queen dowager of Portugal, betrothing the Dauphin to her daughter. The emperor on his side abandoned the claim to a kingdom for Bourbon, to whom he engaged to give instead the duchy of Milan, on condition, however, of his resigning his right to Leonora's hand, and agreed to set Francis at liberty, without waiting for the execution of the treaty, upon receiving the Dauphin and one of his brothers as hostages. Henry VIII. having changed sides, his interests were of course overlooked. Francis not only signed this treaty, but solemnly swore to return to his prison, if the States-general of his kingdom should prevent its execution. His French eulogists assert that he previously made a protest as solemn, but secret, against his oath and signature, declaring both invalid as the effect of constraint, and submitted to only for the sake of regaining his liberty. The regent and the parliament of Paris had similarly protested against their own concession of the certainly exorbitant demands of some of the parties, to the alliance formed for effecting the liberation of Francis.

It would be mere waste of time to reprobate the baseness of a subterfuge, so unworthy of an honest man, were it not that most French writers* (copied by those of nearly all other nations) have been pleased to depict Francis I. as the very soul of honour, and the model of a chivalrous king, in opposition to his imperial rival, whom they load with reproach as perfidious, crafty, and unfeeling. The truth seems to be, that the only point of the chivalrous character which Francis possessed, was dauntless valour; but that is, perhaps, the most captivating of all qualities to the war-loving French nation. His character, moreover, acquired great brilliancy from his patronage of the arts and sciences; which secured to him the favour of almost all contemporary men of letters, and they bestowed upon him his usurped reputation. Deceit and dissimulation were in those days honoured with the name of policy (the politician who abstained from yet more nefarious means

was esteemed a man of scrupulous virtue), and Francis I. and Charles V. practised them equally, if not with equal success. The latter, however, never deliberately violated his plighted word or oath.

Francis was exchanged for his two sons in boats upon the Bidassoa, the river that divides France and Spain, and upon reaching the French shore, he leaped upon a horse and galloped off with the exclamation, 'Again I am a king!' At Paris, the Spanish ambassador claimed the fulfilment of the treaty; when Francis refused to dismember his kingdom by restoring Burgundy, and offered a sum of money for his sons' ransom, which the emperor contemptuously rejected. Long wars, acrimonious negotiations, reciprocal insulting invectives, and a formal challenge to single combat ensued, giving a character of personal enmity to the previous rivalry of the two sovereigns.

Francis now joined the Italian League, and his and the pope's ambassadors insisted upon the emperor's resigning Naples and Milan, and entirely withdrawing his troops from Italy. He of course refused, and said, if the allies chose to make war upon him, the consequences must be upon their own heads. The only important consequence did fall upon the pope's, in May, 1527. This was the storming and sacking of Rome by the Imperialists, whom Bourbon, unable to pay them, led against that opulent city, as the only means of pacifying their murmurs. He was killed in the assault, and the troops, exasperated by the loss of a beloved general, committed atrocities which contemporary historians have recorded as unexampled. The most distinguishing feature, however, is, that the licence of the sacking continued for months; in fact, as long as the army remained in Rome, whence they were with difficulty withdrawn to defend Naples, when threatened by the French. The pope was taken prisoner.

The emperor received the tidings of this event with demonstrations of the deepest regret for the profanation of the metropolis of the Christian world, and of the Holy Father's person. He stopped the public rejoicings for the recent birth of his only son Philip, and ordered prayers for the pontiff's deliverance, which rested with himself. Nor did he render it long necessary that such prayers should be put up. The horror expressed

* Voltaire must be excepted from the list of such indiscriminating panegyrists.

by the whole Christian world, at the violence offered to its spiritual head, joined to a great want of money, which his *Cortes* would not grant for wars unconnected with Spanish interests, induced him speedily to release Clement, upon his paying a large pecuniary ransom.

When the war had lasted an additional two or three years, with little effect beyond much bloodshed and suffering, the emperor concluded separate treaties of peace with all his enemies in 1529-30. He gave up his demand of Burgundy, and Francis fulfilled the treaty of Madrid in all other points, without making a single stipulation in behalf of his Italian allies. Clement acknowledged Charles as king of Naples and suzerain of Milan, and he in return re-established the pope's nephew, Alexander di Medici, in Florence as duke, giving him his natural daughter Margaret in marriage. Charles thereupon visited Italy, was solemnly crowned emperor by the pope, and, forgiving Francis Sforza the revolt by which he had forfeited the duchy of Milan, reinstated him in his hereditary dignity. The main object of marrying his daughter to a Medici, namely the conciliation of the papal see, was early frustrated by the premature death of Clement VII., in 1534; and when Alexander di Medici, a profligate tyrant, was soon afterwards treacherously murdered by his kinsman Lorenzo, the companion of his licentious pleasures, the emperor gave the widow to Ottavio Farnese, hereditary prince of Parma, the grandson of Clement's successor Paul III., who had been married prior to his taking holy orders.

CHAPTER V.

War with the Mahometans—Rise of the piratical states of Barbary—Barbarossa king of Algiers—Ferdinand elected king of the Romans—The Turks invade Hungary—Ladislaus of Hungary defeated and slain at Mohacz—His sister Anne and her husband Ferdinand his successors—The Turks besiege and take Rhodes—Charles gives Malta to the knights of St. John—Expeditions to Barbary—Charles takes Tunis, and reinstates Muley Hassan, the expelled king—Failure before Algiers—War renewed between Charles and Francis—Truce—Insurrection at Ghent—Charles traverses France—Quells the Insurrection—French envoy to the Porte murdered in Italy—Francis renews

the war—Renewal of peace—Conquest of Peru—Charles's American code—Remonstrances from Mexico—Rebellion in Peru—Gasca quells the insurrection and establishes order—Conquest of Chile—Death of Joanna—Abdication and death of Charles—Death of John III. of Portugal—Colonization of Brazil.*

A VERY important business to Charles, both as king of Spain and as emperor, was the war in which he was almost constantly engaged with the Mahometans. The hostilities were carried on upon two distinct theatres, namely, the northern coast of Africa, and Hungary. In northern Africa, the piratical states had about this time arisen. Barbarossa, a bold and powerful corsair, who was long the terror and the scourge of the Mediterranean, and of the coasts of Spain and Italy, had seized upon Algiers, and there establishing the seat of his power, had rapidly subdued the greater part of the coast. On the side of Hungary, Europe was threatened by the Turks—a warlike race of Oriental barbarians, who, issuing from the mountains of Asia, had overthrown first the empire of the Arabian caliphs, and then that of the Greek emperors of Constantinople, forming, out of these two conquests, Turkey in Asia and Turkey in Europe. They were still pursuing their victorious career, led by one of their greatest and most ambitious sultans, Solyman the Magnificent. The danger apprehended from the Turks had been one principal cause of Charles's election; the electors wishing for a head who had power to defend the empire, and who was peculiarly interested in so doing, by the geographical situation of his Austrian possessions, which, if Hungary should be lost, must next stand the shock of the Turkish arms. The imminence of this peril, together with the disorders then convulsing Germany, from the religious dissensions and enmities of the Catholics and Protestants, required a more uninterrupted vigilance of the sovereign, than the emperor, from the various and complicated interests of

Foreign
States
from A.D.
1522—1540.

* The authorities principally consulted for this chapter are, Yrizarie, Ferreras, Quintana, d'Andrade, Barros e Couto, Da Costa, La Ciede, Voltaire, Senpere, Robertson, Coxe, Southey, Universal Modern History, *Cronica de Dom Sebastião*. This appears, unfortunately, to be the last of the Chronicles of Portuguese kings.

his widely-spread dominions could give; and in consideration of these circumstances, he early prevailed upon the electors to choose his brother Ferdinand, king of the Romans. The emperor further negotiated a double marriage, between his favourite sister Maria and Ladislaus, king of Hungary and Bohemia, the last male heir of the illustrious dynasty of the Jagellons, and between Ferdinand and Anna, the only sister and presumptive heiress of Ladislaus.

Hungary lay yet more exposed than Austria, and constituted the outermost bulwark of Christendom against the Turks. In the year 1526, Solyman invaded that unfortunate kingdom, and Ladislaus, imprudently venturing to encounter an enemy far too powerful for his means of resistance, fell with his chief nobility in the fatal battle of Mohacz. The Turks now overran the country and subdued the towns, whilst the magnates, or chief nobles, instead of opposing the common foe, were engrossed with disputes and cabals, touching the choice of a successor to the deceased king. At length the claims of Anna and the power of Ferdinand, supported by his imperial brother and favoured by the influence of the queen dowager, prevailed over the innate antipathy of the Hungarians to a foreigner. Ferdinand and Anna were jointly elected, and Bohemia followed the example of Hungary. But this last kingdom long remained the field of battle, upon which Germans and Turks contended for the mastery.

The violence and length of the struggle, and the strict alliance subsisting between Turkey and France, repeatedly called for the full exertion of the emperor's resources, and compelled him to treat the German Protestants with more lenity than his own religious opinions, and his great desire to conciliate the pope, in order to secure his assistance in his Italian affairs, might otherwise have induced him to do. During many years of his reign, he vainly endeavoured to reconcile the adherents of the opposed creeds, by persuading both parties to give a little way, and employing the mildest divines of either religion, to prepare a confession of faith that should satisfy both. When he found this scheme impracticable, he attempted to put down the Protestants by force, and this likewise proving impossible, he was obliged to acknowledge the full rights of Lutheranism in all the states already professing that creed, contenting him-

self with prohibiting its introduction into those which still adhered to Catholicism.

The war with Solyman was not confined to the land frontier of the Christians and the Turks. Andrew Doria, a noble Genoese, and the most celebrated naval commander of his day, (with the exception, perhaps, of Barbarossa,) had entered the service of the emperor, to whom Genoa was a sort of dependent ally. Doria, with fleets drawn from Charles's various realms, frequently encountered the Turkish naval forces in the Mediterranean. The Turkish admiral was an antagonist worthy of Doria, being no other than Barbarossa. The corsair, in order to secure his kingdom of Algiers alike against its Christian foes and the conquered Moors, had consented to hold it in vassalage of the Othoman Porte, and thus becoming himself a subject of the sultan's, commanded his fleets. The fortune of war fluctuated between those two bold and able leaders. At one time Doria made some conquests in the Morea; strong garrisons were immediately sent thither from Spain, and for a while they defied Solyman's efforts at recapture. But possessions so distant proving expensive far beyond their value, the emperor ordered them to be dismantled and evacuated, after having in vain offered to transfer them to Venice, the Pope, or the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem.

These knights of St. John were the only order of military monks still existing in the vigour of their original spirit, and their office of fighting the infidels. During the first war between Charles and Francis, they had been attacked by Solyman with overpowering numbers, in their stronghold, the island of Rhodes, and, in consequence of that war, were left totally unsupported by the potentates of Christendom. Most gallantly did they defend themselves for six months against an army of two hundred thousand men; but at the end of that time they were constrained to surrender their island upon an honourable capitulation in 1522. The emperor, as the best atonement he could make for suffering private interests to prevent his assisting the champions of the whole Christian world, gave them the island of Malta, of which they have ever since borne the name, together with the town of Tripoli, in Africa. In return for these gifts, they became his zealous allies in all his naval wars with the Barbary powers, and in all his African expeditions.

The wars with the African Moors, or with the Mediterranean corsairs, were carried on, with occasional interruptions, during Charles's whole reign.

Spain
from A.D.
1530—1544.

The grand expedition against Tunis, by which the emperor earned his chief military reputation, occurred in 1535; but its object was not avowedly conquest. Muley Hassan, the legitimate Mahometan king of Tunis, having been causelessly attacked, vanquished, and expelled from his dominions, by Barbarossa, applied for assistance to the king of Spain, as to the formidable pirate's natural enemy. Charles readily agreed to assist the dethroned monarch; and as a war with the Barbary pirates was consonant to the temper of the age, all the several parts of his empire so exerted themselves, that he set sail with an armament consisting of four hundred vessels of various sizes, to expel the conqueror of Muley Hassan's kingdom. After a six weeks' siege, he took Goleta (a fortress commanding the mouth of the harbour of Tunis) by storm; and as he set foot within his new conquest, accompanied by the fugitive king, he said to him, 'Through this gate shall you re-enter your kingdom.' Hence they marched against the city of Tunis itself, which, by a singular accident, was gained with unexpected ease. Barbarossa, who was there in person, led out his troops against the emperor, and after a slight skirmish, retired within its walls. But during his short absence in the field, a large body of Christian prisoners, kept in chains in the castle, had seized the opportunity, found means to bribe or intimidate their gaolers, broke loose from their chains, and mastered the castle. Barbarossa durst neither attack them, whilst the Christian army lay so near, nor remain in the town whilst the Castle was in their hands. He therefore silently evacuated Tunis, and retired to Algiers. To prevent the soldiery from plundering the now unresisting town was found to be impossible; but as soon as order could be re-established, Charles restored it to Muley Hassan, to hold in vassalage of the Spanish crown. The conquest of the kingdom seems to have been achieved in that of the capital from which it was named.

An attempt made some years later upon Algiers, was not equally successful. It was undertaken too late in the year; and scarcely had the troops landed, ere a tremendous storm drove the fleet from

its moorings, wrecked and sank many ships, dispersed the remainder, and deprived the soldiers of provisions, ammunition, and all other necessaries. Notwithstanding the unpardonable military blunder of setting forth upon such an enterprise at an unfitting season, Charles, by the courage, judgment, and self-possession which he exhibited under such trying circumstances, combined with extreme tenderness for the sick and wounded, acquired, perhaps, more respect and affection from his troops, and even more reputation as a general, upon this unfortunate expedition, than in his most prosperous wars. But this was its sole fruit. To besiege Algiers was impossible; equally so to attempt anything else; and with great difficulty was the re-embarkation of the army for its return home effected. The emperor remained almost the last on shore. Many similar expeditions were undertaken by his officers, with variable success.

The peace of Cambray, and the marriage of Francis with Leonora, did not put a final end to the wars between the rival monarchs, now brothers-in-law. Francis, prior to signing this treaty, had, as at Madrid, made a secret formal protest, that he concluded such treaty only from necessity, and meant to abide by it no longer than the same necessity should constrain him. A trick yet more disgraceful than the former, since the present necessity was no more than every state might plead when obliged to make a disadvantageous peace. Francis's rupture of the peace of Cambray was delayed only by the difficulty of finding new allies, after having so unscrupulously sacrificed those with whom he before acted, and whilst he was disgusting the German Protestants by his persecution of the French Calvinists. The new war produced only new bloodshed, mutual invasions, and personal insults, without permanent fruits. It was terminated by a ten years' truce, which Pope Paul III., who was impatient to turn the emperor's arms against the German Lutherans, negotiated.

During the continuance of this truce, an act of common honesty, attended by little sacrifice, occurred on the part of Francis, which has been extolled as the height of punctilious honour. Disturbances had broken out at Ghent, on account of the assessment of a new tax, in which the turbulent burghers of that city complained of some infraction of their privileges. The queen-dowager of

Hungary, governess of the Low Countries for her brother, had recourse to severe measures to enforce submission, and an open-rebellion followed. The citizens of Ghent offered to transfer their allegiance to Francis, who refused their offer (a really conscientious action), and sent their letters to Charles. The emperor was then in Spain. He felt the importance of reaching Ghent without loss of time; and as the winter, which had set in, rendered a sea-voyage both hazardous and uncertain, he applied to his royal brother-in-law for a safe conduct to traverse France. It was readily granted. He was received, entertained, and escorted with the highest honours; and appearing unexpectedly in Ghent, suppressed the rebellion. Almost all historians have concurred in placing this conduct of the French king's in brilliant contrast to the emperor's at Madrid; forgetting, it should seem, the essential difference between the two cases. Francis was at Madrid as a prisoner of war, from whom his captor was entitled to demand what ransom he pleased. Charles was at Paris as a received and sanctioned, if not an invited, guest. Charles may have been unreasonably harsh; he certainly was uncourteous; but Francis must have covered himself with indelible infamy had he violated his own safe-conduct, to seize the person of his brother-in-law during a truce. And to what purpose should he have committed such an outrage? Surely his own conduct had taught him the value of extorted oaths.

Francis afterwards broke the truce upon receiving, or pretending to receive, real offence from the emperor. He accused the latter of at least conniving at the assassination of a French envoy to the Porte, on his way through Italy, in order to ascertain from his papers the nature of the connexion between the king of France and the sultan. No proof was brought against Charles, or even against the governor of Milan: and without ascribing to the emperor a delicate conscientiousness that did not belong to the age, we may observe that the alleged object seems a very inadequate motive to such a crime. Charles needed no intercepted despatches to tell him that Francis and Solymán were in close alliance, and always ready to attack him. The truth cannot now be ascertained. The imputed violation of the law of nations was, after all, rather the ostensible than the real cause of the war,

which originated solely in the continued rivalry of the two monarchs. Again, Charles's persevering vigour got the better of Francis's impetuous attack, and a peace, like those previously concluded, followed.

It may seem extraordinary that the French king had always money at command for every enterprise, whilst the dreaded emperor, the master of the New World and its gold mines, was uniformly cramped in his operations by want of pecuniary means. But Francis was an absolute king, possessing unlimited power over the persons and property of his subjects. Charles was, in all his various realms, a very limited monarch, obliged to solicit his supplies from German Diets, Spanish Cortes, and Sicilian, Neapolitan, and Netherland States. Of these, he chiefly relied upon the Spanish Cortes; and they, deeming his Italian and French wars no concern of theirs, dealt out their grants so parsimoniously, as to produce a constant endeavour on the sovereign's part to lessen their powers. The treasures of the New World, too, though he occasionally received them in profusion, did not yet pour their streams regularly into his exchequer.

Spanish
America
from A.D.
1492—1550.

His empire there had, however, now reached nearly its full extent by the conquest of Peru, of which it is necessary to speak briefly.

Many adventurers had attempted to prosecute Balboa's schemes, who all failed, until Francisco Pizarro, the uneducated and neglected natural son of a Spanish nobleman, by daring boldness, and unwearied perseverance, made his way to Peru. But he had no means with which to attack a populous and powerful empire, and for years he vainly sought them in America. At length he visited Spain, captivated the emperor by his descriptions of Peruvian wealth, and obtained the independent government of whatever he should discover and conquer. Upon the strength of his appointment, aided by a small loan from Fernando Cortes, then in Spain, he raised about one hundred and twenty-five men, with whom he returned to the Isthmus of Darien. Thence, in February 1531, he and his associate, Almagro, a founding, set sail for Peru.

The invasion of Peru, except in the paltry means and numbers of the invaders, offers nothing of the daring enterprise, which, in the conquest of Mexico, awakens, even against the

reader's will, a kind of sympathy with the lawless adventurers. This is a mere series of atrocities. Pizarro found a civil war raging in Peru between the two sons of a lately deceased *Inca*, the title of Peruvian sovereigns, each of whom claimed the vacant throne. By siding with the one, Huescar, he employed half the strength of the empire in the subjugation of the other. By plain fraud and violence he got Atahualpa, the rival *Inca*, into his power, when he compelled him to collect the wealth of the empire for his ransom; and finally, he tried and executed him as an usurper, and the murderer of his brother Huescar. This judicial mockery and real murder did not at once secure the submission of the natives, who, indignant at the perfidy and cruelty of their invaders, flew to arms at the call of the next heir of the race of the *Incas*. But the Peruvians were not a martial people, and the war that followed was little more than a succession of massacres. In 1534, Pizarro dispatched his brother Ferdinand Pizarro to Spain, with the royal share of the booty, far exceeding anything the new world had previously furnished. Ferdinand, the legitimate heir of the noble house of Pizarro, was received with the highest honours; Francisco was confirmed in his government, and Almagro was appointed governor of the yet unexplored countries south of Peru. Ferdinand was accompanied on his return by numbers of high-born youths, and as many private adventurers as he chose to take with him.

The civil wars which, to avenge the unhappy natives, arose amongst the conquerors of Peru, have no general interest to merit detail. After much fighting, Pizarro put his old associate, Almagro, to death, and was himself assassinated in revenge by Almagro's son. The youth, in his turn, was executed, with forty of his adherents, by Vaca de Castro, whom the emperor had sent out as governor. By this time different Spanish adventurers had overrun, and partially colonized, the greater portion of what, till very lately, constituted the Spanish dominions in the new world, including the northern part of the South American continent, and the provinces upon the river Plats, south of Brazil; and it was now Spain boasted that the sun never set upon her empire.

The importance of Columbus's discovery was at length duly appreciated

and the Madrid government felt the necessity of a regular and uniform administration of the transatlantic provinces. Upon this subject, Charles consulted with Las Casas, and by his advice laws were drawn up for the protection of the Indians, subjecting them to a tribute, exempting them from forced labour, and ordering that, for whatever work they did perform, they should be paid as servants. These humane laws exasperated the Spanish conquerors. In Mexico, longer settled and governed by a firm viceroy, they were met by violent remonstrances; amongst the more unruly masters of Peru they provoked a rebellion, headed by Gonzalo Pizarro, another brother of the discoverer's, who insisted upon being appointed viceroy, but dared not take the bold step, recommended by his friends, of marrying the heiress of the *Incas*, and declaring himself independent king of Peru.

To quell this formidable rebellion, Philip, then regent of Spain for his absent father, sent out an old priest without men or money. Strange as the appointment seems, he could not have made a better. Pedro de la Gasca, a member of the Inquisition, was equally distinguished by circumspection in deliberation, and by vigour in execution, by inflexible probity, and by gentleness of temper, combined with insinuating manners. He had been frequently employed in difficult transactions, but never raised to any high office; and now, though, from advanced age and delicate health, fearful of the voyage and the climate, he at once undertook the arduous task. He accepted the post of president of the *Audiencia*, or council of Lima, refusing the salary, and all pay beyond the maintenance of himself and his very few servants, but demanding authority the most unlimited. At Panamá he announced himself as a minister of peace; gained over the emissaries Gonzalo Pizarro had sent to bribe, or, if incorruptible, to murder him; gained over his adversary's fleet, in which he proceeded to Peru, and there continued to gain over the rebel partizans as they advanced against each other, until the royalist and rebel leaders encountered with their forces; when Pizarro's whole army deserted him, and he himself was taken and executed.

Gasca had now quelled the rebellion; but the more difficult business of reducing the province to a state of order remained. He facilitated this by send-

ing off some of the more turbulent spirits upon distant expeditions. It was then that Pedro de Valdivia undertook to complete the conquest of the adjacent Chile, which Almagro had begun, but neglected amidst his civil broils with Pizarro. The Chilenos were a more warlike race, and their subjugation occupied some years. Gasca, having thus freed himself from the most unmanageable of those he had to deal with, introduced as strict an administration of justice, and as effective protection for the natives as circumstances would allow; but he was compelled materially to relax the provisions of Charles's just but obnoxious laws; and it was not till the licentious conquerors had, by killing one another, made way for a more orderly generation, that Peru was permanently tranquillized. In 1550, Gasca, having effected all that was possible, returned to Spain as poor as when he had left it, but bringing ample supplies to the royal exchequer. His services were rewarded with the bishopric of Palencia.

The different states and provinces of America were henceforward administered by viceroys and governors, independent of each other. The Spanish court endeavoured to temper the despotic authority, intrusted to these persons, by the appointment of *Audiencias*, or councils, and to protect the Indians, by constantly passing laws in their favour. But the interests of the governor and his council were the same; all being alike eager to amass fortunes, with which to return home; and the colonists, provided they could propitiate these local authorities, cared little for the disapprobation of the distant supreme government. Natives and negro slaves were therefore still condemned to toil in the mines, and the large sums, transmitted to the royal exchequer as the king's share, were too acceptable not to check any very rigorous inquiry into the means by which they were procured. The only laws strictly enforced were those which secured to Spain a monopoly of the colonial trade, and prohibited manufactures, nay even some kinds of agriculture, which it was supposed might interfere with those of the mother-country. But the mother-country was in those days industrious, agricultural, manufacturing, and commercial. She could abundantly supply the wants of her colonial children, who, on their part, engrossed by the prospect of immense

and immediate wealth promised, often delusively, by the rich mines of the new world, disdained all slower and more ordinary sources of profit.

But American wealth, as before said, did not thus pour its perennial stream into Spain during Charles's reign. If large portions of the spoils of conquered and plundered empires occasionally came to assist the preparations for his various wars and armaments, he depended for their regular support upon his subjects, and a great part of his Spanish policy consisted of endeavours to depress and diminish the power of the *Cortes*. This, in Castile, their own indiscretion had helped him in some measure to effect. In the rebellion of the *Comuneros*, the nobles, irritated by the attempt of the citizens to curtail their privileges, had contributed to subdue the towns which never quite recovered their former influence; and in 1539, the nobles and clergy positively refusing to allow the imposition of a tax, calculated to bear equally upon all classes (exemption from taxation was one of their main privileges), the emperor took the opportunity to observe, that those who would not pay taxes, ought to have no share in voting them. He never again summoned either of those orders to the *Cortes*; and the city-deputies, unsupported by their superiors, rapidly lost their own importance. Charles further lessened the consequence of the *grandees* by alluring them from their castles, where amidst their own vassals they were all-powerful, to his court or camp, where they lavished their fortunes in ostentatious magnificence, and remained without influence, though retaining their proud prerogatives, far surpassing those of the nobles of other nations, as the following anecdote may illustrate.

As the emperor, with the empress and his whole court, was returning from a tournament, an officer of the royal household, in clearing the way for the sovereign, struck the Duke of Infantado's horse. The haughty grandee calmly asked the officer, 'Do you know me?' and upon being answered in the affirmative, drew his sword and cut him over the head, but restrained the resentment of the nobles in his company, who would have slain the presuming *Alguazil*. The emperor, offended at such an outrage committed in his presence upon his officer, ordered the *Alcalde Ron-*

Spain
from A.D.
1544—1554.

quillo to arrest the duke. The magistrate advanced to obey, when the Constable of Castile had him begone, for that offences and offenders of this description belonged to his jurisdiction; and he accordingly carried off the duke to his own house, escorted by all the nobles present, no one remaining with the emperor, but the single archbishop of Toledo. The monarch, thus triumphantly braved by a subject, found it expedient to conceal his sense of the insult offered to his dignity, and prudently complying with the claims of Castilian arrogance, he next day sent a civil message to the duke, inquiring if he wished the *Alguazil* to be punished. The duke was now satisfied, and not only requested that the man should be pardoned, but took upon himself the expense of the surgical assistance required by the wounded man.

The emperor had three children. Philip, his heir, he vainly tried to induce either the German diet to substitute to Ferdinand, as king of the Romans, or Ferdinand to admit as next in succession to himself. Philip very early married his cousin, the *Infanta* Maria of Portugal, who died A.D. 1545, in giving birth to her only child, Don Carlos; and in 1554, he married Mary of England, his father resigning the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily to him in honour of this union. Of the emperor's two daughters, the eldest, Maria, married Maximilian, the eldest son of the king of the Romans; and Joanna, the youngest, the only surviving son, out of six, of John III. of

Portugal
from A.D.
1530—1554.

Portugal. The prince died within the year; and as it was feared that grief might prejudice the unborn heir, with which the youthful widow was expected shortly to present Portugal, the unhappy father, now bereft of his last son, visited her repeatedly in full dress, and cheered her with hopes of her husband's recovery. In ignorance of his loss, she, three weeks after his death, bore a son, who was named Sebastian. Joanna, upon her recovery was recalled to Spain, where she acted as regent, when her brother, as well as her father, was absent.

In the year 1556 died Queen Joanna, whose name, till her death, was coupled with her son's in the government of Spain, although she had remained permanently incapable of taking any part

Spain
from A.D.
1504—1566.

therein; and very soon after her decease, the emperor formed the extraordinary resolution of abdicating all his crowns. For this resolution, various motives have been assigned; but the real one seems to have been the precarious state of his health. He was a martyr to the gout, which, in his fifty-fifth year, had brought upon him the infirmities of old age, frequently rendering him incapable of attending to business. To this circumstance, he probably ascribed the advantages which the German Protestants and Henry II. of France (who had succeeded to Francis I.) had gained over him, and did not choose to risk any consequent diminution of his high reputation.

But, whatever were his motives, the emperor summoned his son from England to Brussels, where, in the month of October, in a full assembly of the Netherland States, and accompanied by his two sisters, the dowager queens of France and Hungary, he addressed a pathetic harangue to the states, requesting them to transfer their love and loyalty to his son; and then exhorted his son to govern his faithful Netherlanders justly and kindly. All present are said to have been melted to tears. The emperor then resigned the sovereignty of the Netherlands to Philip; the queen of Hungary at the same time laying down her office of governess. A few weeks later Charles resigned to Philip the crown of Spain and the Indies with similar forms. The empire he retained some months longer, during which he again vainly endeavoured to prevail upon Ferdinand, either to resign in favour of Philip, or to give him the preference over his own son Maximilian in the succession. Finding this wish unattainable, he, in August 1556, abdicated the empire also, transmitted the imperial crown to his brother by William, prince of Orange, and retired to the monastery of St. Juste, in Spain—a retreat which had early captivated his fancy by its peaceful seclusion. There Charles past two years in the amusements of private life, and in the austere exercises of his religion, and died on the 21st of September, 1558. He is believed to have hastened his death by going through the ceremonies of his own funeral, which he chose to have performed, or rehearsed, during his life.

In the interval between the emperor's abdication and his death, in 1557, died John of Portugal, a king of so gloomy

and superstitious a temper, that his end has been ascribed by some Portuguese writers to grief at the insult offered to his religion by an English fanatic, who, during the celebration of a private mass, overturned the sacred chalice, and trampled the consecrated wafer under foot. But as he survived this gross outrage five years, his ill health and death may, with more probability, be attributed to the natural feelings of a parent doomed to see every one of his children sink to the grave before him.

Brazil first acquired importance under John III. In 1531 he began the colonization of that immense empire, then little more than a long line of sea-coast. This he divided into several captaincies, which he granted, with large powers of jurisdiction, civil and criminal, to such persons as, upon those conditions, were willing to settle there, and to people and cultivate their respective grants. The French made various attempts to form rival settlements in Brazil, especially about Rio Janeiro. They never obtained more than temporary possession of any part of the country; but during their transient success, the inconvenience of so many detached, and almost independent lordships, was strongly felt; and in 1549 John sent out Don Thomé de Sousa as governor, subjecting all the captaincies to his authority. The French attempts were continued some years longer. King John likewise established the Jesuits in the colony to convert the savage natives. The institution of the order of Jesuits, as conceived by Loyola, was sanctioned by Pope Paul III. in 1540, and John was devotedly attached to the new confraternity. During his reign Portugal attained the summit of her prosperity, and began to decline. This declension, originating, perhaps, in the deterioration already mentioned in the character of her inhabitants, was marked by the gradual abandonment of almost all her possessions in Northern Africa. The long minority that ensued upon his death did not promise to arrest the decline of the country.

John had committed the government of his kingdom, and the care of his grandson, then only three years old, to his widow, Queen Catherine. She governed ably; and by her active exertions sent such

effective succours to Mazagan, almost the only remaining Portuguese fortress in Northern Africa, and which was then reduced to extremity by a Moorish army of eighty thousand men, that the Mahometans were compelled to raise the siege. But the Portuguese detested queen-dowagers, especially when Spanish; and Queen Catherine ere long found it expedient to resign the regency to her brother-in-law, Cardinal Henry, for whom John had unsuccessfully endeavoured to obtain the papal tiara. The cardinal was a good man, but unfitted, by the habits of his past life, for government. Under his feeble administration, the authority of Portugal over her distant colonies was weakened, and the inferior governors struggled against the control of the viceroys; whilst, by committing the education of the infant king wholly to Jesuits, he prepared the way for the heavier calamities that followed.

CHAPTER VI.

Accession of Philip II.—Victory of St. Quentin—Loss of Calais by England—Peace of Cercamp—Persecution of Protestants in the Netherlands—Dissatisfaction—Remonstrances of the duchess of Parma—Rebellion of the Protestants—The governess subdues them—Duke of Alva sent to the Netherlands—Duchess of Parma resigns—Alva's severity and success—His arbitrary imposition of a tax provokes a general rebellion—Mysterious death of Don Carlos—Severity against the Moors—Moors revolt—Proclaim Mohammed aben Humeya king of Granada and Cordova—Fluctuations of success—Aben Humeya murdered—His successor, Abdallah, murdered—Don John of Austria puts down the rebellion—Philip disperses the Moors throughout Spain—War with the Barbary powers—Recovery of Peñon de Vélez—Siege of Malta—Battle of Lepanto.*

PHILIP II. of Spain, if less powerful

* The authorities principally consulted for this chapter are Vilarie, Ferreras, Da Costa, La Cede, Mariti, Voltaire, Coxe, Universal Modern History, *Vita del Re Filippo 2.*, *monarca delle Spagne*, di Gregorio Leti, 2 tom., 4to. 1679. History of the reign of Philip II., king of Spain, by Robert Watson, 3 vols. 8vo. London. 1779. Both these works, especially the former, possess considerable merit, but both are written in a spirit of decided hostility to Philip. *Geschichte des Alfons der Fünfte*, von

than his father, was still by far the greatest monarch in Europe. But though equally ambitious with Charles V., he had no natural inclination or talents for war; and accordingly, his first step upon his accession was to negotiate a peace with France, through the mediation of Mary of England. He found it for the moment, however, impossible to conclude more than a five years' truce, and that was speedily broken by the intrigues of Paul IV. That ambitious pope easily induced the fickle Henry II. to attempt the conquest of Naples; for which purpose the king dispatched the duke of Guise to Italy. Philip entertained serious religious scruples touching the lawfulness of a war, even of self-defence, against the Holy See, and consulted his lawyers and theologians upon the subject. They pronounced such a war lawful, provided due means had been first used for prevailing upon the Holy Father to forbear aggression; and as all supplications of the kind proved quite unavailing, Philip ordered the duke of Alva, who was then viceroy of Naples with extraordinary powers, to defend the kingdom by force of arms. Alva (a grandson of the duke of Alva who conquered Navarre for Ferdinand) not only expelled Guise from the Neapolitan territories, but nearly overran the whole estates of the church, saying that he held all the places he took in trust for the next pope.

Philip meanwhile had persuaded his wife to declare war against France, decidedly contrary to the will of the English nation; and the united forces of England and Spain, commanded by the duke of Savoy, gained the celebrated battle of St. Quentin, over Henry's favourite, the Constable de Montmorency, who rashly exposed his army, whilst throwing succours into the town of St. Quentin, besieged by the Spaniards. The loss of the French was very great; the constable and most of the principal officers were taken prisoners; St. Quen-

tin fell, and the alarm extended to Paris. But Philip, who had visited his army, to congratulate and thank his generals, checked their spirit of enterprise, thus giving Henry time to prepare for resistance. The French king made great exertions, and recalled the duke of Guise from Italy, to defend France. The Pope in consequence saw himself at Alva's mercy, and was glad to accept the peace his reluctantly rebellious vassal of Naples offered him, and to dismiss his conqueror with his pardon and blessing.

In France, the fortune of war was various. The duke of Guise surprised and took Calais, which had remained in the hands of the English ever since its capture by Edward III.; and some twenty miles thence the count of Egmont defeated the French near Gravelines, with a body of Spanish troops, aided by an English fleet, that, accidentally hearing the sounds of battle, entered the river, and cannonaded the enemy.

All parties were now tired of the war, and negotiations were set on foot at Cerecamp. Calais was the great obstacle to peace, as Philip felt himself bound in honour to recover it for England, and Henry refused to give up a place so important to the safety and pride of France. The death of Queen Mary facilitated the negotiation. Philip still demanded the restitution of Calais, and no doubt wished it, as its possession by England weakened France, without strengthening the former country; but he no longer made it an indispensable condition; and Elizabeth, who hardly felt herself secure upon her throne, and saw that she should be left to carry on the war unsupported, was compelled to rest content with a conditional promise that it should be given up at the end of eight years. Except Calais, and some German acquisitions, Henry restored all his conquests, including the duke of Savoy's dominions, in exchange for little more than St. Quentin, and in consideration of the marriage of his sister Margaret to the reinstated duke of Savoy. His daughter Elizabeth, who had been affianced to Philip's son, Don Carlos, was now given to Philip himself, and is known in Spanish history as Queen Isabel, Isabel being the Spanish form of Elizabeth. Henry II. was accidentally killed in a tournament, held in honour of the two weddings, and was succeeded by his son, Francis II., the husband of Mary, Queen of Scots.

Philip now endeavoured to conciliate

Niederlande von der Spanischen Regierung, von Friedrich von Schiller; Schiller's Sammtliche Werke. 12 Bände, 8vo. Stuttgart und Tübingen, 1803. The name of Schiller is a sufficient warrant for the value of this history. Historia Critica de la Inquisicion de España. Obra original conforme à lo que resulta de los Archivos del Consejo de la Suprema, y de los tribunales de provincias, por Llorente, 10 tom., 8mo. Madrid, 1822. A book written with a thorough detestation of the Inquisition, and valuable inasmuch as the facts justifying that detestation are taken from the archives of the tribunal itself.

his free and wealthy Netherland subjects, ere quitting them for Spain. For

The Netherlands
from A.D.
1539—1564. this purpose he appointed his illegitimate sister, Margaret, duchess of

Parma, supreme governess, named native governors of the different provinces, and promised to withdraw his Spanish troops, as well as all foreign officers. But unfortunately he selected Granvelle, bishop of Arras, for his sister's chief counsellor, commanding her to regulate her administration by his advice; and he charged him, as well as all the other bishops and archbishops of the Low Countries, strictly to put down heresy. He then set sail for Spain, taking with him Margaret's son, Alexander Farnese, under colour of educating him with his own son, Don Carlos, but in reality as an hostage for the mother's faith and obedience.

Great delay occurred in the promised withdrawing of the Spanish troops, and the Netherlanders, a commercial, active, and opulent race, enjoying in their several provinces the blessing of very free constitutions, secured to them by the old charters of Philip's ancestors, and accustomed to watch as jealously as they turbulently resisted and resented every violation of their privileges, were greatly offended. Protestant opinions had lately spread amongst them, and the severity with which Margaret was enjoined to put down heresy caused much exasperation, not only amongst the converts to those opinions, but amongst the most orthodox Catholics, such measures being considered both as infringing upon their legal privileges, and as preparatory to the introduction of the detested Inquisition. Granvelle was looked upon as the instigator of every offensive step, and thence becoming an object of general hatred, earnest remonstrances and petitions for his recall were sent to Philip, by all the principal nobles. They were supported by the representations of the governess, who clearly saw the evils which the system she was compelled to pursue must bring upon the country. But Philip was inflexible. Heresy must be extirpated at all risks, and everything foreboded an approaching insurrection in the Netherlands.

In Spain he followed a similar course.

Spain
from A.D.
1560—1564. He celebrated his return to his native land by *Autos de Fé*, or processes of Faith, as the gaoi-deliveries of the Inquisition are called in Spanish. At these

solemnities, numbers of persons of both sexes, many belonging to religious orders, and some of high rank, were burnt for heretical opinions, Philip being present at the executions, and sending spies through the crowds of spectators, to detect any symptoms of compassion for the sufferers: such symptoms marked the individuals betraying them as objects of suspicion. The converted Moors next engaged his attention. He ordered them to be deprived of their arms; an order which, to a great extent, was successfully executed before they were prepared for resistance. Severe decrees were then rigidly enforced against various Mahometan superstitions and customs, in which they were accused of indulging; amongst others, the use of the Moorish language, and the veil worn by their women when they appeared in public. The temper of the Moors, who, whatever might be their attachment to the habits and the faith of their ancestors, had proved loyal subjects to Charles, was thus exasperated, and seeds of rebellion were evidently germinating in Granada as well as in the Netherlands.

These violent measures may be considered as proving the truth of Philip's declaration, that 'he had rather not be a king, than rule over heretics or infidels'; and, in fact, although he was clearly to the full as ambitious as his more enterprising father, and, from the sternness of his temper, far more intolerant of popular rights and privileges, yet bigotry was assuredly the predominant passion, to which he was prepared to sacrifice every other consideration. Some historians have represented his devoted attachment to Catholicism as a mask, assumed to conceal his ambitious designs; and his Spanish admirers ascribe to him a degree of political prudence equalling that of his great-grandfather, Ferdinand; but such views are manifestly repugnant to much of his history. In most of his enterprises he failed; and his failures were usually the result of a want of political prudence, only explicable in a prince of his acknowledged capacity, by the overwhelming force of his bigotry.

In the Netherlands, although Philip at length so far yielded to the remonstrances of his sister and the nobles, as to remove Granvelle, for whom he had obtained a cardinal's hat from Rome, and who became one of his favourite counsellors in Spain, he

The Netherlands
from A.D.
1564—1569.

still insisted upon the most rigorous measures against heretics. These measures the duchess of Parma appears to have tempered as far as she durst; but they nevertheless quickly provoked, in those places where the doctrines of the Reformation chiefly prevailed, a rebellion, in which many of the Catholics joined, dreading, nearly as much as their Protestant countrymen, the introduction of the Inquisition. The revolt was, however, at this time confined to the middle and lower ranks of society. The nobles were still retained in their allegiance, by the address and the acknowledged good intentions of the governess. They were still negotiating with the king, and trusted to obtain, through her mediation, the suppression of the obnoxious laws, as they had obtained the recall of the obnoxious minister. In this belief they assisted her to quell the insurrection, which was principally effected by the prince of Orange, and the counts of Egmont and Horn. These pacificatory conquerors were, however, obliged to concede a degree of toleration to the Protestants, at variance with the governess's instructions.

Philip ascribed this rebellion wholly to the boldness with which Margaret's leniency had inspired the turbulent citizens; and notwithstanding her most urgent remonstrances, and representations that the rebellion was completely subdued, and the country more perfectly tranquil than it had yet been during her regency, he sent a Spanish army thither, under the duke of Alva. The king assured his sister that Alva's command was purely military, and that all political authority would remain with her unrestricted. But the duke's first step was, without consulting or even informing her, to arrest the counts of Horn and Egmont, whose recent services against the insurgents could not, in Philip's eyes, efface the guilt of their earnest remonstrances against the illegal measures which had provoked the insurrection. The prince of Orange would have shared his friends' prison, had he not, upon the first intelligence of Alva's mission to the Netherlands, left his native country, and sought security in Germany, vainly urging Egmont to follow his example. The Duchess of Parma, conscious that her faithful and successful discharge of her painful duties deserved a different return than to be thus virtually superseded, resigned her office in the year 1568, and rejoined her husband in Italy,

leaving the Duke of Alva sole governor of the Netherlands.

Alva was as relentless and as bigoted as his master; and in his hands the persecution of heretics did not languish. The most frightful tortures were employed to extort confession. Egmont and Horn were beheaded as traitors. Eighteen hundred persons are said to have been put to death within the first few months for their religious opinions; and the zeal of the persecutor rather increased than slackened. Petitions for mercy were incessantly transmitted to Philip, but rejected with disdain. The Emperor Maximilian II., who had now succeeded to his father Ferdinand, interfered, by recommending a more moderate course to his cousin and brother-in-law; but Philip replied, that the Netherlands forming no part of the Empire, the emperor had no concern with them; and he disregarded even the Pope's remonstrances against Alva's excessive cruelty. For a while, however, this cruelty seemed to answer. The country was cowed. The Protestants concealed themselves, or fled to happier lands; and when the prince of Orange led a German army to their support or deliverance, few or none joined him. Alva, with consummate ability, watched his movements, constantly harassing him, without offering a single opportunity of forcing a battle, until the prince was at length obliged to disband his troops, for want of means to pay them, and again to seek safety in voluntary exile. Alva now boasted that he had crushed both sedition and heresy. He erected his own statue at Antwerp, in honour of his success, and, in compliance with Philip's desire, offered succours to Charles IX. of France against his heretical subjects, which were thankfully accepted.

Alva's triumph, however, was not of long duration. The sufferings of the unfortunate Netherlands, it has been said, had excited the sympathy of other nations, and even of Catholic sovereigns. To Elizabeth of England, who regarded the bigoted Philip as her own especial enemy, and believed him to be the instigator, or at least the promoter, of every plot against her life, the cause of his oppressed subjects was matter of the deepest interest; and it was by her act that Alva's apparent success was disturbed. Immense as were Philip's revenues, his various wars, and other enterprises, wholly consumed them, and

his treasury was habitually drained. Alva was now without money to pay either his troops, or the debt he had incurred in building citadels; and Philip had borrowed from a number of Genoese merchants a large sum for his use. The vessels in which the important supply was embarked were accidentally driven into an English port; and Elizabeth, affecting to consider the cash as the property of the Genoese, detained it as a sort of forced loan, which she would repay at her own convenience. Alva was thus involved in great pecuniary difficulties, and obliged to seek relief from the Flemings themselves. It had always been the privilege of the Flemings to tax themselves; but Alva, naturally imperious, disdainful of chartered rights, and conceiving the people too thoroughly subdued for resistance, imposed several oppressive taxes by his own sole authority. This last injury was of a kind more generally felt than the persecution of the heretics, and the discontent was universal. The northern provinces rose in rebellion; the flame spread to those in the south; the prince of Orange returned to put himself at the head of the insurgents; and from this moment, and for a long series of years, civil war raged throughout the Netherlands.

At an early period of these disorders, a domestic calamity had befallen the Spanish royal family, the immediate cause and manner of which are still involved in mystery, and have excited much historical investigation, besides affording a subject for tragedy in almost all modern languages.

Don Carlos, prince of Asturias, was deformed in person; and although he is said by some historians to have possessed great and noble qualities, he is generally allowed to have been ungovernable in his passions, intemperate in his ambition, and dissolute in his habits. It is alleged that he never forgave his father for robbing him of his beautiful promised bride, Queen Isabel, and that the king entertained a deep and savage jealousy of his son's attachment to that princess. A marriage had, however, since been negotiated for Carlos with his cousin, the Archduchess Anne, daughter of the Emperor Maximilian; and a further cause of the son's animosity against his father is found in the procrastination of that marriage, for the conclusion of which the former is represented as impatient. That Philip never

discovered any warm affection for his son is certain, as also that they were now openly at variance. Carlos was suspected of a disposition to heresy, and was known to have been long engaged in secret correspondence with the Netherlands malcontent nobles, whilst the government of these provinces was the chief object of his desire. In all this the prince's motives may have been praiseworthy, though his conduct was indiscreet, and could not but be offensive to a sovereign of Philip's gloomy and suspicious disposition. The extravagant violence of his behaviour to Alva, upon whom he drew his dagger when the duke took leave of him, prior to setting out for the Netherlands, seems to have passed off as one of his ordinary bursts of passion. But when Carlos afterwards made preparations for a secret expedition to the Low Countries, actually bespeaking post-horses for his journey, Philip in person, followed by his principal ministers and courtiers, entered his son's bed-chamber in the middle of the night, seized his arms and his papers, and exhorting him to submit quietly to restrictions imposed wholly for his own ultimate advantage, deprived him of his accustomed attendants, and left him to the care of the royal favourite and confidant, Ruy Gomez, of the Duke of Feria, and of six gentlemen of inferior rank, who were charged never to lose sight of him, and especially to guard against his committing suicide.

Thus far all historians, howsoever they may differ as to the motives of Philip's conduct, agree as to facts; but concerning the unhappy prince's end, the most contrary accounts are given. Protestant writers accuse the king of poisoning his son during his captivity, and his young queen a few months afterwards, when she died in premature childbed. Spanish writers generally state that Don Carlos died of a fever; and of the authors who may be esteemed impartial, some allege that Carlos intentionally brought on such fever by intemperance; whilst others assert that he was solemnly delivered by his father into the hands of the Inquisition; was convicted by that fearful tribunal of heresy, and sentenced to death; when, as an especial indulgence, he was allowed to choose the mode of his execution, and chose poison. The better opinion seems to be that his death was a natural one. As such it was announced; when the king received

Spain
from A.D.
1564—1574.

the intelligence with expressions of deep sorrow, retiring to a monastery for a short time, the court went into mourning, and all the usual forms of grief were observed. Philip gave, however, an air of credibility to the horrible and improbable accusations of his enemies, by wooing his son's second betrothed bride, although his own niece, shortly after Isabel's death. A dispensation being, with some difficulty, obtained from the Pope, the Archduchess Anne became her uncle's fourth wife, and the mother of his heir, inasmuch as Isabel had left only daughters.

Meanwhile the decrees against the suspected Moors were enforced as rigidly as those against the Protestants; and the fiery tempers of the sons of the south were far more quickly irritated to open rebellion than the wealthy and cautious, although boldly independent, burghers of the north. The Granadans, indeed, began, like their fellow-sufferers, with petitions and remonstrances, asserting their innocence of the crimes laid to their charge, urging their long-proved fidelity, and the total want of connexion between the language and customs they were commanded to lay aside, and any form of faith or religion. Their petitions and remonstrances were strenuously supported by the Marquess of Mondejar, captain-general of Granada, who vindicated the past conduct of the Moors, and represented the risk of driving men of such inflammable natures to desperation. Philip rejected both petitions and representations, ordering Mondejar to hasten to his post, and see that his edicts were obeyed. The Moors now determined on revolt, and conducted their preparations with equal skill and secrecy. A young man, descended from the ancient kings of Granada, and bearing, as a Christian, the name of Ferdinand de Valor, was chosen their leader. Kneeling down, he solemnly swore to live and die in the faith of Islam, and was immediately raised upon a shield, and proclaimed king of Granada and Cordova, by the Moorish appellation of Mohammed aben Humeia. A somewhat distant day was fixed for a simultaneous rising of all the Moors throughout the south of Spain. Arms were collected in various ways, and messengers were sent to Constantinople and the Barbary powers to ask assistance. Selim, the then reigning sultan, rejected their application, from the fear of arming all Christendom against himself by such

interference between a king and his subjects; but the princes of Northern Africa promised support; and on Christmas-eve the projected rebellion burst forth.

Aben Humeia had intended to begin by seizing the city of Granada, but a fall of snow, that delayed the march of his troops, and the vigilance and energy of Mondejar defeating that design, he was compelled to be content with establishing himself in the Alpajarra mountains as his strong hold, from whence to make incursions on the surrounding country. But if that more splendid scheme failed, the Moors succeeded in surprising their Christian neighbours in almost every other place, and, by disarming them, supplied themselves with arms. In so doing, they are accused of having committed most atrocious and perfidious acts of cruelty. This charge rests wholly upon hostile testimony; but it is not improbable, and if true, such a change from the generous, and chivalrously courteous habits of the former wars between the Moors and Spaniards, can be explained only by the moral degradation, which is every where found the unfailing result of political abasement.

Mondejar appears to have conducted the war against the insurgents with vigour. He drove them into their mountain fastness; seized more than one of their fortresses in the Alpujarras; made great numbers of prisoners, whom he was ordered by Philip to sell for slaves, and carried on a negotiation with some dissatisfied leaders, for their own submission, and the surrender of Aben Humeia. This insurgent king had, it seems, incurred considerable suspicion, on account of a correspondence which he maintained with Mondejar, touching the ransom or exchange of his father and his brother, who were amongst the marquess's captives. Mondejar's success and the treachery of his own people had by this time rendered Aben Humeia a wretched wanderer from one place of concealment to another; during which period of distress, he had many hair-breadth escapes. Upon one occasion, the house in which he was to pass the night having been perfidiously made known to the marquess, a body of Spanish soldiers had nearly reached it, whilst the Moorish king and two companions were buried in sleep. A soldier inconsiderately firing his piece, the sound aroused the slumberers. The attendant Moors leaped from their chamber win-

dow, and fled to the mountains. When Aben Humeya himself, more tardily awakened, would have followed their example, it was too late! His pursuers were seen below the window, and he heard them battering at the house door. Without a moment's hesitation he placed himself behind that door, so that when burst open, it should fall back upon, and conceal him. The Spaniards rushed in, and whilst they were searching the house, their expected victim slipped out unobserved, and escaped.

But though for the moment reduced to such extremities, Aben Humeya was not beaten. The Spanish officers used the Moors who had deserted him, and submitted, with such cruelty, wholly disregarding the safe conducts granted them by Mondejar, that those unhappy people were again driven to despair. Seeing no chance of safety, they resolved at least to sell their lives dearly, and flocked back to their king's standard. Reinforcements arrived from Algiers, and Aben Humeya was now stronger than even in his mountain kingdom; whilst Mondejar, because he did not consider depopulating his government the best way of pacifying or strengthening it, was accused of prolonging the war in order to enrich himself, Don John of Austria, a natural son of Charles V., whom Philip treated, and at that time seemed to love, as a brother, was sent to supersede him.

For a while the fortune of war favoured Aben Humeya; but Don John received reinforcements, and vigorously assumed the offensive. Aben Humeya was obliged to raise a siege he had undertaken, and again he retreated to the mountains, when, encouraged by his failure, the suspicions and ill-will he had provoked burst forth anew. The correspondence touching his father and brother still continued, and still excited mistrust; he had offended his wife's kindred by putting his father-in-law to death for treasonable practices, and he had irritated another noble family, by taking a lady belonging to it for his mistress. These personal enemies deceived his friends by forging orders in his name for their death, and by the connivance of these dupes, Aben Humeya was assassinated. One of the deluded friends was elected king in his stead, by the name of Muley Abdallah. But these internal dissensions had offered advantages to their enemies, of which Don John was too able a general not to

profit. The Moors were repeatedly defeated. Abdallah was murdered like his predecessor, and resistance was at an end. Philip pardoned the repentant rebels, upon condition of their stricter conformity with the church, and obedience to his laws. But removing them from their former homes, where they associated together, and had means of intercourse with their African brethren, he dispersed them throughout the interior, in old Christian provinces. The prisoners were sold for slaves; and great care was taken that no Spanish Moors should accompany their Algerine allies to Africa.

During nearly the whole of his reign, Philip was engaged in hostilities with the Ottoman Porte and the Barbary Corsairs. The Mahometans ravaged his coasts, and annoyed the commerce of his subjects; and in the commencement of his reign, his troops failed in an attempt to recover the island of Gelves from the Corsair Dragut. But the Turks were similarly repulsed with extraordinary gallantry, by the Spanish garrisons of the African fortresses of Oran and Mazarquivir, and the Peñon de Velez, which had been conquered under Ferdinand, lost under Charles V., and had since become the favorite shelter of the pirates who infested the coast of Spain, was recovered. It is said to have been for the purpose of revenging this loss, that Sultan Selim attacked Malta with overpowering numbers; but in truth, no particular motive seems necessary to account for the Turks assailing the strong hold of the knights of St. John, whose whole existence was, in those days, still dedicated to war with the Infidels. The siege is memorable for the unparalleled courage and fortitude with which the knights, under their grand master de la Valette, defended their citadel, until, when it appeared impossible to hold out longer, Philip sent an armament under Don Garcia de Toledo, Viceroy of Sicily, to their relief; and the Turks, after suffering a very considerable defeat from Toledo, raised the siege and set sail for Constantinople.

Why Philip delayed his assistance to the last moment, does not appear. As little why, when the Turks were attacking the island of Cyprus, belonging to the Venetians, he deferred instructing his admiral Doria to co-operate with the Venetian and papal squadrons, against the fleet of the besiegers, until it was too late to save the island. But

in the year 1571, he acted more vigorously against the common enemy of Christendom. A fleet of two hundred sail, large and small, carrying fifty thousand men, was equipped, half by Spain, one-third by Venice, and one-sixth by the pope; and the chief command intrusted to Don John. He sought the naval forces of the Ottomans in their own seas, and after an obstinate battle, gained the celebrated victory of Lepanto, over nearly double his numbers. In this engagement, the Turks lost two hundred vessels, sunk or taken, and their admiral Aly Pacha, with thirty-five thousand men slain or prisoners; and Don John had the gratification of releasing about fifteen thousand Christian slaves, employed by the Turks to row their galleys. This splendid victory produced scarcely any other result than the establishing Don John's reputation as one of the greatest generals of that age, when little or no distinction seems to have existed between the land and sea service. The different interests of the allies, and the different tempers of their several commanders, prevented the success from being followed up.

Two years later, Don John was ordered to lead his fleet to Tunis, to expel the Turks, and destroy the fortifications. The first part of his commission he happily executed, but instead of destroying, he strengthened the fortifications, and induced the pope to suggest that he should himself be made king of Tunis. Philip is said to have been affected, even by the victory of Lepanto, with emotions rather of jealousy than of fraternal triumph; and this proposal confirmed every unpleasant sentiment. He positively refused his holiness's request on Don John's behalf, upon the plea that the Turks were making such formidable preparations for the recovery of all the places held by Spain in Africa, that such a kingdom must be unsafe, and, therefore, not honourable for his brother. The plea was well founded; for, in 1574, the Turks, aided by the Barbary powers, possessed themselves of Tunis, and of most of the other Spanish dependencies; but Don John remained thenceforward an object of suspicion to his royal brother, however he might be caressed and employed.

CHAPTER VII.

Alva subdues the southern provinces of the Netherlands—Advances against the northern—Violates his capitulations—Desperation of the northern provinces—Alva recalled—Ill success of Requesens—His death—Council of State assumes the government—Don John, governor—Council invites the Prince of Orange—And the Archduke Ernest—Foreign succours—Murder of Escovedo—Death of Don John—Prince of Parma, governor—Southern provinces submit—Northern provinces proclaim the Duke of Anjou—He forfeits their confidence—Dies—Disorders in Portuguese India—Passion of Sebastian for African conquest—Muley Mahomet seeks aid against Muley Moloch, emperor of Morocco—Sebastian invades Morocco—Battle of Alcazarquivir—Defeat and death of Sebastian—Accession of Cardinal Henry—Contests for his succession—Death of Henry—Factions of Duchess of Braganza and Prior of Crato—Philip gains possession of the kingdom.*

WHILE the Moorish insurrection was distracting Spain, civil war was equally raging in the Low Countries, where the duke of Alva and the prince of Orange were opposed to each other with fluctuating success. The strength of the latter lay chiefly in the northern maritime provinces; that of the former, as far as he could be said to have any beyond his Spanish and Italian troops, in the southern, where the insurrection was partially smothered. The prince derived some support, and expected much more from France, where Charles IX. was endeavouring to delude his Hugonot or Protestant subjects into a state of credulous tranquillity, that might enable him to almost exterminate them at one blow. The most efficient artifice he practised for this purpose was an appearance of enmity towards his brother-in-law Philip, so well acted, it is said, as to have deeply offended that monarch

The Netherlands
from A. D.
1579—1684.

* The authorities principally consulted for this chapter are Yriarte, Ferreras, *Cronica de Dom Sebastian*, Da Costa, La Ciede, Leti, Watson, Voltaire, Nipper, Universal Modern History, *Historia de Portugal Restaurado*, por Dom Luis de Meneses, Conde de Ericeira. Tomo II, fol. Lisbon, 1679—a history written with patriotic zeal in behalf of Portugal.

and his deputy in the Netherlands. This opinion seems irreconcilable with the idea generally entertained, that the massacre of the St. Bartholomew, and the deep dissimulation necessary to prepare the way for so nefarious a scene of wholesale butchery, were first suggested to Charles and his mother Catherine of Medicis, by Philip himself. It is possible, however, that the original author of the horrible tragedy may have thought his pupil performed the part assigned him too well, when he afforded Lewis of Nassau, brother to the prince of Orange, the means of surprising the strong town of Mons in Hainault.

When the massacre took place, which is said to have been first made known to William of Orange, by the rejoicings in the Spanish camp, the prince was endeavouring to relieve Mons, where his brother, Count Lewis, was besieged by Alva. It was now evident that no assistance could be hoped from France. William retreated towards Holland; Lewis capitulated in Mons; and Alva proceeded again to subdue all those places in the southern provinces, that had been induced to rise anew, by the recent advance of their northern confederates. The atrocious cruelties he perpetrated or permitted at Mechlin, partly to gratify his own fanatic and savage disposition, and partly to pacify the murmurs of his troops, ever ready to mutiny for pay which he had not to give them, spread terror around. The southern provinces resumed the yoke, and Alva prosecuted his march northwards. Here terror at first produced similar effects; but the treachery with which the terms of capitulation granted to Naarden were violated, occasioned a sudden revulsion of feeling. The fortitude of hopelessness took the place of fear, and the desperate defence of Haarlem, which was next besieged, is among the most memorable events of the war. At length, however, when the last hopes of relief were lost by the defeat of the prince of Orange, and the last resources of famine were exhausted by consuming the coarsest herbs, as well as the flesh of dogs, cats, and reptiles, at which the appetite naturally sickens, the garrison and citizens of Haarlem surrendered upon terms. Those terms also were perfidiously and cruelly broken, and the recklessness of despair now took possession of all men's minds—Surrender henceforward was unthought of.

Even Philip seems now to have sus-

pected either that Alva was too sanguinary, (he is said to have boasted that eighteen thousand heretics had fallen by the public executioner during his administration,) or that cruelty had been proved unavailing. He recalled the duke of Alva, and sent more lenient governors in his stead.—But clemency came too late. The moderation, which at an earlier period might have soothed, now, when men's minds were enflamed by barbarity, was considered simply as weakness. The insurgents exulted in their triumph over their tyrant, and felt encouraged to persevere in a struggle, that seemed at length to promise a happy issue.

Requesens, the new governor, after three years of contest, failure, and vexation, died in 1576; and no successor being provided, the council of state of those provinces which still professed allegiance to Spain, assumed the administration. Philip, as a further measure of conciliation, left it to them; but conciliation was contrary to his nature, and again seemed only a mark of weakness. The government of the council was without energy, the Spanish troops mutinied, and desolated the provinces they should have defended, whilst the prince of Orange and the insurgents hourly gained strength. The lapse of a few months showed Philip the necessity of sending a man of high talent and character to rule that distracted country, and he named Don John of Austria governor of the Netherlands.

But the council was unwilling to resign its authority; and if compelled to do so, desired at least, both to choose the governor to whom it must submit, and to avoid Don John, who early discovered his intention of subjugating the country by force. That body, accordingly, invited the prince of Orange to Brussels, whilst Don John fortified himself at Namur. The prince repaired to Brussels, and for a moment all seemed to prosper under his wise and vigorous administration. But the powerful nobles of Brabant, and of the other southern provinces, soon became jealous of a master, who had so recently been their equal; and their jealousy was inflamed by difference of religion, for in these provinces, Alva's executions really had put down the reformed doctrines, and the great nobles had almost all remained Catholics. Still they would not submit to Don John, whom they had previously rejected, and the consequence of such conflicting jea-

lousies was, that they dispatched an invitation to the Archduke Ernest, Philip's nephew and brother-in-law, to invite him to undertake the government. The archduke readily accepted the invitation; but found upon his arrival that those who had summoned him, had not power to effect their purpose, and that only by a coalition with the prince of Orange, could he hope to enjoy the high office tendered to him. The coalition was formed, and Ernest was governor, with William for his lieutenant.

The Netherlands had hoped, by their choice of his own near kinsman, to propitiate their tyrant. But Philip, as might have been anticipated, was indignant at the opposition offered to his brother, and dispatched another nephew, the celebrated Alexander Farnese, prince of Parma, with powerful Spanish and Italian reinforcements, to establish Don John's authority; and the Netherlands, alarmed at such formidable preparations, applied to the neighbouring states for support. Elizabeth promised and gave assistance, but wished to avoid an open rupture with Philip. She therefore affected to consider them as struggling against the misgovernment of the king's viceregents, not as throwing off their allegiance to himself. Under this colour, whilst she sent British troops to their aid, and supplied large sums to enable the Prince Palatine Casimir to raise Protestant troops in Germany, that might co-operate with the prince of Orange, she justified her conduct to Philip, upon the ground of Don John's detected intrigues with her Catholic subjects, for her own dethronement, and the queen of Scots' exaltation in her stead; pretending to believe Philip unacquainted with such intrigues, and urging him to recall his brother. Henry III., who had now succeeded to Charles IX. upon the French throne, would not risk a quarrel with Spain, by openly espousing the cause of the Netherlands; but he was glad to relieve himself from the danger and annoyance, which his brother the duke of Anjou's restless and ambitious temper occasioned him, by conniving at that prince's assuming the title of their protector, and leading all the idle and turbulent spirits who distracted his kingdom to their assistance.

The Netherlands were now strong, and notwithstanding the forces of Don John and the prince of Parma, the whole of the seventeen provinces might, per-

haps, have shaken off the Spanish yoke, and formed one moderately powerful state, had they been united amongst themselves. But faction and distrust soon began to prevail. The archduke, the duke of Anjou, and Prince Casimir, were reciprocally suspicious of each other's designs. The Protestants, feeling themselves strong in the support of Elizabeth and Casimir, were no longer content with the toleration, which was all they had previously asked. They now demanded rights and privileges for their religion, that exasperated the bigotry of their Catholic countrymen; who began to doubt whether submission to Spain were not, after all, preferable to admitting, what they deemed, the insolent pretensions of fanatical heretics. The most warlike of the Netherlands, the Walloons, or natives of Hainault, Artois, (the last province then formed part of the Low Countries,) and the more southern provinces, decidedly embraced this latter opinion. Internal discord would now have laid the whole country at Philip's feet, had he enabled Don John to take advantage of it. But the over-cautious king would not, since the affair of Tunis, trust his brother with means that might be used to establish his own independence; and Don John lay perforce idle at Namur, whilst his foes were quarrelling amongst themselves.

Impatient to put an end to an inaction so mortifying, Don John sent his secretary Escovedo to Spain, with instructions to justify his conduct, clear him of all criminal intentions, and explain the actual state of affairs, in which the most favourable possible opportunity of completely re-establishing Philip's authority seemed likely to be lost, for want of means to improve it. The mission proved most unfortunate. Some private cause of enmity existed between Escovedo and Antonio Perez, secretary of state, and the confidant and agent of Philip's amours. Escovedo, making no progress in his negotiations, suspected Perez of thwarting his exertions in Don John's behalf, and is said to have sought revenge by informing the king, that his minister had presumed to rival him in the good graces of his mistress, the princess of Eboli, wife to his favourite Ruy Gomez. Escovedo was shortly afterwards assassinated; and as the murderers were allowed to join the Spanish army in Italy, whether they immediately fled, Perez was universally believed to have employed

them. It was suspected at the time that the king had sanctioned his minister's act; and the death of Don John, which speedily followed at the early age of twenty-eight, being ascribed to poison, strongly corroborated the suspicion.

In 1578, the prince of Parma succeeded Don John in the government of the Netherlands; he received the supplies his predecessor had vainly solicited, and carried on the war vigorously. His successes soon enabled him to prevail upon the Walloon provinces again to resume their allegiance, and renounce their confederation, which from that time consisted only of Flanders and Brabant, in addition to the northern, afterwards termed the Seven United Provinces. These last as solemnly renounced their allegiance to Spain, and chose the duke of Anjou for their sovereign, in spite of the exertions of the archduke to obtain the sovereignty for himself. He thereupon quitted them in disgust. The duke of Anjou, however, did not long retain the good will of his new subjects. By an absurd attempt to get Antwerp into the sole hands of his French followers, he provoked mistrust of his ulterior views; and though a nominal reconciliation was effected by the prince of Orange, the duke seems to have felt his situation uncomfortable. He retired to France, professedly to obtain succours from his brother, and there died.

During these transactions great changes had occurred in Portugal. Sebastian had attained to man's estate, and taken the government into his own hands. He is represented as naturally endowed with many great and good qualities, especially an eager desire for knowledge. But his governor Don Alexis de Menezes, early represented to the queen dowager and the cardinal, that the management of the young king's education was most important, because he was of a disposition to be whatever he was in excess; and the Jesuits, to whom they committed the forming of his mind, seem not to have understood how to correct this disposition, studying only to guard their royal pupil from a tendency to vice. But, scarcely any vice, however injurious to his own individual character and happiness, could have brought such wide spreading misery, such utter destruction upon his kingdom, as did the extravagance, into which Sebastian was hur-

ried by mistaken virtues. He grew up with the idea that hatred of the infidels was Christianity, and courage the first virtue of a king. These notions were, indeed, pretty much those of his age; and they were more regulated by justice in Sebastian, than in many of his contemporaries, for he aimed only at recovering what his predecessors had lost. But they proved the ruin of Portugal.

Yet in the beginning of his reign, the mind of Sebastian seems to have been open to advice. He was very desirous of going out to India, to remedy, by his personal intervention, the disorders which had greatly increased during his minority, and to relieve Goa and Chaul, besieged, in consequence of the weakness those disorders had produced, by the whole force of the Mahometans, in that part of the world. His ministers remonstrated, that sending out able governors with the requisite authority and forces, would suffice to restore order in his Indian affairs, and that the main seat of government claimed the sovereign's presence and attention, in preference to the extremities. Sebastian listened to their representations, and resigned his purpose. It might have been happier for Portugal had he been suffered to execute it. Be that as it may, effective measures were taken. The enemy was repulsed from Chaul and Goa, and the Indian empire of Portugal was tranquillized.

In the year 1571, Philip invited his nephew to take a part in the great armament against the Turks under Don John; which Sebastian declined doing, upon the plea of his dominions being desolated by the plague. But it does not appear whether this was the true reason, or an excuse to avoid weakening himself by concurrence in an enterprise, of which he was not to be himself the leader.

Sebastian's first visit to Africa more resembles some of the expeditions of the knights errant of romance, than anything in real sober history. He is said to have left Lisbon on a hunting excursion, in the course of which he crossed the sea, to pursue his sport in another quarter of the globe. Upon landing in Africa, he sent home for a small body of troops, and when they joined him, gave over hunting for the still more exciting amusement of making hostile inroads upon the neighbouring Moors. In these, he of course could do no more than take some booty and prisoners;

Portugal
from A.D.
1566—1580.

and when he had roused the Mahometans to assemble their forces, he was compelled, by the consciousness of inferior strength, to reembark for Portugal. From this moment he thought of nothing but recovering the African possessions which his grandfather had lost or abandoned, and his court became a scene of contest and cabal. His grandmother, Cardinal Henry, and all his sagest counsellors, remonstrating vehemently against what they justly deemed the visionary projects of extravagant ambition; whilst flattering courtiers, heedless young men, and fanatical ecclesiastics, eagerly encouraged his views.

In the midst of these contests, a revolution in Africa seemed to offer an opportunity, too favourable to be neglected. In the empire of Morocco, the law of succession appears then to have been, that the next brother of a deceased monarch ascended his throne to the exclusion of the sons. But in violation of this law, upon the death of the Emperor Abdallah, his son Muley Mahomet usurped the government. He ruled tyrannically, and his uncle Muley Moloch, the legitimate sovereign, easily formed a strong party against him, with which, after a severe struggle, he succeeded in overthrowing the usurper, and establishing himself in his place. Muley Mahomet sought foreign assistance, and applied in the first instance to Philip, offering, if he would aid him to recover his empire, to hold it in vassalage of Spain. Philip declined interfering; when Muley Mahomet addressed himself to Sebastian, adding to his offer of tribute, that of the restitution of Arzila.

The exertions of the party at Lisbon opposed to African expeditions were now redoubled, but naturally proved fruitless. Even Philip is said to have laboured to deter his nephew from embarking in an enterprise altogether beyond his means; and invited him to a conference, for the purpose of enforcing his advice in person. This interview produced no other result than the conclusion of a future marriage between Sebastian and a daughter of Philip's, to be celebrated upon the return of the bridegroom from Africa; and most historians, with the exception of the Spaniards, accuse Philip of having employed underhand methods of instigating the young king to persevere in the determination he affected to dissuade. Especially he is charged with inducing the pope to applaud and encourage Sebas-

tian in his purpose. Certain it is, that the king of Portugal's resolution to accept Muley Mahomet's offers was not to be shaken. The old queen died of the anxiety occasioned by her grandson's rashness and obstinacy; Cardinal Henry marked his disapprobation, by refusing to act as regent during the king's absence; and Sebastian appointed in his stead the archbishop of Lisbon and two noblemen; one of whom, (J. de Mascarenhas, an ex-viceroy of India, and as distinguished a warrior as any of those who had conquered and secured the Portuguese empire in the east,) he had previously insulted; having, in order to invalidate the remonstrances of Mascarenhas against his African enterprise, obtained a medical opinion, that old age had impaired the veteran's courage.

The army with which, in June, 1578, Sebastian sailed for Africa, to overthrow the powerful sovereign of Morocco, consisted of less than sixteen thousand men. But he was accompanied by almost all the young nobility of Portugal, and he relied upon the assurances of Muley Mahomet, that great numbers of his former subjects would immediately declare in his favour. Philip, far from assisting his nephew, concluded an alliance with Muley Moloch; but a few volunteer adventurers, from different countries, joined the standard of the chivalrous young king.

Muley Moloch was a prince of extraordinary talent, virtue, and energy, and enjoyed, in a high degree, the well-merited affections of his subjects. All remained faithful to him. He assembled an army of one hundred thousand men, and at their head, although so reduced by illness that he was obliged to be carried in a litter, he advanced to meet the invader. Some of these troops having been formerly partisans of his nephew, Muley Moloch, distrustful of their attachment, issued a proclamation, that whosoever pleased was at liberty to pass over to his competitor. This magnanimity secured his triumph over any who might have previously hesitated between their old and new sovereigns, and very few indeed of the dispossessed usurper's former adherents took advantage of the liberty offered them.

Sebastian's camp was distracted by contending opinions. Muley Mahomet, who was disappointed in his expectation of deserters from his uncle's army, and now relied upon the impending fatal

issue of that uncle's malady, for making him master, without a blow, of empire and army, and perhaps of his Christian allies, urged Sebastian to fortify himself in a strong position upon the sea-coast; and his advice, though from other motives, was supported by the most experienced officers. But Sebastian had come to fight; he was eager to give battle, and his impatience was seconded by all the impetuous youths who had accompanied him upon this wild expedition, as upon a party of pleasure. Rejecting all rational counsel, he led his small army forward, into the open country, to encounter the overwhelming superiority of numbers there awaiting him.

On the 4th of August, the armies met near Alcaçarquivir. Muley Moloch's disorder had made rapid progress: he was conscious that his death could not be long deferred, and fearful that, upon its occurrence, his nephew might gain some advantage over his brother and lawful successor, Muley Hamet, he sought an opportunity of engaging the invaders, and by their defeat insuring the peaceful succession of Muley Hamet. This opportunity being afforded him by the imprudence of Sebastian, he drew up his army so as to render its numbers most available, gave all necessary orders for the battle, and then caused himself to be carried through the ranks in his litter, that he might personally exhort his troops to combat manfully against the implacable foes of their religion.

Sebastian likewise displayed a degree of military skill, not to have been anticipated from the rashness of his previous movements; and at first victory seemed to incline towards him. One division of the Moorish army was routed, when Muley Moloch, forgetting his malady in indignation, insisted upon being placed on horseback, and in person rallying the fugitives, attempted to lead them back to the attack. The effort was too much for his strength; he fainted, and was replaced in his litter; where he only recovered sufficiently to charge his attendants to conceal his death, lest it should discourage his troops, and expired, with his finger on his lips, to enforce these last commands. They were obeyed.—His attendants affected to open and reclose the curtains of the litter, as if making reports, and receiving orders; and the troops, encouraged by his last exertion, and believing them-

selves still under his eye, fought with irresistible valour. The Portuguese, notwithstanding their dauntless intrepidity and discipline, notwithstanding the invincible heroism of their king, who flying from place to place, was seen wherever the danger was most imminent, were completely defeated. Upwards of half the army fell, and the rest were made prisoners, with the exception of about two hundred, who escaped by flight. The young nobility, fighting desperately, were almost all slain; many a noble family was there extinct, and all were plunged in mourning. Muley Mahomet was drowned in endeavouring to fly; and Muley Hamet obtained uncontested possession of his inheritance.

Some portion of obscurity hangs over the fate of the adventurous Sebastian himself, which long encouraged a hope amongst the Portuguese that he had escaped, and would one day return, to resume the government of their country, and continue the direct and undisputed line of their kings. This wild hope was not wholly extinguished in the early years of even this present nineteenth century. But little real doubt can exist of his having fallen upon the fatal field of Alcaçarquivir. He had several horses killed under him, and was seen fighting, long after the general rout, with only three companions, against a host of enemies. The sole survivor of this devoted little band, Nuño de Mascarenhas, stated, that after the fate of two of their company, the king was disarmed and taken prisoner; when, his captors quarrelling about their prize, one of the Moors terminated the dispute, by cutting Sebastian down, and he was forthwith dispatched. Muley Hamet upon hearing this statement, sent one of Sebastian's servants to the spot indicated, who pointed out and brought away a corse, which was recognized as the king's by the other attendants upon the royal person. The emperor of Morocco afterwards delivered it up to his ally the king of Spain, together with some noble prisoners, including two sons of the duke of Braganza: Philip generously sent home the released captives, as well as the remains of Sebastian, which were interred in the royal sepulchre of Belem.

Upon the first tidings of this disaster, Cardinal Henry, youngest son of King Manuel, great uncle to Sebastian, and the only legitimate male survivor of the royal line, was declared protector; and,

when his nephew's death had been ascertained, was proclaimed king. He was a good and pious man, but proved an imbecile ruler, and the whole of his short reign was one scene of contention and cabal touching the nomination of his successor. The candidates were seven. Ranuccio Farnese, son to Alexander, prince of Parma, by Maria, eldest daughter of Edward, King Manuel's second son; Catherine, duchess of Braganza, the same Edward's second daughter; Philip of Spain, the son of Isabella, Manuel's eldest daughter; the duke of Savoy, the son of Beatrice, Manuel's second daughter; Antonio, prior of Crato, an illegitimate son of Lewis, Manuel's third son, who asserted that his parents had been married, and he himself was consequently legitimate; the pope, who laid claim to the kingdom as the property of a cardinal, to whom by ecclesiastical law he was heir; and Catherine of Medicis, who alleged her descent from Alfonso III. The question appeared so intricate, that the old cardinal was advised to obtain a papal dispensation, and marry, in order to cut it short; and notwithstanding his high ecclesiastical rank and his advanced age of sixty-seven, a negotiation was set on foot for this purpose. But it was discountenanced at Rome as indecorous, and Philip exerted all his power and influence to prevent its success; the necessity of investigating the claims of the several candidates became therefore imperative.

The pretensions of the Pope and of Catherine of Medicis were at once rejected as frivolous; and the prior of Crato wholly failed in his endeavours to establish his legitimacy. Amongst the other four, there can be no doubt that, according to the laws of succession now generally admitted, Ranuccio Farnese was the natural and lawful heir; and if, by the constitution of Portugal, as determined at Lamego, his mother had forfeited her hitherto by marrying a foreign prince, her sister Catherine, the wife of a Portuguese nobleman, was as clearly the person who succeeded to her claim. But the pretensions of the prince of Parma seem to have attracted no more notice than those of the duke of Savoy; and the real legal dispute was between the duchess of Braganza and the king of Spain.

The idea of falling under the Spanish yoke was odious to the whole nation. The king himself was convinced of his

niece Catherine's right, and, it is said, had one evening resolved to declare her his heiress upon the coming day. But de Moura, Philip's agent, learning his determination overnight, sat up in the palace-garden to catch him early in the morning; when, by threatening with Philip's anger and power, he frightened him into deferring his sentence. The nobility of the kingdom were very generally favourable to the duchess; but Don Antonio, who, after being taken prisoner at Alcazarquivir, had broken his Moorish fetters by the help of a Jew, was the favourite of the populace. He still asserted his legitimacy, imputed corruption to the judges who had decided against his mother's marriage, and reminded his friends that John I., the founder of the reigning house, was an illegitimate son, raised to the throne by popular election. The feeble-minded Henry, whose chief ministers, as well as his Jesuit confessor, were gained over by Philip's money, hesitated to pronounce, lest he should involve the country in civil war. The *Cortes*, whom he convoked, were divided, and timid as himself. The seventeen months of his reign passed in deliberation; and at his death, on the 31st of January, 1580, he left the question to be decided by five regents, whom he named. Had he boldly declared Catherine his heiress, the greater part of Don Antonio's adherents would most likely have deserted an illegitimate pretender for their recognized lawful queen. As it was, the kingdom, divided between two strong factions, lay at the mercy of a powerful invader.

Philip had hitherto committed the management of his pretensions to ambassadors and secret agents; and he now supplied these persons more abundantly than ever with pecuniary means to continue their operations. A majority of the regents were bribed by those agents, and consequently sought to dispose the nation in Philip's favour, by publishing the terms he offered to grant. The chief of these were, in addition to the general maintenance of the constitution, that he would reside as much as possible in Portugal; that the viceroy appointed to govern in his absence should always be either a prince of the blood, or a Portuguese; that a Portuguese council should always attend him for the management of Portuguese affairs; that natives of Portugal should be admitted into offices of the household, and others of minor importance, in Spain, whilst

Spaniards, and all strangers, should be excluded from all offices in Portugal, civil and military, as well as from all church preferment; and that crown lands, as the existing grants fell in, should be re-granted to the nearest relations of the former grantees. Conditions so favourable seem to have had great influence in lessening the abhorrence with which the nobles had hitherto shrunk from a connexion with Spain; and Philip now prepared to enforce and support his claim with the potent argument of thirty thousand men.

A fitting commander for this army was, however, not so easily found. The duke of Alva was the only general esteemed by Philip competent to the task; and he had for some time been in disgrace, and living in a kind of exile upon one of his estates. His disfavour is ascribed by many writers to Philip's dissatisfaction with the result of Alva's administration in the Netherlands, and with his arrogance in setting up his own statue at Antwerp. And this is by no means unlikely, how much soever his measures had been in unison with Philip's own sentiments. They had failed; and the king would of course impute such failure rather to some fault in his deputy, than to the measures themselves. A proof of his displeasure touching the statue was its immediate destruction by Requesens. Alva had nevertheless been received with all possible favours and honour upon his return from the Netherlands; and the ostensible cause of his exile was his concurrence with his son in a point, deemed by Philip a gross and personal insult to his queen. The son, Don Garcia de Toledo, having seduced one of the noble damsels attendant upon the Queen, had, in her majesty's presence, promised her the atonement of marriage. He had afterwards objected to fulfil his engagement, and been thrown into prison by the offended king, there to remain till he should redeem his plighted word; whereupon Alva had assisted him to escape from his captivity, taken him home, and rendered the promised reparation impossible, by marrying him to his cousin Maria de Toledo. The king immediately exiled the duke to his castle of Uzeda, where he had remained in impatience and resentment for two years, vainly resorting to the mediation of the Pope, and of other foreign princes, to effect his reconciliation with his unforgiving

master. It was now Philip's turn to want Alva, and he despatched two secretaries to visit the duke, and inquire whether his health would admit of his leading the army destined to invade Portugal. Alva replied, that he always had health for his majesty's service, and forthwith repaired to his post.

The corrupted regents took all measures for betraying the country to the usurping invader. They dissolved the *Cortes*, and placed creatures of their own in the command of the frontier towns. In June, Alva entered Portugal at the head of his army. Every fortified place threw open its gates at his summons, and he marched onwards unopposed. The duke of Braganza had taken no steps for maintaining his wife's rights, otherwise than by argument. The prior of Crato got possession of Lisbon, where he was proclaimed king by the populace. The nobility, disgusted by his elevation, and the inaction of the regents, withdrew sullenly to their houses; and the regents, freed from their control, boldly declared Philip the lawful heir of the crown.

Don Antonio seized the crown jewels, church plate, and other funds. He released all prisoners, armed them and the rabble, and offered liberty to all negro slaves who would embrace his cause. With an army thus constituted, he attempted to defend the passage of the Tagus against the veteran Alva, who was master of the whole province of Alemtejo, and had reached the south bank of the river, without more fighting than a short siege of one fortress, that had declared for Don Antonio, and the commandant of which, when taken, he had executed. Don Antonio was, of course, defeated, almost at the first onset. He fled through Lisbon, northwards; collected another army, with which he was again defeated; and thenceforward thought only of escape. Philip set a high price upon his head, but could not tempt any one of his adherents to betray him. For nine months Don Antonio lurked in the kingdom, concealed now in one place, now in another, sheltered by rich and by poor, in castle, monastery, and cottage, and everywhere diligently sought by his enemies, ere he could find an opportunity of getting on ship-board.

After Don Antonio's second defeat no further resistance was attempted. Portugal submitted, and swore fealty. Her American, Indian, African, and in-

Spain
from A. D.
1574—1580.

Portugal
from A. D.
1580—1581.

sular possessions followed her example, with the single exception of the Azores, which proclaimed Antonio. The duke of Braganza and his sons acknowledged Philip. The duchess would not thus surrender her rights; and even when Philip, upon the death of Queen Anne and the duke of Braganza, offered her his hand, she refused a crown as the price of disinheriting her sons; but she too desisted from further contest. When all was quiet, Philip visited his new kingdom, convoked the *Cortes*, and swore to the conditions he had previously offered.

Thus was effected, however illegally, the union of Spain and Portugal; an union apparently as important to the true interests of the peninsula, as is that of England and Scotland to the well-being of Great Britain; and not more repugnant to the inclinations of the two nations in the one case, probably, than in the other. Had Philip and his successors strictly observed the terms of the union, and endeavoured otherwise to conciliate the Portuguese, these last might, ere long, have considered the Spanish monarchs as their lawful kings, and have reconciled their pride to their incorporation with a larger state. It has even been further conjectured, that had Lisbon, in consideration of its admirable situation for the purpose, been made the capital, Portugal would have exulted, commerce might have flourished in Spain, notwithstanding the wound it received from religious intolerance; and the universal monarchy at which the house of Austria is believed to have aimed, might have been at least not an impossibility. But this was not the policy of Philip. Although rather an usurper than a conqueror, he chose to treat Portugal as a conquered country. He rejected the proposals for beneficial laws, and, indeed, all the demands of the *Cortes*, except a few of the most insignificant, and speedily dissolved that assembly. He refused the favours solicited by the nobles, withheld the honours and pecuniary compensations promised to the Braganza family; and although he did publish an amnesty, the exceptions were so large (including all who had favoured Don Antonio), that, it was said, Philip had pardoned only those who were free from offence. He then proceeded to punish the persons thus excepted; and the extent of the executions which followed may be judged by two circumstances. One

that, from the number of dead bodies thrown into the sea, the people would not eat fish again, until the archbishop, in a solemn procession, had purified by his blessing the polluted ocean; and the other, that Philip himself thought it requisite to obtain absolution from the Pope, for having put such numbers of ecclesiastics to death. He then appointed his nephew and brother-in-law, the Archduke Albert, viceroy of Portugal; and committing to him the government of the country, where discontent was already very general, he returned to Spain.

CHAPTER VIII.

Attempts of Don Antonio upon the Azores and Portugal—Pretended Sebastians—Assassination of the Prince of Orange—Prince of Parma subdues Brabant and Flanders—The Seven United Provinces offer themselves to France—And England—Refused by both—Elizabeth sends an army to their support—War between Spain and England—Invincible Armada—Foiled by the English fleet—Destroyed by storms—The English ravage Philip's coasts, and intercept his commerce—Philip seeks the French crown for his daughter—Baffled by Henry IV.'s conversion—Dutch fleets harass Spanish and Portuguese trade—Philip confers the Netherlands upon the Infanta Isabella, in dependence upon Spain—Tyrannical proceedings against Perez—Violation of Aragonese constitution—Aragonese resist—Are subdued, and deprived of their privileges—Peace of Vervins—Death of Philip—Condition of Spain—Commencement of decline.*

CONSIDERABLE doubts have been expressed whether the unjust acquisition of Portugal really increased Philip's strength. It certainly rendered him an object of greater detestation to the Protestant portion of Europe, and of very decided fear and jealousy to his Catholic allies and subjects. It filled the Neapolitans and Milanese with dread of fresh endeavours to introduce the In-

* The authorities principally consulted for this chapter are Yriarte, Ferreras, *Ila Costa*, La Ciede, Leti, Watson, Sempere, Voltaire, Universal Modern History, History of England, by David Hume, 8 vols. 8vo. London, 1807. *Istoria del Gran Duca di Toscana sotto il governo della Casa Medici*, di R. Galuzzi, 6 tom. 8vo. Livorno, 1781.

quisition into their respective countries, (an evil which they had hitherto prevented by rising in open rebellion against every attempt of the kind,) and violent disorders followed this renewal of apprehension. Elizabeth avowed more frankly than before, her determination to protect the insurgent provinces of the

Portugal
from A.D.
1581—1602.

Netherlands; and Henry III. allowed Don Antonio, who had taken refuge in France,

to raise men, and fit out vessels, for an expedition to the Azores. The expedition was unsuccessful—Philip had sent his best naval officer, the marquess of Santa Cruz, to reduce those islands. He routed the French fleet; defeated the land forces; and by the savage cruelty of his executions (which extended to the French, whom he treated as mere pirates and adventurers aiding a rebel), he terrified the Azores into submission. Don Antonio next obtained from Elizabeth an armament for the invasion of Portugal, which he represented as ready to rise in his favour the moment he should appear there with a force able to support his friends. But his party seems to have died away in his absence; for no insurrection took place, and the English commanders, disappointed in their expectations, re-embarked their troops, and returned home.

This was the last effort of Don Antonio, who could never again raise a party, and died, indigent and neglected, in France. But now arose various Sebastians, to disturb Philip's quiet possession of his usurped realm. Three of these Sebastians, although so well trained to play the part assigned them, as enabled them, working upon the strong belief entertained by the lower Portuguese of their king's escape, to gain many partisans, and occasion the government much trouble, were manifestly impostors; but the fourth greatly perplexed his contemporaries, and over his story considerable mystery still hangs. This pretender appeared first in Venice, nearly twenty years later; he resembled Sebastian in person, and gave a plausible account of his escape after the battle of Alcazarquivir; further stating that he had reached Portugal during Henry's reign, and been treated by the old king as an impostor; but he did not satisfactorily account for himself from that period to the time of his announcing himself. He was examined by the Venetian senate, and discovered a

knowledge of their most secret negotiations with Sebastian that amazed them. They refused to deliver him up to the Spanish ambassador, but so far complied with his wishes, as to banish him from the Venetian territory. This true or false Sebastian, who was countenanced by all the enemies of Spain, sought shelter in Tuscany, then one of the number. But the Grand Duke Ferdinand wished to conciliate his potent foe, and for that purpose delivered up the would-be Sebastian to the count of Lemos, viceroy of Naples, when he was publicly flogged through the city, calmly and positively asserting the whole time, that he was Sebastian king of Portugal. After the degrading punishment he was thrown into prison, where he either died, or was sent to the galleys, and hanged for attempting to escape. The tidings of his appearance produced an insurrection in Portugal, which was of course followed by many executions.

The reward Philip had set upon Don Antonio's head had failed to corrupt the fidelity of the Portuguese; but a similar measure proved

The Netherlands
from A.D.
1580—1639.

more successful against the prince of Orange. The temptation offered to men's natural desire of gain was, in this case, unfortunately aided by religious bigotry, and under the double impulse many assassins were found. One of these miscreants inflicted an insufficient wound: three were detected and punished, before they could put their flagitious purpose into execution. But on the 10th of July, 1584, a Franco-Comtois, named Balthasar Gerard, obtained admittance, upon pretence of wanting a passport, and shot William as he left his dining-room in the company of his wife and sister. The wound proved mortal; and this atrocious crime robbed the oppressed Netherlands of their greatest man and truest patriot: the energetic and apparently disinterested advocate of their rights, so long as it seemed possible to compel respect for those rights; the bold and able leader of their insurrection against Spain, when that always fearful mode of seeking redress became inevitable. The murderer was tortured, and then put to a cruel death. His heirs were, according to promise, enriched and ennobled.

William's eldest son, Philip, now prince of Orange, had been for nearly

thirty years, a kindly-treated prisoner in Spain; his second, Maurice, was a youth of eighteen. To him, however, the states of the insurgent provinces transferred so much of the authority enjoyed by his father, as did not depend upon the murdered prince's personal character. *That*, which must be earned, could not be given to an almost untried youth; and Maurice, though he possessed great abilities, even excelling his father as a warrior, never equalled him as a statesman. For the present, the prince of Parma profited by the removal of his chief antagonist. He rapidly compelled Ghent, Brussels, and the other great towns to submit. He brought Brabant and Flanders, with the exception of Antwerp, back to their allegiance. He then invested Antwerp; and in the conduct of that prolonged siege, which lasted twelve months, he displayed a degree of military genius, a boldness of conception and a fertility in resource, that have never perhaps been surpassed. Antwerp was at length obliged to capitulate, and the whole of the southern provinces were now again Spanish. Such of the inhabitants as would not submit to the yoke, including most of the remaining Protestants, emigrated into the Seven United Provinces.

These provinces did not yet aspire to republican independence. Their assembled states offered the sovereignty of their country, first to Henry III. of France, who, harassed by civil wars, could not accept it, and then to Elizabeth. The ambition of that wise princess was directed rather to the strengthening and improving, than to the enlarging, of her dominions; and she declined the proffered accession of territory. But she saw that the season for temporizing was past—that war with Philip was inevitable,—and she undertook the protection of the seven provinces. She immediately sent her favourite, the earl of Leicester, with a small army to their support. The states thought to lure the queen to greater exertions on their behalf, by naming Leicester governor-general. She was offended by the attempt; and it required all the earl's influence to obtain her consent to his holding the office, with a distinct understanding that she would do no more than she had originally promised.

During the two years of Leicester's sway, his incapacity materially lessened the advantages derived from the suc-

cours afforded by England; and though nothing very important was effected on either side, the balance of success was with the prince of Parma. At the end of that time Leicester, weary of his situation, resigned the government, and returned home. The power was now in the hands of the able and enterprising Prince Maurice; and the prince, now duke, of Parma's energies were cramped, by Philip's diverting his attention and his forces to other objects. He had already been compelled to employ a portion of his troops in assisting the chapter of Cologne against their heretical archbishop, who having quitted the Catholic for the Protestant religion, and married, endeavoured to retain his see. In 1588, the duke was required to co-operate, with nearly all his forces, in the projected invasion of England.

Since she had concluded an alliance with the insurgent provinces, Elizabeth had considered herself as at war with Spain, and had carried on hostilities at sea. Sir Francis Drake, the best seaman of the age, had ravaged the coasts of Spain and Portugal, had burned rich merchantmen in the very harbour of Cadiz, and committed yet greater devastation upon Philip's transatlantic possessions; where, besides doing other damage, he had taken and sacked the towns of St. Domingo and Carthagena, further levying heavy contributions, by threats of burning them. In 1588, Philip determined to end the war by the conquest of England. With this view he ordered the duke of Parma to unite his troops upon the sea-coast, and prepare the vessels requisite for transporting them to England, under the protection of the powerful armament, arrogantly termed the *Invincible Armada*, which he was sending out both to guard his passage and to destroy the English fleets.

The duke of Parma vainly represented the necessity of first securing some Dutch or Flemish port whence the troops could sail, and where the vessels might find shelter if needful. Philip, confident in the strength of his armada and in the expected aid of the English Catholics, would not hear of delay; he repeated his orders, and despatched his fleet. Well might it, as far as appearance went, be called the *Invincible Armada*. It consisted of one hundred and thirty men-of-war and galleys, mostly of a

Spain
from A.D.
1561—1599.

size so enormous as to resemble floating castles, manned with eight thousand sailors, besides galley slaves, carrying twenty thousand soldiers, and commanded by the successful marquess of Santa Cruz. The first disaster that befel the armada was the death of its able and experienced commander, whose place was supplied by the inexperienced and reluctant duke of Medina-Sidonia. The second was a tempest that dispersed it, and drove the greater part into Coruña to refit. After a month consumed in repairing damage and re-assembling, the armada finally set sail in July, and on the 30th of that month came in sight of England.

Meanwhile, Elizabeth and her whole people, the Catholics on whose support Philip relied, as well as the Protestants, were preparing, with resolute energy, for defence. A fleet was hastily equipped, upon the spur of the occasion, to encounter the enemy at sea, and three armies, in all eighty thousand men, were assembled to resist invasion on shore. The fleet was commanded by Lord Howard of Effingham, assisted by Drake, Hawkins and Frobisher, the three best naval officers then living. The Dutch fleets prepared to assist the English, and blockaded the ports in which the duke of Parma meant to embark.

The English fleet, inferior in size and number of ships, would not engage, nor could the unwieldy armada force a battle. But Lord Howard pursued and harassed his formidable enemies in their progress up the Channel, cutting off, and capturing or destroying, every vessel that chanced to separate from the main body, deriving almost equal advantage from the nautical skill of his coadjutors, and from the lightness and agility of his ships. At length the armada reached the narrow seas, where it was to protect the passage of the duke of Parma and his army. But its bulky vessels were unable to approach the Flemish coast, and consequently could not drive away the Dutch blockading squadrons.

Medina-Sidonia now anchored to deliberate upon his future proceedings: when, on the night of the 7th of August, Howard interrupted his councils, by taking advantage of a sudden breeze to send eight vessels, filled with combustibles and already burning, into the midst of the Spanish fleet. He could scarcely have devised a more effectual mode of

terrifying his enemies. A bridge of boats thrown across the Scheldt by the duke of Parma, whilst besieging Antwerp, had been frightfully damaged by fire-ships; and the recollection of their destructive agency was vivid amongst the Spaniards. Upon the present occasion, the awful appearance of the blazing barks driving towards them, was heightened by the darkness of the night, and its influence upon their minds became irresistible. A sudden panic spread through the armada, some ships weighed anchor, others cut their cables, and in none was anything thought of beyond the means of escaping from the dreaded fire-ships. The gigantic vessels dashed against each other; the confusion, and the damage which ensued were prodigious.

When day-light showed Howard the success of his stratagem, he attacked the bewildered enemy in his disorder, and though the Spaniards fought bravely, his victory was complete. Medina-Sidonia considered the object of his expedition as defeated by this disaster, and resolved upon returning to Spain; but the elements were again adverse to the armada. A succession of storms dispersed and destroyed his fleet; and Spain is supposed to have lost in this unfortunate and misnamed armada, the flower of her land and sea forces. The kingdom was covered with mourning, and Philip alone retained his usual equanimity. He received the unsuccessful and mortified duke of Medina-Sidonia, who trembled to accost him after such disasters, kindly, but with words that betrayed the innate arrogance of a Spaniard, although veiled under the show of resignation to the act of Heaven. He said, 'I sent you to fight against the English, not against the tempests of Heaven.'

The losses, sustained upon this occasion, seem to have so exhausted the resources of Philip as to prevent a repetition of the attempt; and from this moment it was Spain, not England, that was menaced with invasion. Elizabeth's fleets ravaged the hostile coasts in both hemispheres, and intercepted the vessels bringing home the wealth of America. Nay, Cadiz itself was taken and sacked by Essex and Howard, and the fleet destroyed in the harbour. If no permanent establishment was made in any of Philip's dominions, great evils were inflicted upon most of them, and immense booty was acquired by the victors.

The duke of Parma now returned to his proper occupation, the war against Philip's former subjects. But Philip's treasury was empty; the English ships cut off his supplies, and Farnese was cramped by want of money. His progress was soon afterwards yet further impeded, by his being called upon to extend his sphere of action to France. Although Philip had always supported the Catholic party, during the religious civil wars in that kingdom, he had hitherto, in so doing, only assisted an ally and brother-in-law against rebels. But now the death of the duke of Anjou had produced a change in the condition and prospects of France, which, whilst it alarmed Philip's bigotry and excited his ambition, gave a very different character to his interference.

Henry III. having no children, the death of his last surviving brother called the Bourbon branch of the royal family to the succession, and the head of this branch was a Protestant,—Henry de Bourbon, duke of Vendôme, in right of his paternal ancestors, and king of Navarre, in right of his deceased mother Joanna, the only daughter and heiress of Henry II. of Navarre. The imminent danger of a heretic's becoming king of France had thrown the French Catholics into a state of almost frantic consternation; and the more bigoted part of them, who had long confederated under the title of the Catholic League, were ready to do and to venture everything, in order to avert what they regarded as an impending calamity. Philip, in whom they trusted as their tried patron and protector, now endeavoured to persuade the chiefs of the League, that the only means of avoiding a heretic king was to abrogate the law, known by the name of the Salic law, which excluded females from the throne. It was in virtue of this exclusive law, that a distant kinsman, like the king of Navarre, was the heir: its repeal would make Philip's favourite child, Isabella Clara Eugenia, the legal heiress, as the eldest daughter of Henry III.'s eldest sister.

Upon the assassination of Henry III., Philip urged the *infanta's* pretensions more openly; and to secure the co-operation of the powerful house of Lorraine, the heads and instigators of the League, he proposed marrying her to the young duke of Guise. Philip now no longer confined his assistance to small bands of auxiliary troops; but,

becoming a sort of principal in the civil war raging throughout France, ordered the duke of Parma with his whole army to the support of the League, whenever it was threatened with defeat. The skilful march by which, upon one of these occasions, Farnese deceived a commander of the high reputation enjoyed by Henry of Navarre, now Henry IV. of France, and relieved Paris, the chief seat of the Leaguers' power, when reduced to the last extremity of famine, is esteemed the most brilliant of his military exploits. The civil war lasted four years, from Henry III.'s murder until Henry IV.'s conversion to Catholicism; which, by reconciling the more moderate portion of the League to their lawful king, put a final end to Philip's hopes of making his daughter queen of France. Upon Henry's accession, the remaining French portion of the kingdom of Navarre was finally united to France.

These baffled schemes upon the French crown had cost Philip enormous sums of money, had checked his exertions in the Netherlands at the moment when success seemed possible, and, in the end, robbed him of the general, upon whom all chance of such success depended. Alexander Farnese died of a dropsy, said to have very much originated in vexation at the unnecessary obstacles, always frustrating his most hopeful projects for the reduction of the insurgents. The complete independence of the republic of the Seven United Provinces, although not acknowledged by Spain, was now established, alike beyond dispute, and beyond any rational idea of subjugation. Their fleets, in emulation of the English, harassed the Spaniards in every quarter of the globe, but directed their efforts principally against the Portuguese colonies. These were neglected by Philip, whose dominions were far too extensive for his means of defence. The Portuguese colonists had grown corrupt and effeminate amidst their Indian wealth and slaves. The governors and troops sent out for their protection were disheartened by their humiliating subjection to Spain; and in India little resistance was offered to foreign aggression. As yet, however, the United Provinces attempted not distant conquest, contenting themselves with trying to supersede the colonists in their trade with the yet free native powers, and

The Netherlands
from A. D.
1588—1598.

capturing the Spanish and Portuguese merchantmen.

The southern provinces of the Netherlands, to which the name must henceforward be limited, remained subject to Philip; but they were dissatisfied and insecure. He thought to gratify them, and perhaps to win back the others, by erecting the whole into a separate principality, to be conferred upon the *Infanta* Isabella, for whom he now despaired of obtaining the French crown, or even the duchy of Brittany, which, having been united to France by the marriage of its heiress, he had claimed for her, as a female fief. With the Netherlands for her portion, the *infanta* was to marry, by papal dispensation, her cousin, the Cardinal-Archduke Albert, who had already shown his fitness for government, by his judicious conduct as viceroy of Portugal. Whilst the negotiations with the Pope were still pending, Albert was sent to succeed the deceased prince of Parma, as governor of the Low Countries.

During these various transactions abroad, a rebellion occurred in Spain, provoked by the most flagrant act of cruelty and tyranny that, upon undoubted testimony, has been really established against Philip. The sons of the murdered Escovedo had, soon after their father's death, instituted a prosecution against the secretary, Antonio Perez, as the author of the foul deed. Through the king's intervention, and under his sanction, a compromise was effected between the parties. Perez paid a large sum of money to Escovedo's family, whereupon he was set at liberty, and, though forbidden to appear at court, continued to conduct the business of his office. But either the alleged intimacy with the princess of Eboli still rankled in Philip's mind, or he dreaded the disgraced secretary's revealing his own share in Escovedo's assassination. In 1591 Perez was accused of boasting of the murder, of betraying state secrets to the princess of Eboli, of falsifying the letters he deciphered, and of taking bribes. Upon these charges he was thrown into prison, where, whilst he was offered his liberty as the price of giving up the king's letters touching Escovedo's death, he was treated with extraordinary severity. Perez accepted the terms, and was released; but he managed to keep back one note, which Philip, it seems, had forgotten. The liberty thus

purchased, Perez was not, however, long permitted to enjoy. The prosecution for the murder was revived; the accused was again thrown into prison, where he was tortured to extort a confession, which he had no desire to withhold. He is said to have revealed all, giving the reserved royal letter as evidence of his truth; and thus Philip, whose only object in this strange tissue of artifice appears to have been the clearing himself, by a judicial sentence, from any participation in the murder, was caught in his own toils.

But the situation and prospects of the prisoner were not improved by the exposure of his royal accomplice; and he saw that in flight lay his only chance of life. His escape was happily managed by the address of his wife, Donna Joanna Coello, who appears to have smuggled him out of prison in woman's clothes, amidst a party of female visitors, the watchfulness of his gaolers having been previously lulled to sleep by his affectation of extreme debility and helplessness, in consequence of the torture. Perez fled to his native Aragon; and there, though he was again seized by the king's orders, his condition was far different. He appealed to the yet inviolate laws and privileges of Aragon. The *justicia mayor*, John de Lanuza, evoked the cause before his own tribunal at Saragossa, where the proceedings were public; and he lodged the accused in the prison called the Manifestation, under his own sole and especial jurisdiction.

This was not the tribunal before which it suited Philip that Perez should be tried. The Inquisition, therefore, accused the ex-secretary of heretical opinions; and as the *justicia mayor* would not surrender his prisoner, the inquisitors, with the assistance of the marquis of Almenara, a minister of the king's, broke open the prison, and removed him to their own dungeons. Such an infraction of the Aragonese constitution roused the spirit of the people, and a regular contest ensued between them and the king's officers, in the course of which the marquis of Almenara was so ill-used as to occasion his death. Perez was recovered from the inquisitors, and replaced in the *justicia's* custody,—again seized by the inquisitors, and again torn from them by the populace,—who, upon this second occasion, favoured his flight, when Perez, by the aid of his friends, escaped into France, where he was

Spain
from A.D.
1699—1696.

kindly received and protected by Henry IV.

Philip sent an army into Aragon, to quell and chastise these disorders. Prudence, and submission upon negotiation, might still, perhaps, have effected a compromise; but the *justicia* had died during the tumults, and his son, who had succeeded to his office, rashly attempted to resist by force this second act of unconstitutional violence; for no foreign troops might enter Aragon without the consent of the *Cortes* or the *Justicia*; and each of the several kingdoms united under the name of Spain still considered the natives of the others as foreigners. The attempt was unsuccessful, and again the fatal consequences of unsuccessful rebellion followed. The *justicia*, together with the duke of Villa Hermosa, and some other leaders of the insurgents, were put to death; and the liberties of Aragon were very greatly diminished, though not so completely crushed as those of Castile had long been.

Philip now felt his latter end approaching; and, from a natural desire to leave his wide-spreading dominions in a tranquil state to his son, he gladly accepted Pope Clement VIII.'s proposal to mediate a peace between France and Spain. The negotiation was procrastinated by the archduke's surprise and capture of Amiens, which Henry thought it indispensable to recover, before he would even listen to terms. The Spanish garrison in that town capitulated in the autumn of 1597; and in the following summer, notwithstanding the opposition of Queen Elizabeth and Prince Maurice, the peace of Vervins was concluded upon equitable conditions,—all conquests being mutually restored, and all pretensions to any part of each others' dominions mutually relinquished.

This peace, and the investing* the *infanta* with the sovereignty of the Netherlands, were the last acts of Philip. He did not live to see the celebration of her marriage, or of his son's with Margaret, daughter of the Archduke Charles of Austria, which he had concluded. He had for years been, like his father, a martyr to the gout, but had never permitted his sufferings to interfere with his regal duties. During the severest paroxysms, he regulated everything, and frequently, when urged to spare himself, said, that the pains in his joints did not lame his brain. His last illness was dreadful,

his limbs being covered with ulcers that generated swarms of the most loathsome vermin. In that condition he lay for fifty days, and is said to have exhibited during the whole time a wonderful example of Christian patience and resignation. He died on the 13th of September, 1598. Of his numerous children, two only survived him;—his son Philip, and the *Infanta* Isabella. A second daughter, Catherine, had married the duke of Savoy, but died before her father, leaving a large family.

In America the limits of the Spanish empire were extended during this reign, but Spanish America from A.D. 1550—1598. not so as sensibly to affect the power or the greatness of the mother-country. One fact, however, deserves notice. Whilst all surrounding Indians bowed beneath the yoke, and were rapidly swept away by the unaccustomed toils their new masters required, one bold and warlike tribe in the province of Chile, named the Araucans, after submitting like the rest, rose against their oppressors, and for years defied all the troops the Chilian and the Peruvian Spaniards could send against them. The war was ended only by a treaty recognizing their independence. In the East Indian seas the Philippines were named and colonized.

Philip II. had received Spain from his father in a state of brilliant prosperity. Her agriculture and manufactures were flourishing, and were competent to supply her large exports to her American colonies. That from this happy condition Spain began, during his long reign, to decline, is admitted by those Spanish writers who most warmly eulogize Philip; nor is the great pecuniary distress denied to which the lord of America and her mines was latterly reduced. The two facts form a curious comment upon the extraordinary prudence, considered by them as his peculiar characteristic. For this decline various causes have been assigned by philosophical historians; as the numerous colonies that drained the population of the mother-country;—the disgust which men, who saw immense fortunes easily and rapidly accumulated, in the plunder or the mines of the New World, conceived for the toils and the slow profits of trade and husbandry;—the enormous waste of men and money occasioned by the various and simultaneous wars into which Philip was hurried, by either an extravagant

ambition, or an uncalculating bigotry. Experience, and a maturer philosophy, teach us, that whatever ills may be thus occasioned, they are in their nature temporary, requiring only time to correct themselves; and direct us to seek the true cause of the gradual downfall of Spain in her loss of liberty.

The union of Spain into one monarchy, under Ferdinand and Isabella, had lessened the long-existing intimate connexion between king and people, and the dependence of the former upon the latter: the natural consequence was a diminished respect on the part of the crown for popular rights. The splendour of Charles's reign, his clemency, conciliating manners, and good government, perhaps, blinded the nation to his gradual invasion of their privileges, and neglect of the forms of a free constitution. Under the sterner sway of Philip, a complete despotism was established, and it seemed to give him a boundless power, alarming Europe, at the moment his authority began to decline. Since the Cortes had fallen into contempt, the cities had lost their importance, and an arbitrary system of taxation had shaken the security of property.

Under such circumstances, commerce languished, and had no energy to resist the blow, when the English and Dutch fleets intercepted the vessels bearing Spanish merchandise to America, or bringing back an ample return. Agriculture, like manufactures, must always suffer from the impoverishment of any portion of the community; but in Spain it now laboured under peculiar additional evils. When the nobles were lured from their rural homes to court, for the purpose of weakening their feudal power, the peasantry, divided from their natural protectors, robbed of the encouragement and support of almost princely establishments in every part of the country, sank into a degraded class; whilst the mighty lords themselves became mere intriguing courtiers, rapacious for money, in order to rival each other in splendour, and tyrants of those dependent peasants, to whom their ancestors were as fathers. In this state, the vital spirit that should have re-acted against every disaster was no more; and calamities, in their nature temporary, became permanent.

Philip II. adorned Spain with many useful and some ornamental works. He erected the Escorial, which has ever since been a favourite royal resi-

dence. The Escorial is an immense pile of building, uniting a monastery, a cemetery, and a palace, dedicated to St. Lawrence, in gratitude for the great victory of St. Quentin, gained upon the day on which his festival is celebrated; and to stamp it yet more manifestly his, is built in the form of a gridiron, the instrument of that saint's martyrdom. The expense of the Escorial is reckoned as one cause of the exhaustion of Philip's exchequer. Philip was, or, in emulation of his father and of his great-grandmother Isabella, desired to be esteemed, a patron of literature, and of learning in general: in token of which, he sent his eldest son Don Carlos, his brother Don John, and his nephew, the prince of Parma, to be educated at the University of Alcalá; and during his reign flourished most of the great Spanish authors. But the privilege of proscribing whatever books they should judge dangerous to Catholicism, which he committed to the Inquisition, more than counterbalanced his patronizing exertions.

CHAPTER IX.

Accession of Philip III.—He abandons the government to his favourite, the duke of Lerma—Hostilities between the Archdukes and the United Provinces—Peace with James I.—Dutch fleets continue to annoy the Spanish and Portuguese trade—They attack the colonies—Negotiations with United Provinces—Difficulties—Twelve years' truce in Europe—Expulsion of Moors from Spain—Opposition and generous conduct of their Valencian landlords—Sufferings of the Moors—Evil consequences to Spain of their expulsion—Dangers threatening Spain averted by the death of Henry IV.—Spain involved by Lerma in Italian affairs—Intrigues of Bedmar at Venice, and Osuna at Naples—Failure of both—Fall of Lerma—He is succeeded by Uzeda—Commencement of Thirty Years' war—Death of Philip.*

PHILIP III., who, at the period of his accession, had not completed his twenty-first year, resembled his father in nothing but bigotry. The deceased king had for some time endeavoured to

Spain
from A.D.
1593—1600.

* The authorities principally consulted for this chapter, are, Yriarte, Da Costa, La Ciede, Marbès, Sempere, Guannone, Voltaire, Coxe, Hume, Uni-

train him to the duties of government by admitting him to a seat in his privy council, and frequently, when himself too ill to attend in person, requiring from the young prince a report of its deliberations. He had latterly given him a more active share in the administration. But indolence, and entire docility to those he loved, were qualities inherent in Philip III.'s nature; and the aged monarch, who had ever been his own prime minister, foresaw with pain that his son would always abandon the reins of government to some favourite. Against such a weakness his last advice was chiefly directed, and especially against placing such confidence in the prince's equerry, and actual favourite, Don Francisco de Rajos y Sandoval, marquess of Denia.

The wills and the advice of dead kings are usually neglected. Philip III. had paid such implicit deference to his father, that when the old monarch, showing him the portraits of all the daughters of the Archduke Charles, desired him to select his future wife from amongst them, he referred the choice to his father, alleging that the princess who should meet with Philip II.'s approbation, would be the most beautiful in his eyes. Yet this same prince began his reign by a direct contravention of that father's dying injunctions. He dismissed Philip II.'s oldest and most trusted counsellors, and committed the whole power of the state to the marquess of Denia. He soon afterwards created him duke of Lerma, and confirmed and strengthened his authority by conferring the archbishopric of Toledo upon his brother Don Bernardo. But this act of disobedience was the fruit of the same yielding and indolent temper that had previously given birth to his filial obedience, the only difference being that he now submitted to a favourite's empire instead of a parent's.

In other points the young king followed up his father's measures. The dispensations for the two marriages had been received, and Albert was on his

way to Spain, escorting his cousin Margaret, when Philip II. died. Philip III. immediately confirmed the previous arrangements, and sent his own and his sister's proxies, that the marriages might be celebrated by the Pope in person, as the archduke and archduchess passed through Italy. The archduke and the new queen then pursued their journey to Spain, whence Albert conducted Isabella to the Low Countries.

Had the transference of the sovereignty of the Netherlands been complete, it might, perhaps, have answered its end, and even the emancipated provinces have been content to re-unite themselves with their former countrymen, under independent and constitutional princes. But Albert and Isabella were held in too strict a dependence upon Spain to be permitted to deviate from the principles of the court of Madrid in their administration, either civil or religious; a dependence indicated even by the title they assumed. They were not called duke and duchess of Burgundy, but simply the archdukes. They were served by Spanish ministers, and Spanish or Italian generals; their children, if they had any, were not to marry without the king of Spain's consent; should their union prove childless, their dominions were to revert to the Spanish crown; and the chief mark of separation was, that their subjects, like other foreigners, were excluded from the trade with the East and West Indies. The enslaved Netherlands gladly hailed even this show of independence; but the United Provinces at once rejected what they regarded as a mere artifice to lure them back under the Spanish sceptre.

The history of the Netherlands still, therefore, under the archdukes, forms part of the history of Spain; but the transactions that occurred there are no longer of the importance of those that took place during the last reign. The war with the United Provinces continued for some years. Albert was not destitute of military skill, although no match for Prince Maurice, who easily baffled his utmost exertions. The archdukes, however, governed well, gained the affections of their subjects, and kept their troops in as good discipline as was compatible with their deficient means of paying them; and the fortune of the war changed when, in 1603, a body of veteran Italians was brought to their

The Netherlands
from A.D.
1568—1604.

versal Modern History, History of Philip III., by R. Watson, 2 vols. 8vo. London, 1786.—A work of equal merit, if not equal interest with his history of Philip II. *Historia de Felipe IV., Rey de España, por Gonzalo de Cepeda*. Fol. Barcelona, 1604. Cepeda is much esteemed as an historian; and he takes up Philip IV. long before his accession, his history including part of Philip III.'s reign. *Justa expulsión de los Moriscos de España, &c.*, del M. F. Damian Ponceca, 8vo. Rom. 1612. An account of the expulsion of the Moors by a monk, who approves of the measure.

aid by the Marquess of Spinola, a Genoese nobleman. (Genoa was still under the nominal protection of, and in consequent entire dependence upon, the Spanish crown.) He had never before been engaged in warfare; but he immediately displayed the greatest military talents.

About the same time that Spinola was placed in direct opposition to Prince Maurice, the United Provinces lost the powerful assistance they had for so many years derived from England. That assistance had already become less effective upon the death of Queen Elizabeth, in the spring of the year 1603. James did not, indeed, immediately break the alliance she had concluded; but it was repugnant to all the principles of, what he called, his kingdom, to support revolted subjects against their sovereign, under any circumstances. His prejudices were embattled against the interest of his people; he dealt out with a niggard hand the succours his wiser predecessor had liberally furnished, and readily gave ear to propositions for a peace with Spain, which would, he hoped, deprive the turbulent Irish Catholics of the supplies of men and money they had always received from Philip II., and were still receiving from Philip III., who, shortly before Elizabeth's death, had actually sent a small army to invade Ireland, or rather to aid the Irish rebels. Half of this army fell into the hands of the viceroy, Lord Mountjoy, and the other half was glad to evacuate the country with his concurrence.

The chief difficulties that impeded the negotiations related to the trade with the Indies, which England demanded, and Spain refused to grant; and to the connexion between England and the United Provinces, now acknowledged as an independent state by all countries except Spain. These difficulties were rather evaded than settled. The question of trade was not mentioned in the treaty, and the English merchants continued the commerce they had carried on with those countries during the war, Spain retaining a right of excluding them whenever she should deem it expedient to enforce that right. To the United Provinces the king was to furnish no more troops nor loans; but his subjects were left at liberty to enlist on either side at their pleasure; and, conformably to this stipulation, British Catholics and Protes-

tants were thenceforward opposed to each other in the ranks of the hostile armies. A revolting spectacle! not, however, now first seen; the duke of Alba having received into his ranks the refugee followers of the earl of Westmoreland, after the disastrous insurrection in the northern counties in 1569.

The prohibition of pecuniary supplies from England occasioned little inconvenience to the United Provinces; James having no money to advance, whilst their thriving commerce brought them in abundant riches. In 1602 they had established their East India Company, the first of the kind;

the resources and energies of which completely deprived the

The Netherlands
from A.D.
1604—1621.

Spaniards and Portuguese of the trade with all oriental states not subject to Spain. Dutch expeditions began successfully to attack the Portuguese colonies; and after the peace between Spain and England, the Dutch fleets monopolised the profitable capture of the Spanish treasure-ships, which they had previously shared with British sailors.

Thus Maurice was furnished with means for prosecuting the war; whilst Spinola, constantly embarrassed by want of funds, was checked in his enterprises, and frequently altogether stopped, by the mutinies of his unpaid, and thence ungovernable soldiers. The winter interruptions to hostilities were usually employed by him in journeys to Madrid, to urge the necessity of further pecuniary supplies. But although he gained an influence over the king that excited the minister's jealousy, Philip's profusion and bad government kept his exchequer so bare, that the anxious general never effectively succeeded in his object.

The Spanish court had hoped that, when no foreign enemy should remain, the insurgents would easily be reduced. When this hope was disappointed, when it appeared that all the power of Spain and the Netherlands, wielded by the talents of Spinola, could make no impression upon the revolted provinces, a growing distaste of the war ensued. The archdukes, weary of the harassing life they had led from the moment of their instalment in their nominal sovereignty, wished to rule the Netherlands in peace; and Spinola strongly recommended putting a term to hostilities, from which it was evident no advantage could be expected. Under these circumstances,

negotiations were opened in 1607; but an immediate difficulty arose, the United Provinces requiring a preliminary recognition of their absolute independence, against which the pride of Spain revolted.

This difficulty was obviated by the intervention of Henry IV. and James I., so far as related to the opening of the treaty, by a recognition of Dutch independence on the part of the then actual pretenders to the sovereignty, the archdukes; and the negotiations began under the mediation of the kings of France and England. The difficulty was, however, presently revived with regard to Philip, and two others, of nearly equal magnitude, combined with it to retard pacific proceedings. These were, on the part of the United Provinces, the trade with India, upon which they resolutely insisted, and on Philip's, the toleration at least of the free exercise of the Catholic religion throughout the provinces, upon which he as vehemently insisted, as the price of his resigning his right of sovereignty.

The obstinacy of the Dutch was encouraged to the uttermost by Prince Maurice, who apprehended the loss of his own power as a necessary consequence of peace; but Philip's was counteracted from a quarter whence it might hardly have been anticipated. Ignacio Brizuela, the archduke's confessor, was the person who prevailed upon the king of Spain rather to abandon his demand as to religion than break off the treaty, lest the Netherlands should be again seduced to join the confederacy, and thus become once more infected with heresy. Philip now gave way; but the question of the trade with India was still, as in the treaty with England, incapable of adjustment. The only resource which either the mediators or the impatient archdukes could devise, was to convert the intended peace into a twelve years' truce in Europe, and employ with respect to India and America terms so vague, that they might be understood as either party pleased.

The treaty thus drawn up was signed at Antwerp, in April, 1609. The United Provinces thenceforward took their station in the European commonwealth, as an universally acknowledged independent state; and the rebellion, provoked by the intolerant bigotry of Philip II., ended in the complete severing of seven populous, industrious, and wealthy provinces from the empire of his son. The remaining provinces of the Netherlands

rapidly recovered their almost forgotten prosperity under the wise administration of the archdukes.

Philip III., it has been said, was at least as bigoted as his father, and his piety was yet more wounded than his pride by the concessions that had been wrung from his weakness. He sought consolation in giving the tide of persecution another direction, in which its ravages proved far more injurious to Spain. The objects of this new persecution were the unfortunate Moors, who, it might be thought, had, since their subjugation, been already sufficiently tormented.

When Philip II. dispersed the Moors of Granada through the interior of Spain, none remained congregated together, or inhabiting their original seats, except those of Valencia, in whom the nobles of that country found such valuable vassals, that they protected them with all their power, and determinately opposed their removal. The Valencian Moors were, like all their countrymen, nominal Christians; but from the beginning of the present reign, J. de Ribera, archbishop of Valencia, had been presenting memorials to Philip against them, in which he pretty nearly repeated the charges brought in the preceding reign against their Granadan brethren; complaining further, that the skill, industry, and frugality of the Moors enabled them everywhere to monopolize all useful and profitable occupations, to live, thrive, and pay their rents, in the most barren districts of Spain, whilst the most fertile were unproductive in the hands of the Spanish peasantry; and that they would thus, ere long, infallibly get the whole wealth of the country into their hands. The remedy proposed by the archbishop for these evils, was the complete extirpation of the Moors from Spain. Though they had forfeited their lives by their apostacy, he would not, he said, urge the putting them all to death, which might excite horror and compassion, but he recommended selling into foreign slavery all above seven years of age, and trying to educate the children under that age as real Christians.

Philip, who was gentle and humane in his disposition, deeply as he was affected by the archbishop's remonstrance, shrank from the wholesale cruelty of the proposed measure. The duke of Lerma was, probably, at least

Spain
from A.D.
1604—1613.

as much restrained by the vehement remonstrances of the Valencian nobles, who alleged the very same qualities of skill, industry, and frugality, urged by the archbishop as reasons for getting rid of the Moors, in proof of their importance to the prosperity of Spain; stating that they, the nobles of Valencia, must be inevitably and entirely ruined by the loss of their best vassals, from whom, as cultivators, manufacturers, and miners, they derived nearly their whole revenues.

This powerful opposition and the kindness of the king's temper, occasioned a delay of some years, and renewed attempts at the conversion, or rather instruction of the Moors. But the archbishop of Valencia never ceased his importunity for the extirpation of a race, pronounced by him incapable of becoming Christians; and he was latterly supported by the archbishop of Toledo, who, through his brother's interest, was now a cardinal, inquisitor-general, and chancellor of Spain. The primate, far more intemperate in his zeal than his reverend colleague, urged a yet more comprehensive expulsion, alleging it were better that all Moors, including the youngest children, be at once put to death, than that any should be left to pollute Christian blood by intermarriage.

Lerma had especially studied throughout his administration to conciliate the favour of the papal see; and now, being further influenced by his brother, he no longer opposed the measures recommended with respect to the unfortunate Moors. He judged it expedient, however, that so violent a step should be decidedly sanctioned by the pope, and despatched the cardinal-archbishop to Rome, to negotiate the affair with his holiness, and obtain the desired bull. The pontiff, Paul V., appears to have been of a more truly Christian disposition, and to have considered the conversion of the infidels, rather than their extermination, as the duty enjoined by religion; for the only bull the archbishop could obtain was addressed to the Valencian prelates, whom it commanded to assemble, and deliberate upon the best means of converting the Moors. The bishops of Valencia so far obeyed, that they assembled, and deliberated for some months; but the result of their consultations was little in harmony with the papal bull. It was, that the Moors were all apostates; and

so obstinate as to render their conversion impossible. This sentence they transmitted to Madrid, and the expulsion of the Moors was thenceforward irrevocably determined. But it was deferred to a more convenient season, and meanwhile the secret was so inviolably kept, that neither the intended victims, nor their noble landlords, entertained a suspicion of what was impending.

After the signature of the truce with the United Provinces, preparations were made for transporting the Moors to Africa. These preparations excited the apprehensions of their protectors, and again the Valencian nobles drew a vigorous remonstrance against a measure so fraught with injustice and ruin, which they sent, by deputies chosen from their own body, to Court. It was unavailing. In September, the edict was published, enjoining all men, women, and children of the Moorish race, under pain of death, to hold themselves in readiness within three days, for being conducted to the sea-coast, and there put on board the ships provided for their transportation to foreign parts. Their property, beyond what they could carry with them, was adjudged to the lords whose vassals they were; but six families in every hundred were allowed to be temporarily detained by such lords, for the purpose of instructing the Christian inhabitants in the management of the drains, aqueducts, rice plantations, sugar works, manufactures, and such other kinds of business as had been carried on solely by the Moors. Children under four years old might also remain behind; and where one parent was a Christian, children up to the age of seven might remain with that Christian parent.

The Moors in Valencia were the only portion of this devoted race who could assemble to discuss their prospects. They did so, and made large pecuniary offers for permission to remain in their native land. Their offers were rejected; and they then thought of resistance, but that was evidently hopeless. Every precaution had been taken, troops were posted through the country, and all were convinced of the impossibility of self-defence, except a small number, inhabiting an almost inaccessible mountain district, who actually did refuse to submit. The others yielded to their fate, indignantly refusing, however, to leave behind them either their children, or the families selected to instruct the Christians in their arts.

This last determination of the Moors was matter of deep regret to the barons of Valencia, whose only chance of preserving their fine estates from complete ruin, lay in retaining the few families allowed them. So far were they, however, from testifying any resentment upon this account against the unhappy exiles, that not only did they refuse to profit by the confiscation of property which the edict gave them, but they assisted the Moors in disposing of their effects, and in carrying away with them whatever could be conveniently transported; and many of them actually embarked with their vassals, to insure their good treatment on shipboard, and afford what aid they could in negotiating their establishment in Africa. The duke of Gandia thus accompanied twenty thousand of his vassals, the loss of whom reduced him, from immense wealth, to comparative poverty. They reached Tremecen in safety; and were there kindly received, and comfortably settled.

The intelligence of the prosperous voyage of this first band of exiles, if it did not reconcile the Moors to their fate, relieved many of their fears. They embarked without resistance; and becoming impatient to get through the impending evils, many freighted ships for their own conveyance, rather than wait their turn in the vessels provided by government. But now every species of calamity seemed to conspire against these persecuted people. As the season advanced many were shipwrecked, and never reached their destination. Of those who hired vessels for themselves, many were robbed and murdered, and their women barbarously outraged by the crews; and even of those who landed upon the Barbary coast, numbers were almost as cruelly treated by the wild and wandering Arabs. One hundred thousand persons are computed to have perished in one way or another, within a few months of their expulsion from Valencia.

No Moors now remained in Valencia except a few young children, whom certain pious ecclesiastics and their female devotees had caused to be stolen from their parents, at the moment of embarkation, in order to educate them in the Christian faith, and the already mentioned mountaineers. The numbers of these last did not exceed thirty thousand; and of course, notwithstanding their reliance upon the strength of their country, they were quickly subdued by the regular troops. Three thousand were

put to death; and the remainder transported to Africa, with the exception of the children under seven years of age, who were given to the soldiers as their booty, to be by them sold into slavery for a certain number of years.

The transportation of such numbers of useful subjects had been found expensive; and it was accordingly resolved to make the remaining Moors, dispersed throughout the kingdom, defray their own charges, by confiscating their gold, silver, and jewels, to the public treasury. They were strictly forbidden to take any valuables of this description with them, and such as were detected in attempts to evade the prohibition, were punished with death. With this additional hardship, they were exported like the Valencians. Some few were believed to have remained behind, lurking in concealment, and upon their heads a price was set. And thus did Philip, in the course of a few months, banish at least one million of his most, if not his only, industrious and ingenious subjects.

The Moors are said to have revenged themselves by managing the betrayal of Larach, one of the very few fortresses remaining to the Spaniards of their once large African possessions, into the hands of the Corsairs. But a more effective revenge awaited them in the natural consequences to Spain of their expulsion. Lerma was, like his master, a good and amiable man, but totally unfit for, and unacquainted with, the arts of government. He had increased the pecuniary embarrassments of the royal exchequer, by tampering with the coin; he had precipitated the decline of the trade and agriculture of the kingdom, by enormously augmenting the tax called the *alcavala*—the duty paid upon every sale, even of the necessities of life—and by the expulsion of the active and industrious Moors, struck the final blow at the internal prosperity of Spain. Manufactures were thenceforward almost abandoned; the cultivation of the soil was neglected; Spain no longer had any produce to export to her colonies, and her monopoly of their commerce infused serious evils upon them, without yielding any benefit to herself.

All these evils were attributed, and not unjustly, to the mal-administration of Lerma; and the Spaniards were yet more deeply exasperated by the humiliation of acknowledging the indepen-

interfered on behalf of Savoy, and in 1618, peace was restored on the same terms as before.

The Italian interests of Spain were at this time in the hands of three men of very uncommon abilities, and totally unrestrained in their schemes for the restoration of Spanish supremacy, or for their own aggrandisement, by any conscientious scruples. One of these has been already named, the marquess of Villa Franca, governor of Milan; the second was Don Alfonso de la Cueva, marquess of Bedmar, ambassador to Venice; the third was Don Pedro Giron, duke of Ossuna, viceroy of Naples.

The marquess of Bedmar was indignant at the successful assistance that Venice had afforded Savoy in the late war. He considered the republic as the most formidable antagonist of Spain in Italy; and, at once to punish her enmity, and to render it futile, he organized the extraordinary conspiracy, best known to the English reader by Otway's tragedy of *Venice Preserved*. Of that conspiracy Bedmar was the soul. He arranged the plans, allotted the conspirators their parts, and concerted with his Milanese and Neapolitan colleagues that Villa Franca should lead an army from Milan, whilst Ossuna sent a fleet from Naples, to assist in, and profit by, his operations. The scheme was far too complicated not to be betrayed, and thus foiled. Venice was rescued from destruction, the inferior conspirators were executed, and Bedmar was disavowed and recalled by his court; but an appointment as prime minister of the archdukes in the Netherlands rewarded his zeal.

The duke of Ossuna had been viceroy of Naples under Philip II., when he so extravagantly executed the king's orders to send corn thence to Spain, which was suffering from a scarcity, that he produced plenty in Spain, and famine in the kingdom of Naples, where the harvest had been abundant. Sanginary disorders ensued; and he incurred so much hatred, that it was judged expedient to recall him. It was probably resentment for this recall that impelled him, in his second vicereignty, to aim at converting Naples into an independent principality for himself. With such views he intruded with the Turks and French, courted the populace, and, under pretence of quelling disturbances, introduced foreign troops, who knew no master but himself, into the capital.

When his designs became suspected at Madrid, he had made himself so strong, that to remove him seemed a matter of insuperable difficulty. But all obstacles were overcome by the address of Cardinal Borja, who was appointed his successor. The cardinal opened a private communication with the governor of Castel Nuovo, one of the two fortresses that command the town of Naples. He was introduced into that castle by night; and the next morning the thunder of cannon saluting the new viceroy's arrival first told Ossuna, both that he was superseded, and that his successor was already his master. His attempt to excite an insurrection completely failed, and he returned to Spain, where, during the remainder of Philip III.'s reign, he lived unmolested, though in disgrace.

But the fall of Ossuna had been preceded by that of a more important personage. The habit of beholding his minister only in the duke of Lerma, seems gradually to have chilled Philip's affection for his favourite, when he lent a more willing ear to the adverse faction, who ascribed the internal distress of Spain, the interruption of her colonial trade, the loss of some of the Portuguese colonies, and the disgraceful termination of the European wars, to the incapacity of Lerma. The duke sought to prop his failing credit by obtaining a cardinal's hat for himself, and placing his son, the duke of Uzeda, about the king's person, to gain the favour he was losing. Neither measure answered to his expectations. The ecclesiastical dignity of cardinal impressed the weak and bigoted Philip with a reverential awe, that made his intercourse with Lerma irksome to him. And though Uzeda gained the royal favour, he used it to supplant, not support, his father.

The cardinal-duke, as he was now called, struggled hard and long to retain his high office; but in October, 1618, he gave up the contest, and retired to one of his country seats. His son succeeded to all his posts, except that of governor to the prince of Asturias, which was given to Don Balthazar de Zuñiga, a man well fitted in mind and character for its important duties. Soon after Lerma's fall, his arrogant and more detested favourite, Calderon, was arrested, thrown into prison, and, after being acquitted of all political offences,

Spain
from A.D.
1613—1621.

was prosecuted for a murder, respecting which there seems to have been actually no proof. The trial continued through the last years of Philip III.'s reign.

The remaining transactions of Philip III.'s reign relate wholly to the affairs of Germany, where the war, known by the name of the Thirty Years' War, broke out. Matthias had succeeded his brother Rudolph as emperor; and as he, and all his yet living brothers, were childless, his succession became an important question. Philip was the legitimate heir, as the son of Anne, the emperor's eldest sister. But Philip was not ambitious of re-uniting the immense dominions of Charles V., and willingly resigned his right in favour of Ferdinand, the brother of his deceased queen Margaret, and grandson to Ferdinand I., by his younger son Charles.

The selection of Ferdinand, a most bigoted Catholic, as the heir, alarmed all the Protestants in the hereditary states of the house of Austria; and the Bohemians, whose kingdom had originally been elective, attempted to recover their old privilege, chiefly in order thus to escape the impending evil. They offered their crown to Frederic, elector palatine, and son-in-law to James I. of Great Britain. The ambitious prince and his more ambitious princess accepted the offer, without duly weighing their chance of success; and war immediately followed.

It is indeed not improbable that, had Frederic been cordially supported by all German Protestants and by England, he might have established himself upon the throne of Bohemia; a majority of the electors would thus have been Protestants, and might perhaps have given Germany a Protestant emperor at the next election. But a more inveterate enmity prevailed between the two rival sects of Lutherans and Calvinists, than between either of them and the Catholics. Frederic was a Calvinist, and the Lutherans took no part in the war, or joined against him with Matthias and Ferdinand, who succeeded to the empire in March 1619. James I. would not countenance what he deemed rebellion in the Bohemians, who with their new king thus stood alone against all the Catholics of Germany, aided by Spain. Frederic was at once defeated, and driven from Bohemia, whilst an army of Spaniards, under Spinola, invaded, overran, and kept possession of the palatinate.

James now interfered to recover, for

his daughter's husband and family, Frederic's hereditary dominions. But James detested war as much as he loved diplomacy, in which he believed himself an adept; and the Spanish Court taking advantage of this well-known disposition, offered the hand of Philip's second daughter, the *Infanta* Maria, for the prince of Wales; and, implicating the restoration of the palatinate in the tedious negotiation respecting the marriage of a Catholic princess to a Protestant prince, effectually secured the neutrality of England.

Such was the state of the war when, in February 1621, Philip sank under an illness that had long been growing upon him. He is said never to have recovered from the pain he endured when convinced of the unfortunate condition into which Spain had fallen, and which he felt himself quite incapable of remedying. From that moment a deep melancholy seized upon his spirits, and his health gradually declined. He died at the age of forty-two, leaving three sons, Philip, prince of Asturias, Ferdinand, already a cardinal and archbishop of Toledo, and Charles, still a child; and two daughters, Anne queen of France, and Maria.

CHAPTER X.

*Accession of Philip IV.—Olivarez, his minister and favourite—Severity towards Lerma, Calderon, and Ossuna—Close alliance with Austria—Renewed war with the Dutch—Loss of most of the Portuguese colonies—Southern Netherlands revert to Spain—The Infanta's marriage with the prince of Wales broken off—War in Italy for the recovery of the Valtelline—And the succession to the duchy of Mantua—Declaration of war by France against Spain and Austria—Hostilities in the Milanese, the Netherlands, and on the Pyrenean frontier—Violation of Catalonian constitution—Insurrection in Catalonia—Insurgents seek French alliance—Discontent in Portugal—Insurrection of Portugal, and proclamation of John IV.**

PHILIP IV. was only sixteen when he ascended the throne. During his long reign of forty-four years, the downfall of Spain was yet more fearfully acc-

Spain
from A. D.
1621—1622.

* The authorities principally consulted for this chapter, see Yriarte, Céspedes, Glauvont, Meneses,

lerated; and it is difficult to guess what could tempt even Spanish arrogance to bestow upon him the name of the Great. He was almost uninterruptedly engaged in war, and always unsuccessfully. Upon his accession, he banished his father's favourite Useda, transferring that worthless minister's power and favour to Gaspar de Guzman, count of Olivarez, nephew to his governor Zúñiga. At first, indeed, the power and favour thus transferred promised to be less absolute; the new king showing a wish to take a personal share in the administration, and a great desire to govern well. But the condition of Spain could not afford such easily prosperous results as might have encouraged him to exertion; and abandoning himself to voluptuous pleasures, he presently left the duties of sovereignty entirely to Olivarez, whom he raised to the rank of a duke, and who is generally known in history by the whimsical title of the Count-Duke. Olivarez was considered by his contemporaries as far superior in talent to Lerma, but he was certainly inferior to him in judgment. Lerma was pacific in his policy, though frequently involved in war, but Olivarez, throughout the whole period of his ruling Spain, (unconvinced by experience of her actual weakness,) seems to have aimed at recovering all her past losses, and re-establishing her ascendancy in Europe by war.

At home, Olivarez began his administration by the punishment of Lerma, Calderon, and Ossuna. The former was heavily fined for pecuniary malversation; Calderon was executed for a murder, of which he was universally believed to be innocent, and by the meek fortitude of his conduct after his condemnation, excited the compassion even of those who, during his prosperity, had been most inveterate against him. Ossuna was thrown into prison, where he died of disease. Abroad the count-duke concluded a strict alliance with the emperor, and continued to prevent England from vigorously interfering in behalf of the unfortunate Palatine, by the zeal

with which he urged on the negotiation for the marriage of the prince of Wales with the *Infanta*. But he lamed his power of affording other assistance to Ferdinand, by renewing the war with the United Provinces upon the expiring of the truce, in opposition to the earnest remonstrances of the Archduke Albert, and by involving Spain in all the confusion of Italian politics.

The Dutch war summoned Spinola with the largest part of his army from the Palatinate, (where he left a small body of troops, under Gonsalvo de Cordova,) to defend the Netherlands against Maurice of Nassau. But so insufficient were the supplies of men and money he could obtain, either in the Netherlands or from Spain, that probably the utmost exertion of his extraordinary abilities must have failed to preserve them from subjugation, had he not been assisted by internal divisions in the councils of his enemies. Prince Maurice and the Pensionary Barneveldt stood opposed to each other as the heads of adverse factions in politics and sects in religion; Barneveldt being further supported by all those who suspected Maurice of aiming at a sovereignty incompatible with republican institutions. These dissensions ended only with the death of the Pensionary; who, by the influence of Maurice and his party, was thrown into prison upon an accusation of treason to his country, tried, condemned, and executed. Until thus freed from his powerful domestic opponent, Maurice could do little against his foreign enemies, and there cannot be a stronger proof of the decrepitude of the Spanish monarchy, than Spinola's inability to profit by such an opportunity of reducing a part at least of the United Provinces. Nor was he better supported even when the war again became entirely Spanish, by the death of Albert; when the nominal independence of the Low Countries terminated, and they reverted to the Spanish crown. Philip left the administration in the hands of his aunt, whom he appointed governess.

That republican jealousy of the ambition of the house of Nassau which prevented successful enterprise against the Netherlands, had no influence upon distant expeditions. The Dutch fleets rode triumphant in the Indian and American seas. They intercepted the return of Spanish treasure, and of Portuguese

De Court, La Clède, Voltaire, Coxe, Southey, Universal Modern History, *Historia de los maris delos, y porciones II guerra de Cataluña, en tiempo de Felipe IV.* por Don Francisco Manuel de Melo; Bro. Madrid, 1808,—a book of considerable interest as to the details of the Catalonian insurrection. Melo was a Portuguese, employed by the Court of Madrid, and commissioned to write the history of the Catalonian troubles, but imprisoned on suspicion after the Portuguese revolution. When liberated, he left Spain for Portugal.

merchandise. They subdued the greater part of the large Portuguese empire in India and in Brazil. They sacked Lima in Peru, where they made an immense booty, and they took several of the smaller West Indian islands. The politicians of the day, who had not yet discovered that liberty is the invigorating principle as well of military enterprise, as of internal policy and commercial industry, beheld with amazement a handful of fishermen actually acquiring wealth, strength, and power, during the continuance of a war, which was wholly exhausting the apparently inexhaustible resources of Spain, so lately the terror of Europe.

Whilst this struggle was going on between Spain and her revolted provinces, the thirty years' war was raging in Germany, by the intervention of new parties, whenever its flames appeared likely to be extinguished for want of fuel. In 1623, the fine-spun web of policy, that had insured England's neutrality, whilst the cruelly punished Palatinate was stripped of his hereditary dominions, was broken through by the haughty tempers of two overbearing favourites.

The prince of Wales, impatient of the endless obstacles that delayed the negotiation for his marriage, had been easily persuaded by the romantic duke of Buckingham to visit Spain, and by his unexpected presence hasten the conclusion. An act of gallantry so unusual in a royal suitor was well calculated to charm Spaniards, and the reserved demeanour of Charles suited their ideas of royal decorum. Accordingly the treaty seems to have proceeded more rapidly and cordially than before, although difficulties still occurred respecting the papal dispensation, and Spanish etiquette allowed the bridegroom few opportunities of even seeing his promised bride. During these delays a quarrel took place between Olivarez and Buckingham, whose bold licentiousness was most offensive to Castilian pride; and the impetuous English favourite immediately exerted his unbounded influence over Charles, to induce him to return home, break off the marriage, and espouse Henrietta Maria of France, a daughter of Henry IV., instead of the *Infanta*. And what seems yet stranger, he prevailed upon James I. to abandon a match upon which he had so long set his heart, and to effect which he had

made such sacrifices. The *Infanta* some years later married the emperor's eldest son, afterwards Ferdinand III.

Spain now openly concurred in the transference of the electoral dignity to the duke of Bavaria; and exerted herself more vigorously to assist the emperor. England joined in the new Protestant confederacy formed by Denmark and the Protestant princes of Germany, (alarmed at this substitution of a Catholic instead of a Calvinistic elector,) against the still dreaded supremacy of the house of Austria. But the efforts of neither country were important: Charles, who had now succeeded to his father, and was more warlike and energetic, being, from an early period of his reign, too much engrossed by his domestic troubles to take a material part in foreign affairs: whilst the inconsiderate ambition and enterprising temper of Olivarez led him to fritter away the means Spain still possessed, in so many schemes, that he appeared inefficient in all. Instead of concentrating his energies upon the contest with the United Provinces and the German war, which would have assisted each other, he embarked in Italian politics.

The count-duke's first object in Italy was the Valteline, a district in the very north of that peninsula, originally constituting part of the Milanese, but torn from it by the Swiss, and their allies and confederates, the Grisons, during Louis XII.'s wars for the conquest of that duchy. The Valteline had remained Catholic when the Grisons, to whose share it had fallen, adopted the Reformation. In those days, real toleration was unknown; and the Grisons, who, like the Swiss, have generally proved hard masters, harassed and oppressed their unconforming subjects. The Valteline had first revolted in 1620, when Philip III. had ordered the duke of Feria, governor of Milan, to assist his fellow-Catholics against their heretical tyrants. This Feria, who is accused of having secretly excited the rebellion, did so effectually, that he obtained complete possession of the Valteline. Philip III., upon his death-bed, had commanded its restitution to the Grisons, upon condition of their sanctioning the re-establishment of Catholicism; and he had been obeyed.

But Feria kept up an intercourse with the Valteline, of which Olivarez was not slow to avail himself. A cause or

Spain
from A.D.
1622—1623.

Italy
from A.D.
1620—1630.

pretence for quarrel could not long be wanting; nor, indeed, is the complaint urged against the Grisons at all improbable; namely, that, at the instigation of France and the German Protestants, they broke their promises to their Catholic subjects. The Valteline again revolted, was again assisted by Fera, and the Spaniards again occupied the country, which derived an importance from its situation, totally disproportionate to its size, wealth, or population. It afforded a ready communication between the Spanish and Austrian dominions, inasmuch as it joined the Milanese at one end, and the Tyrol at the other.

The count-duke's next Italian war originated in the disputed succession to the duchy of Mantua. Vincent di Gonzaga was the last male of his line; and Olivarez and the duke of Savoy had agreed to divide his duchy upon his death. The duke endeavoured to foil their designs by sending for the heir of a collateral branch of the Gonzaga family, that had long been settled in France. This was the duke of Rhetel, eldest son to the duke of Nevers, whom the duke of Mantua, upon his deathbed, married to his deceased brother's daughter, Mary, and declared his heir. The new duke professed the most submissive attachment to Spain; but Olivarez would not relinquish his intended acquisition; and the duke of Savoy, in conjunction with Cordova, who had succeeded Fera as governor of Milan, invaded Montferrat.

The invasion was as unsuccessful as it was unjust. The French entered Italy to support the pretensions of a prince who was by birth a subject of France, and overran the dominions of the duke of Savoy. Austria sent an army to assist Philip; but though the Imperialists took and sacked Mantua, the balance of success was against the Spaniards and their allies. This petty war lasted three years, and in it fell the celebrated Spinola, who had been called from Germany and the Netherlands to repair the errors or the disasters of his predecessors in Lombardy. In 1630, the emperor grew weary of employing in Italy troops he now more than ever needed at home, to oppose the progress of Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden, who had joined the German confederates; and Spain was compelled to submit to the conclusion of a peace which confirmed the duchy of Mantua to the line of Nevers, upon condition that France

should not assist the enemies of the house of Austria.

Upon the cessation of Italian hostilities, Olivarez devoted his whole attention to the Dutch and German wars, and afforded somewhat more assistance to the emperor. But he could gain no success against the Dutch; and a deep feeling of rivalry and hatred was hourly increasing between the count-duke and Cardinal Richelieu, the equally ambitious, and more able, prime minister of France. So long as the power of France was weakened by civil wars with the Huguenots, Richelieu confined his inimical measures against Spain and Austria to intriguing with all the states opposed to them, through either political or religious motives, and affording liberal pecuniary supplies to the German Protestants. In 1635, France was internally tranquil, the Huguenots, and the members of the royal family who detested the minister, being alike subdued; and Richelieu took the opportunity of an attack made by a Spanish army upon the archbishop of Treves, an ally of France, whom they despoiled of his dominions, and made prisoner, to declare war. He immediately prepared to invade the Netherlands and the Milanese.

The war began more favourably for Spain than could have been anticipated. Although the French at first captured many strong places, Philip's brother, the cardinal-infante Ferdinand, who had been sent with an army to the Netherlands, successfully resisted, repulsed, and at length expelled, the united invading forces of France and Holland, whilst a Spanish army invaded France. In Italy, the governor of Milan not only successfully defended the duchy against the troops of France and Savoy, but overran the territories of their ally, the duke of Parma, and obliged or induced the duke of Mantua to attach himself to Spain. The only advantage gained by the French on that side was the temporary occupation of the Valteline.

Upon their Pyrenean frontier, Spain and France mutually invaded each other. The viceroy of Navarre ravaged Gascony, and the viceroy of Catalonia attacked Languedoc, before the French armies were collected and prepared. When they were, the Spaniards were driven back into their own territories, and the prince of Condé besieged Fuentera-

Spala
from A. D.
1623—1640.

bis, in Biscay. This enterprise the Spanish generals, in their turn, compelled him to abandon. Nor were the French more fortunate in retaining the footing they at first gained in Roussillon, which, though naturally belonging to France, had, till this time, remained a part of Spain. Richelieu soon afterwards obtained powerful allies within the Peninsula itself, for whom he was indebted to that long course of misgovernment, which reached its consummation under Olivarez.

It had been the policy of many successive Spanish monarchs and their ministers, to deprive the different kingdoms of which Spain consisted of their several constitutions, and blend them into one whole. Nor would such policy have been objectionable had they framed a constitution for that whole, combining what was good in those they abrogated, compensating extravagant privileges by just rights, and preserving a due portion of liberty to the united people of Spain. But this was no part of the intention. The sole object was to get rid of the limitations imposed upon the regal authority by popular rights, and thus establish an uncontrolled despotism. Catalonia and Biscay were now the only provinces that fully retained their ancient liberty; and the natives of these still free and mountainous provinces, who were high spirited, and, probably, turbulent, in proportion as they felt their superiority to the rest of Spain, were peculiarly obnoxious to Olivarez.

The Catalans had frankly and bravely contributed to the recovery of Roussillon, and expected rewards and grateful acknowledgments from the court; instead of which they were exasperated by the infraction of one of their dearest privileges, namely, their exemption from the introduction of foreign troops. Olivarez, not choosing to withdraw the army farther from the frontier, quartered it, though consisting of Portuguese, Castilians, &c., in Catalonia; and as he had not money to pay the soldiers, it was found impossible to enforce any sort of discipline.

The complaints of the Catalans were disregarded at court. Their dissatisfaction, murmurs and disorders, daily increased. The licentiousness of the soldiery was unchecked. In some villages, allotted as quarters, the inhabitants fled from their homes to avoid the infliction. The cottages of the fugitives were ordered to be burnt; and the constituted autho-

rities, who interposed to prevent illegal proceedings on either side, became objects of popular detestation. One *Alguazil* was burnt alive, with the house in which he had sought refuge. The count of Santa Coloma, the viceroy, vainly represented to the minister the dangerous state of the province, and required either the removal of the troops, which would at once allay the discontents, or force sufficient to subdue the discontented. He was ordered to punish all offenders according to law, without distinction of persons; and, in obedience to this mandate, he threw into prison the chief municipal magistrates of Barcelona, who headed a deputation to demand redress. By this act he forfeited all the popularity he had once enjoyed; the prisoners were forcibly released, and a crisis evidently approached.

The explosion occurred upon the 7th of June, 1640. This was the day appointed for the celebration of one of the great festivals of the Catholic church; an occasion upon which Barcelona was annually visited by the large bodies of mountaineers, that regularly descend into the plains every summer, to assist in the labours of harvest. Their entrance produced an immediate insurrection, in which the houses of all connected with government were plundered, their persons ill-used, numbers slain, and atrocious cruelties committed. The principal victim was Santa Coloma.

But however dreadful were the excesses of this day, they were the fruit of popular commotion, not of a preconcerted rebellion. The next day the citizens were shocked at their own crimes. They mourned over the viceroy they had murdered, interred him with the highest honours, and sent a deputation to court, commissioned to solicit pardon, and palliate, as far as might be, their guilt, by laying the chief blame upon Santa Coloma's imprudence.

This apologetic mission seems merely to have convinced the arrogant Olivarez that the insurgent Catalans felt themselves weak, and that they might, therefore, be easily subdued. He treated their deputation with contemptuous neglect, and ordered the duke of Cardona, whom he had appointed Santa Coloma's successor, to inflict exemplary punishment. Cardona, who had begun by adopting conciliatory measures, reluctantly and imperfectly obeyed; and the consequence of even this partial change

of his system was a regular and general rebellion, in which Roussillon joined, and the nobles united with the citizens and peasants.

The two provinces hereupon declared themselves a republic. A council of government was formed, and Francisco Vilaplana, a gentleman of Perpignao, was dispatched to the French court, to solicit the alliance, protection, and assistance of Louis XIII. His welcome a request was readily granted, upon apparently equitable terms. French troops entered Roussillon and Catalonia, and civil war raged. The duke of Cardona died, pending the negotiation with France, of an illness produced, it is said, by his mortification at the vehement disapprobation which the count-duke expressed of his endeavours to ally, rather than crush, the disorders of the provinces intrusted to him.

The royalist troops were now nearly driven out of Catalonia. Olivarez was alarmed, and offered all the concessions, all the respect for old rights, that had originally been demanded. But fair promises were unavailing to appease the storm aroused by provocations as injudicious as they were unjust. The marquis de los Velez, a Catalonian creature of Olivarez, and therefore more odious to his countrymen than even a stranger, was named viceroy, and sent at the head of an army to conquer his vicerealty. His instructions were excessive dispatch, and implacable severity; and he obeyed them well. He subdued part of the province, and advanced upon Barcelona; but mercilessly destroying the places he captured, whilst he executed their inhabitants, he rendered the Catalans desperate, and they resisted the Castilian forces so vigorously, as to convince Olivarez of the necessity of greatly increasing their numbers. The mode in which he attempted to procure the needful reinforcements, cost Philip one of his crowns.

A spirit of dissatisfaction had long been growing amongst the Portuguese. Their colonies were neglected; a great part of Brazil, and a yet larger portion of their Indian empire, had fallen into the hands of the Dutch; Ormus, and their other possessions in the Persian Gulph, had been conquered by the Persians; their intercourse with their remaining colonies was harassed and intercepted; their commerce with

the independent Indian states, with China and with Japan, was here injured, and there partially destroyed, by the enterprising merchants and mariners of Holland; whilst at home the privileges secured to them as the price of their submission, were hourly, if not flagrantly, violated by their Spanish masters.

The illegal imposition of a new tax by the king's sole authority, in 1637, had provoked a partial revolt in the southern provinces, where the duke of Braganza, grandson of Catherine, was proclaimed king. He refused the proffered dignity, and assisted in quelling the rebellion. He was thanked by Philip, and at once recompensed, and, as it was hoped, ensnared, by an appointment to be general-in-chief of Portugal. But the flame was smothered, not extinguished. The severe punishments inflicted, the heavy taxes imposed, heightened and spread the previous discontent. The duke of Braganza took advantage of his appointment to see and converse with all ranks of men, and sound their inclinations towards the recovery of their national independence, whilst he carefully avoided venturing his person within the walls of any fortress garrisoned by Spaniards, unless attended by such an escort as abundantly secured him from surprise. The nobles held various meetings, in which they consulted upon the possibility of emancipation from Spanish thralldom.

The vice-queen, Margaret, duchess-dowager of Mantua, a daughter of Philip II.'s youngest daughter, Catherine, saw the gathering tempest, and forewarned the court of Madrid of the impending danger. Her information was treated, like herself, with contempt by Olivarez. One measure, however, he took, probably in consequence; and that one finally decided the hesitating conspirators to delay no longer. He ordered a large body of troops to be raised in Portugal, the nobles to arm their vassals, and all, under the conduct of the duke of Braganza, to hasten into Spain, in order to attend the king, who was about to march in person against the rebellious Catalans. Olivarez hoped thus at once to overwhelm Catalonia and Roussillon, and to take from Portugal the power of revolting, by securing the intended leader, and draining the country of the warlike portion of its population.

The nobles perceived the object of this

Portugal
from A.D.
1602—1640.

command, and resolved to avoid compliance by precipitating their measures. Upon the 12th of October, 1640, they assembled to the number of forty, at the house of Don Antonio d'Almeida. At this meeting they determined to recover their independence, and dispatched Don Pedro de Mendoza as their deputy, to offer the crown and their allegiance to the duke of Braganza, who had remained quietly upon his principal estate at Villa Viçosa.

The duke hesitated, alarmed, perhaps, at the importance of the irrevocable step he was called upon to take. But his high-spirited duchess, a daughter of the Spanish duke of Medina-Sidonia, observing to him, that a wretched and dishonourable death certainly awaited him at Madrid; at Lisbon, as certainly glory, whether in life or death, decided his acceptance. Partisans were gained on all sides, especially in the municipality of Lisbon; and the secret was faithfully kept, for several weeks, by at least five hundred persons, of both sexes, and all ranks. During this interval, the duke of Braganza remained at Villa Viçosa, lest his appearance at Lisbon should excite suspicion; and it seems that, however clearly the vice-queen had perceived the threatening aspect of affairs, neither she nor her ministers entertained any apprehension of the plot actually organized.

The 1st of December was the day appointed for the insurrection. Early in the morning the conspirators approached the palace in four well-armed bands. At eight o'clock, Ribeiro, the duke of Braganza's law-agent, fired a pistol, the preconcerted signal, and each band instantly attacked its allotted post. Don Miguel d'Almeida fell upon the German guard, and surprising them unarmed, soon mastered them. Don Francisco Mello, grand huntsman, accompanied by a priest bearing a crucifix in one hand and a sword in the other, led a body of citizens against a fort adjoining the palace. They bore down all before them, and quickly made the Castilian garrison prisoners. Another party released all prisoners incarcerated for political offences.

They were now masters of the palace, from the windows of which the successful conspirators proclaimed liberty and John IV.; an immense concourse of people who had assembled without, joyfully re-echoing the national cry. Meanwhile, Ribeiro with his party were seek-

ing for Vasconcellos, the vice-queen's secretary, who was regarded as the real governor of the country, and to whom every odious measure was ascribed. At the first alarm Vasconcellos had concealed himself in a closet behind a heap of papers, and some time elapsed ere his enemies could find him. At length a maid servant pointed out his retreat. He was instantly dragged forth, pierced with innumerable wounds, and flung out of the window, amongst the populace, who vented their hatred by cruelly mangle his corse; and shouts of 'The tyrant is dead!' arose intermixed with those of 'God save John IV., king of Portugal!'

The vice-queen was still to be secured, and the principal conspirators assembled at the door of her apartments, whilst the mob without clamorously threatened to fire the palace. Margaret, deeming what had occurred a mere hurst of general indignation against Vasconcellos, still hoped to preserve her authority. Her door was thrown open, and presenting herself, attended by the prime and her ladies, she said, 'Senhora, I confess that the secretary deserved the people's hatred, and your resentment, by his insolence and misconduct. But be satisfied with what you have done. Thus far the tumult may be ascribed wholly to popular rancour against Vasconcellos; but consider that, if you persist in such disorders, you will incur the guilt of rebellion, and make it impossible for me to plead in your behalf to the king.' Don Antonio de Menezes answered, that they acknowledged no king but the duke of Braganza; and her further remonstrances were cut short, by shouts of 'God save John IV., king of Portugal!'

The duchess now felt her thorough helplessness. She was treated with all respect, but confined to her apartments, and compelled, by threats of revenge upon the Spanish prisoners, to sign an order to the Spanish governor of a castle that commanded the city, for its surrender into the hands of the Portuguese. He obeyed the enforced mandate, and Lisbon was completely emancipated. But little blood was shed in this memorable revolution, and the greater number of Spaniards in the city were arrested as easily and quietly as though it had been done by the authority of Philip. In the evening of the same day all was so perfectly tranquil, that in every street the shops were opened as usual.

The archbishop of Lisbon was next appointed royal-lieutenant. He immediately dispatched intelligence of the event to the new king, and sent messengers to every part of Portugal with orders for the proclamation of John IV., and the seizure of all Spaniards. To these orders were annexed mandates, bearing the vice-queen's signature, for the surrender of all fortresses garrisoned by Spanish troops. Obedience was prompt and general. Mendoza was again the envoy to Villa Viçosa, and found the newly proclaimed monarch hunting, with every appearance of an unconcern, which may assuredly be pronounced assumed to prevent suspicion. The duke joyfully welcomed Mendoza, and forthwith accompanied him to Lisbon.

CHAPTER XI.

*John IV. acknowledged throughout Portuguese dependencies—By European States inimical to Spain and Austria—Conspiracies against John—Catalonians transfer their allegiance to France—Affairs of Germany—Congresses of Munster and Osnaburg—Conde's victory at Rocroi—His conquests in the Netherlands—Fall of Olivarez—Succeeded by Don Lewis de Haro de Guzman—Portuguese recover all Brazil—Lose nearly all their possessions in India—Massaniello's rebellion at Naples—Neapolitans invite the duke of Guise—Don John of Austria subdues them—Peace with Holland—Peace of Westphalia—War continues with France and Portugal—Don John drives the French out of Catalonia—Catalonia subdued—Constitution abrogated—War with England—Loss of French Flanders and Jamaica—Death of John IV.—Able regency of queen-dowager—Peace of the Pyrenees—Artois and Roussillon ceded to France—Lewis XIV. marries the Infanta, who renounces her birthright—Peace with England—Cession of Jamaica and Dunkirk—Alfonso VI. assumes the government of Portugal—Death of Philip IV.**

THE revolution thus wisely planned, secretly matured, and happily executed, was now complete. Portugal had recovered her independence, and

Portugal
from A. D.
1640—1643.

* The authorities principally consulted for this chapter, are Yriarte, Melo, Mezcues, Da Costa,

replaced the legitimate descendant and representative of her ancient sovereigns upon the throne. John was crowned on the 15th of December, and immediately abolished the heavy taxes imposed by the king of Spain, declaring that, for his own private expenses, he required nothing beyond his patrimonial estates. He summoned the *Cortes* to assemble in January, when the three estates of the kingdom solemnly confirmed his proclamation as king, or *acclamation*, as the Portuguese term it, probably to express the spontaneous unanimity with which he was chosen. The *Cortes* further acknowledged his eldest son Theodosio as heir apparent; and voted ample supplies of men and money, to resist the expected Spanish invasion.

In the islands, in the African settlements, with the single exception of Ceuta, which adhered to Spain, and in what remained of Brazil and India, King John was proclaimed, the moment intelligence of the revolution arrived, the Spaniards scarcely any where attempting to resist. In Brasil the marquess of Montalvan, the viceroy, communicated the tidings to Count Maurice of Nassau, the governor of the Dutch conquests, who ordered public rejoicings for the emancipation of Portugal; but the viceroy reaped none of the advantages he had anticipated from this conversion of enemies into virtual allies. Nassau refused either to restore his conquests to their legitimate possessor, or even to desist from further aggression. The Dutch governors and admirals in India proved equally unaccommodating.

In Europe, the new king was readily acknowledged by all the states at war with the house of Austria. He concluded treaties of alliance with France, England, Sweden, and even with Holland, colonial affairs being, in the last instance, reserved for future negotiation and adjustment. The pope refused to receive John's ambassador; and the Spanish ambassador at Rome, with

La Clede, Glanville, Sempere, Voltaire, Coxe, Southey, Universal Modern History. An account of the Court of Portugal under his present majesty Don Pedro, with some discourses on the interests of Portugal with regard to other sovereigns. 8vo. London, 1700. History of the Revolutions of Portugal, from the foundation of the kingdom to the year 1667, with Letters of Sir Robert Southwell, during his embassy there to the duke of Ormond. 8vo. London, 1749. The former of these works is ascribed to Sir R. Southwell, whose acute observation and opportunities of acquiring knowledge give the utmost value to his statements. Foreign Quarterly Review, No. 8. London, 1836.

the aid of a band of assassins, attempted his life. Several persons were slain on both sides, though the intended victim escaped; and his Holiness so severely reprobated the flagitious deed, that the friends of Portugal hoped he might in consequence have changed his resolution. But both branches of the house of Austria were even then fighting the battles of Catholicism in Germany, and the pope would not risk offending them.

It is possible, that had Olivarez immediately applied himself with vigour to reduce Portugal, unarmed as she then was, with an empty exchequer and an unorganized government, she might have been again subjugated. Fortunately for her the count-duke looked upon the insurrection with a contempt that averted the danger. He announced the event to Philip, by wishing him joy of the forfeiture of the duke of Braganza's large estates; and, influenced partly by disdain for the Portuguese, partly by excessive exasperation against the Catalans, he positively rejected all advice to send against Portugal the army preparing for Catalonia. He thus gave Portugal all she needed, time; and a very few months saw her in a condition to maintain and defend the independence she had recovered.

Olivarez was not, indeed, altogether inactive with regard to Portugal and her king, but his measures were rather those of a petty intriguer than of a great statesman. He prevailed upon the emperor, Ferdinand III., to seize and imprison John's brother Don Duarte, who was then serving as a general in the Imperial armies. He appears likewise to have instigated the plots and conspiracies, by which the new Portuguese government was, for a while, considerably disturbed. The first of these was perhaps the most formidable, being conducted by the primate, the inquisitor-general, and many of the chief nobility, including some connected, by blood or marriage, with John. Not less than six hundred persons, of different ranks, are said to have been concerned in the plot, the object of which was to kill the king and submit Portugal again to Spain.

Various stories are told as to the way in which this formidable conspiracy was detected; the following seems the most probable. The archbishop, it is said, endeavoured to seduce the count of Vimioso to join in the

scheme, relying upon that nobleman's supposed anger at his ill treatment by the king; who, listening to calumnious charges against him, had deprived him of the government of the province of Alemtejo, and of the command of the troops there stationed. The prelate had mistaken his man; the count's loyalty was superior to his resentment; and the aggrieved noble immediately revealed the plot to the king. But however detected, certain it is, that the whole project was known to the government, and that preparations were quietly made for defeating it. No steps were taken that could alarm the conspirators; but a grand review was ordered for the day upon which their nefarious intentions were to be carried into effect. Under colour of this review additional troops were brought into Lisbon; and the principal ringleaders were invited to the palace for the occasion. They went fearlessly, were there made prisoners without difficulty, and the number of troops present prevented any rising in the city. The prisoners were tried and convicted; about ten persons were executed; the primate and inquisitor-general were imprisoned for life; and the remainder were pardoned. The duchess of Mantua was sent back to Spain, under the idea that she had fomented the conspiracy; and the only person for whom Don Duarte might have been exchanged, being thus dismissed, the unhappy prince languished out the remainder of his days in prison.

The next plot was entirely hatched at Madrid, where Olivarez engaged a Portuguese fugitive to murder John. The man made every arrangement, but his courage failed him at sight of his intended victim, and he fled, without perpetrating his meditated crime. By increased bribes, Olivarez induced the villain to renew the attempt, when he was betrayed by an accomplice, seized, and executed.

A base fraud, contrived to deprive the king of the ablest of his ministers, Lucena, secretary of state, answered better. A son of Lucena's had been seized at Madrid at the time of the acclamation; and amongst his papers were found several blank sheets with the minister's signature attached to them. These marks of a father's confidence in his son, falling into his enemies' hands, were used for his ruin. The sheets were filled with treasonable offers to the Spanish court, and then played into the hands of the

Portuguese government. The amazed secretary denied any knowledge of the treasonable letters, but could not explain how his own signature should be attached to them; and this signature seeming incontrovertible evidence against him, the unfortunate man was convicted and suffered death. The fraud was only discovered by the count-duke's triumph at its success.

The two countries were now decidedly at war, but their languid and desultory hostilities produced little effect beyond harassing the frontiers. Portugal was weak, and thought only of self-defence; Spain was chiefly intent upon chastizing the Catalans. Against these rebels, the viceroy, now powerfully reinforced, made considerable progress. Their French allies deserted or negligently supported them; and in 1641, within a year of their original alliance with Lewis XIII., they found it requisite, in order to extort more useful assistance, to propose the transfer of their allegiance from their hereditary and natural sovereign to the actual foe of their native land, the discovering of all national ties that render Catalonia a constituent part of Spain, and their incorporation with France. The proposition was eagerly embraced: indeed, it is far from unlikely, that the able and artful Richelieu had, from the very commencement of the rebellion, aimed at bringing the Catalans to this point. At all events Lewis XIII. was proclaimed count of Barcelona, and French troops were poured into Catalonia, which, henceforward, became one of the chief theatres of the war between France and Spain. It was here carried on with vigour, and produced obstinate sieges, gallant defences, marked by patient endurance of great privations, and innumerable actions of brilliant courage, but no decisive battle, or very important results.

While these things were transacting at home, Spain was scarcely less unfortunate in the Netherlands. The French overran the country, obtained complete possession of Artois, and occupied many fortified towns in Hamault, &c., and Prince Maurice took Breda. Somewhat to counterbalance these numerous disasters, the French attempts upon Italy entirely failed, and their troops were driven out of the Valteline, which renewed its connexion with the house of

Austria, and again offered a ready passage for the Spanish armies from Italy into Germany.

In Germany, also, the affairs of the Austrian princes looked better. After Ferdinand II. had been driven to the very brink of ruin by the splendid military genius of Gustavus Adolphus, he was redeemed from destruction by his own indomitable constancy, and the abilities of an extraordinary individual, Wallenstein. This man, of noble birth but small fortune, by great talents for war and the energy of an ambitious character, had advanced himself to such a height of wealth, rank, and power, that he excited the jealousy of the emperor and of some of the princes of the empire, and was dismissed from the imperial service. But when Gustavus Adolphus was nearly master of the empire and threatened Austria, Ferdinand threw himself into Wallenstein's arms. This strangely and formidably potent subject raised an army at his own expense and in his own name. Then, bargaining for uncontrolled and uncontrollable authority over all Spanish and Imperial troops in the empire, as well as over his own, he took the field, and stemmed the progress of the king of Sweden, who fell at the battle of Lutzen. Wallenstein subsequently again incurred the emperor's suspicions, fomented by the Spaniards who had always disliked him, and was murdered, by some of his favourite officers, at the instigation of Ferdinand. But the Austrians were never again reduced to the extremity of distress, from which he had delivered them. The Swedes, indeed, assisted by the French, once more advanced; but the Imperialists, led by the emperor's eldest son Ferdinand, made head against them.

In 1637, the death of Ferdinand II. left the Imperial crown to Ferdinand III., who continued to balance the successes of his enemies. The new emperor was far less bigoted than his father, and thus, the main obstacle being removed, some hope of the restoration of peace dawned upon Europe. The prospect was, however, still a distant one. So many difficulties arose, so many interests were to be consulted, that not before March, 1642, could the two concurrent congresses even meet, the Protestants at Osnaburg, and the Catholics at Munster. The negotiations lasted upwards of six years, during all

Spain
from A.D.
1640—1642.

Foreign States
to A.D.
1643.

The Netherlands
and Italy
from A.D.
1640—1642.

of which hostilities continued; and by their fluctuations, produced of course correspondent pretensions and concessions in the respective members of the divided congress.

Political changes likewise occurred, that might have promised a reconciliation between France and Spain. Cardinal Richelieu closed his ambitious and turbulent career in November, 1642, and was followed to the grave within six months by his feeble master, Lewis XIII. Lewis XIV. was an infant, and the regency devolved to the queen-dowager Anne of Austria, who was fondly attached to her brother Philip. But the influence of her minister and favourite, Cardinal Mazarin, overpowered her sisterly affection. The war was prosecuted; and neither the usual weakness of a minority, nor the civil broils that distracted Anne's regency, impaired its vigour. The prince, who is distinguished in history as the great Condé, was placed at the head of one French army, and his rival the viscount of Turenne at that of another. And whilst the latter defeated the Imperialists, Condé gained the splendid victory of Rocroi over the Spaniards and Walloons, commanded by the old count of Fuentes; a victory which fearfully shook the Spanish sovereignty in the Netherlands, and clouded the reputation of the Spanish troops, till then esteemed, as infantry, the best in Europe, but thenceforward held decidedly inferior to the French. Condé followed up his victory by rapid conquests in the Netherlands.

About this time Philip's regard for Olivarez, which the minister had so long retained chiefly by associating himself in the king's vicious pleasures, began to give way under the many disasters that had marked his administration. The queen, a French princess, eagerly caught at the opportunity of urging the count-duke's political errors; the Imperial ambassador presented letters from the emperor to the same effect; the duchess of Mantua, who, since her return to Spain, had been in disgrace, was brought to court, to explain the ministerial blunders that had caused the Portuguese revolution; and the king's nurse represented to him the miseries under which his subjects were groaning. The combination proved irresistible: Olivarez was dismissed, and Philip undertook to govern in person. But misfortunes continued to press upon Spain:

the queen, who had just acquired her husband's confidence, died; and Philip, weary and disheartened, surrendered his irksome authority to Don Lewis de Haro de Guzman, nephew to Olivarez; a less able, but also less ambitious and less arrogant minister than his uncle.

The war between Spain and Portugal likewise continued. Each party made occasional devastating inroads upon the other, and a few frontier towns were taken on either side. Such indecisive hostilities were, however, to the Portuguese, tantamount to victory, their sole object being the maintenance of their independence. In the war which, notwithstanding their alliance in Europe, the Portuguese prosecuted against the Dutch in their colonies, they displayed much of their original valour and energy. In Brazil they gradually recovered their lost possessions, but in India yearly lost ground. Ferdinand and Philip positively refused to endure the presence of King John's ambassador in the congress at Munster, and Portugal could only take part in the negotiations through France and Sweden.

In 1646, Spain was threatened with the loss of her Neapolitan dominions. The imposition of a new tax by an unpopular viceroy, the Duke de Arcos, provoked a general ferment, of which a common fisherman (known by the name of Massaniello, and who was exasperated by an insult to his wife) took advantage to excite a rebellion. He overpowered the viceroy, and temporarily made himself master of the city of Naples. But his astonishing success and uncontrolled power seem to have almost instantly turned his head; and, within less than ten days, his extravagance offered de Arcos advantages, of which he ably profited, to recover his lost authority. But the Neapolitans, though content to abandon their now despised leader, Massaniello, who was immediately put to death, were not disposed to submit. They offered the sovereignty to the duke of Guise, as a descendant of the house of Anjou, and he readily accepted it. He repaired, with such a troop as he could himself raise, to Naples, joined the insurgents, expelled de Arcos, and, for a time, was duke of the republic of Naples. But the French neglected to support him, whilst Philip had sent his natural son, Don John, the ablest of

Portugal
from A.D.
1644—1648.

Italy
from A.D.
1643—1650.

Spain
from A.D.
1643—1646.

his generals, to put down the insurrection. This he accomplished, and took the duke of Guise prisoner. But the rebellious temper of the Neapolitans was unsubdued; and they offered their crown to their conqueror. Don John refused it, and successfully exerted himself to re-establish his father's authority, notwithstanding that father, jealous of his popularity, dispatched the Count de Oñate to supersede him. A revolt in Sicily, as low in its origin as the Neapolitan, proved of less importance or durability.

The pride of Spain was, however, by this time sufficiently humbled to confess the difficulty of making head against so many enemies at once. The pacific policy of Haro, combining with this conscious weakness, produced, in January, 1648, a final peace with the United Provinces, in which Spain acknowledged their independence, agreed to their retaining their conquests both in the Netherlands and the West Indies, and renounced for her Netherland subjects the right of trading to the East Indies, and the navigation of the river Scheldt.

The peace between Spain and Holland was shortly followed by the peace of Westphalia, which arranged and settled such a mass of conflicting interests, that it was considered as the fundamental law of Europe, until the French revolution overthrew all established political relations. In this peace, however, Spain took part only as the ally of the emperor, remaining individually at war with France, in the hope of recovering her losses, whilst her rival was weakened by the civil feuds then raging.

The hopes of Philip and Haro were not altogether disappointed. Condé had been deeply offended by the conduct of Cardinal Mazarin; he rebelled, joined the Spaniards, and brought victory to their arms. Many places were recovered in the Netherlands; and Don John drove the French out of the greater part of Catalonia, laying siege to Barcelona, the focus of the insurrection; which, after holding out for fifteen months, surrendered in 1652. The province was now subjugated. The ring-leaders of the rebellion were executed, the rest pardoned; and Catalonia was pacified. But the privileges of the old county were treated like those of Aragon; and thus a third unsuccessful re-

billion destroyed almost the last remains of Spanish liberty, leaving a country, once the freest in Europe, virtually more intralled (with the single exception of Biscay) to the arbitrary will of an absolute king, than any other, except perhaps Russia and Turkey. This bitter deprivation, aided by French intrigue, produced another rebellion, and the French recovered their footing in Catalonia; but Don John again arrested their progress, and checked the insurgents.

But in Catalonia only was Philip really successful. In the Netherlands, disputes arose between Condé and the Spanish generals, and the abilities of Turenne balanced those of the rebel prince. England too, under the vigorous administration of Oliver Cromwell, joined in the war against Spain. By her assistance Dunkirk was taken, and the greater part of what is now called French Flanders overrun. Dunkirk was ceded by France to England. An English expedition sailed for the West Indies, which conquered the island of Jamaica, and took some richly laden galleons. Even in Italy, Spanish influence had now sunk so low, that all the petty princes declared for France.

In the year 1656, died John IV. of Portugal, after having seen the whole of Brazil re-united to his crown, and the far greater part of the Indian possessions lost. His death produced no immediate change in the course of affairs. His eldest son, Theodosio, who was the idol of the nation, had preceded him to the grave. His two surviving sons, Alfonso and Pedro, were under age, and he left the regency to his queen, Louisa, a woman of considerable ability, who had always been his own chief counsellor. She continued the frontier war quite as vigorously and as happily as her husband, although a succession of court intrigues led to various changes in the command of the province where the main efforts were made, Alentejo.

Failures and exhaustion on both sides had now produced a mutual desire for peace between France and Spain, much aided by Anne's affection for her brother. But an obstacle, seemingly insurmountable, opposed its conclusion. The chief condition proposed by France was the marriage of Lewis

The Netherlands,
West Indies,
and Italy,
A.D. 1652.

Spain
from A.D.
1646—1659.

Portugal
from A.D.
1649—1654.

Spain
from A.D.
1653—1660.

XIV. with Philip's daughter Maria Theresa, since her brother's death the acknowledged heiress of the Spanish crown; and Philip would not listen to a proposal that might expose his dominions to the possible risk of falling to the crown of France. His objection was, however, removed, when, in 1657, his second wife, Marianne of Austria, his own niece, bore him a son. Negotiations were set on foot; and, in November, 1659, Don Lewis de Haro, and Cardinal Mazarin, meeting in the Isle of Pheasants, in the middle of the boundary river, the Bidassoa, concluded and signed the treaty, known by the name of the Pyrenees. By this treaty Spain ceded the counties of Roussillon in the south, and Artois in the north, to France; the French evacuated all their other conquests in Catalonia and elsewhere; and Lewis XIV. married the *Infanta* Maria Theresa, who, as an indispensable preliminary, renounced her possible future pretensions to any and every part of her father's dominions, in the most formal and solemn manner that could be devised; her renunciation being ratified by the Spanish *Cortes*, and by Lewis for himself and his heirs. The war with England ceased the following year, upon the restoration of Charles II.; it should seem without any treaty.

Spain had now no enemy but Portugal, and exerted herself to reduce this last remaining rebellion. The command of the army was given to Don John; and the prospect of success was improved by the changes that were then taking place in the Portuguese government. The young king, Alfonso VI., had suffered a paralytic attack in his infancy, from which it is alleged that he never completely recovered, either in body or mind. Considerable mystery

Portugal
from A. D.
1658—1665.

hangs, nevertheless, over his character and history, some of the vices and extravagancies of which he is accused appearing to be inconsistent with the extreme debility attributed to him. What appears certain is, that he indulged in many vicious and silly propensities, gave way to unbridled violence, offended the nobility, by selecting for his favourites two Genoese of inferior birth, named Conti; and whilst he refused to attend the councils of state with his mother, impatiently demanded the surrender of her authority.

The queen is accused of ambitiously

endeavouring to retain her power; though, if Alfonso be justly described, she can hardly be blamed for reluctance to deliver up the kingdom to his management, or for wishing to substitute her younger son in his place—another of the charges brought against her. In June, 1662, however, the queen professed her readiness to resign the regency, provided the Contis, to whom she ascribed much of Alfonso's misconduct, were first removed from about his person. This was done with a strange sort of violence. The queen held the king in conversation in her own apartments, whilst a party of noblemen seized the two Genoese in the palace, put them on board a ship, and dispatched them to Brazil. The king showed little feeling or resentment upon the occasion, but at once transferred his affection to the count of Castel Melhor, a gentleman of his chamber, under whose conduct he secretly left Lisbon for Alcantara, and thence extorted from his mother an authority which she had declared herself willing to surrender. She lingered some months at court, vainly striving to gain influence over her son, if not to recover her authority; but in March, 1663, was driven away by the insults of the king and his creatures, and retired to a convent. The last act of her regency was the conclusion of her daughter Catherine's marriage with Charles II. of England. She gave her Bombay, in India, and Tangiers, in Africa, for her portion; and of the once immense oriental empire of Portugal scarcely anything now remained except its capital, Goa.

Upon the queen's mother's departure, the king, freed from all restraint, abandoned himself more and more to disorders of all kinds; which Castel Melhor, finding it impossible to check, exerted himself to conceal. To him Alfonso wholly abandoned the government of the kingdom, and the count's talents prevented any material evil from arising from the retreat of the able queen. The general peace, by causing the disbanding of many armies, supplied Portugal with good and experienced officers. One of these, Count Schomberg, with an army valuably increased by English auxiliaries, was successfully opposed to Don John, who, upon this occasion, scarcely answered to the expectations raised by his former victories. He, indeed, took Evora, and some other places, but was defeated in a pitched battle, and threw up his command in

disgust, complaining of ministerial negligence and inactivity in supporting him. His successor, the marquess of Caracena, lost the more decisive battle of Villa Viciosa, and from that moment the question of the permanence of Portuguese independence, if it had ever been doubtful, was settled. On receiving the tidings of this defeat, Philip said, 'It is the will of God!' and fainted away. Still Spanish pride would not yield, and the war lingered on some years longer.

In Africa and America, only, did Philip suffer neither defeat nor diminution of territory, except what was consequent upon the loss of Portugal. In Africa, his garrisons were engaged in almost constant warfare with the Moors, but uniformly repulsed their assaults. In America, various rebellions occurred.

In Mexico, one was excited by the endeavours of a viceroy, the marquess of Gelves, to remedy various corruptions, and relieve the poor natives from oppression. It ended in his expulsion, when all went on as before. A war with the fierce Araucans, called a rebellion on their part, gave more trouble, and required reinforcements from Europe ere peace was restored. The others were insignificant disorders.

Philip IV. did not long survive the defeat of Villa Viciosa. He died the 17th of September, of the same year 1665, leaving, by his second wife, one only surviving son, Charles II., a sickly child of three years old, (three elder sons had died,) and a daughter Margaret, affianced to her cousin the Emperor Leopold, who had succeeded, in 1657, to Ferdinand III. Margaret was considered as the next heir to her brother, in virtue of Maria Theresa's renunciations. Philip, in his last will, named successively as his heirs, Charles and his issue, Margaret and her issue, her husband Leopold and his heirs, the duke of Savoy, descended from Philip II.'s daughter Catherine, and only in failure of his line, finally, his eldest daughter, Maria Theresa, if a widow, and her offspring by a second marriage, in no possible case, it should seem, admitting of a French prince's succession. His sister Anne, it is to be observed, had equally renounced her birthright on marrying Lewis XIII. Philip named his queen, regent, assisted by a *Junta*.

CHAPTER XII.

Incapacity of queen regent of Spain—Follies and vices of Alfonso VI.—Dissensions at the court of Lisbon—Alfonso forced to abdicate—His brother Don Pedro declared prince regent—Peace with Spain—Alfonso's queen obtains a divorce and marries Don Pedro—Reconciliation with Rome—Lewis XIV. claims part of the Netherlands as his queen's inheritance—Overruns the Netherlands—Checked by the Triple Alliance—Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle—Cession of French Flanders—Dissensions at the court of Madrid—Lewis invades and overruns Holland—Prince of Orange obtains the Stadtholdership—Spain and Austria support Holland—The French overrun the Netherlands—Charles II. assumes the government—Names Don John, minister—Peace of Nimwegen—Cession of Franche Comté—Death of Don John—Factions at court—Disputes with Portugal touching the north bank of the river Plate—Rapid decline of Spain—Further encroachments of Lewis—Peace of Ryswick—Further cessions—Contests for the succession—First partition treaty—Death of electoral prince of Bavaria—Second partition treaty—French intrigue—Will in favour of Philip of Anjou—Death of Charles.*

THE queen-dowager of Spain was totally unfit for the office assigned her by the deceased king's will. Weak, but jealous of power, she was wholly governed by her

Spanish
America
from A.D.
1661—1665.

Spain
from A.D.
1661—1665.

Spain
A.D. 1665.

* The authorities principally consulted for this chapter are, Yriarte, Da Costa, La Ciede, Sempere, Southwell, Bigland, Universal Modern History, Memoirs of the Kings of Spain, of the House of Bourbon, from the Accession of Philip V. to the Death of Charles III. By Ant. de la Ciede, 3 vo. s. 4to. London, 1813. This author consulted all accessible sources of information, with a diligence and seeming fairness, that render him a very satisfactory authority. History of the War of the Succession in Spain, by Lord Mahon, 8vo. London, 1825. A work of talent and research, to which additional interest and value are given by the author's descent from one of the chief actors in the scenes he describes, and his consequent access to family stores of information. All accounts of this period begin with the reign of Charles II. *Siccle de Louis XIV. par M. de Voltaire, Œuvres complètes de M. de Voltaire*, 100 tom., 8vo. Lyon, 1791—a work, like that already quoted of this author, of brilliant talent and philosophical observation, but no great authority. *Mémoires Politiques et Militaires pour servir à l'histoire de Louis XIV. et de Louis XV. Composés sur les pièces originales, recueillies par Adrien Maurice*,

confessor, a low-born German jesuit, named John Everard Nitard, whom she appointed inquisitor-general, intruded into the *Junta* of regency, and trusted in every thing, to the exclusion of the other members. The nobility were deeply offended; so was Don John, who deemed himself entitled by his birth, talents, and services, to exercise the powers, if he did not enjoy the dignity of regent; and the disorders that harassed the whole of Charles II.'s reign began with his accession.

In Portugal, meanwhile, the queen mother was dead; the king's follies and vices are represented as hourly increasing, and his marriage, which was expected to operate some sort of reform in his conduct, only precipitated a catastrophe that could not, in all likelihood, have been long delayed. The wife selected for him was a princess of a branch of the house of Savoy, settled in France, the second daughter of the duke of Nemours. She arrived in the Tagus on the morning of the 2d of August, 1666; and the king immediately adopted towards her the line of conduct, in which he afterwards persevered. It was not till late in the evening that Castel Melhor's entreaties and remonstrances could induce him to go on board the vessel, in order to receive and conduct her on shore. He did at length comply, and went through the marriage ceremony; but it proved utterly impossible to prevail upon him even to visit her apartment that night. The court now became a scene of faction and disorder. His brother, the *Infante* Pedro, a very popular prince, lived constantly at variance with the king, but in close friendship and intimacy, at least, with the queen. She, being uniformly neglected by the king, was almost insulted by his favourites and ministers; and the count of Castel Melhor, a personal enemy of the *Infante's*, resigned his office and left court, upon some temporary reconciliation taking place between the royal brothers.

This state of affairs lasted till the 21st of November, 1667; when the queen, suddenly withdrawing to the nunnery of *la Esperanza*, wrote thence to the king,

that she was weary of ill usage, and that, as he knew she was not his wife, she desired their nominal marriage might be annulled, her portion restored, and she herself sent home to France. This step seems to have been the preconcerted opening of the hitherto masked batteries against the king. The next day passed in negotiations, professedly tending to prevail upon the queen to return to the king, and upon the king to accept the *Infante* as his colleague. Both pertinaciously refused; and early in the morning of the 23d, the council of state in a body waited upon his majesty, and required him to acknowledge his own incapacity, and to abdicate in favour of his brother. This proposal he of course rejected, yet more decidedly than the other; but the council was now joined by the *Infante*, the municipality of Lisbon, and the *Juez do Povo*, or judge of the people, a sort of tribune of the people. These collective authorities locked the king into his chamber, until at last, in the evening of the same day, he signed a form of abdication prepared by them. The deposed monarch, either in folly or satire, chose a hoy employed in his kennel for his companion, and was kept in easy confinement for some years at one of the Azores.

The *Infante* either would not accept the royal title which he professed to regard as his brother's right, or those who had so promptly despoiled their sovereign of his power, hesitated to rob him of a name. It was as prince regent that Don Pedro forthwith convoked the *Cortes*. The three estates of Portugal met in January, 1668, and confirmed the whole transaction. One of the first acts of Pedro's government was to conclude a peace with Spain, under the previously unsuccessful mediation of England, by which Spain recognized the independence of Portugal, and her right to all her foreign possessions, with the exception of Ceuta, ceded to Spain. This treaty was signed in February, by the queen-regent of Spain and Don Pedro, in the names of Charles II. and Alfonso VI.

Meanwhile, Alfonso's queen was pursuing her divorce, or rather the annulment of her marriage. Some difficulty seemed to attend this step, inasmuch as no pope had received a Portuguese ambassador since the revolution, and in consequence of so long a cessation of intercourse with the holy see, there were

Jue de Couilles, Marechal de France et ministre d'etat Par M. d'Abbe Millot, des Academies de Lyon et de Nanci, 6 tom. 12mo. Paris, 1777. A work by no means impartial, but, in the portion relative to Spain, useful, by giving the French view of transactions we are accustomed to regard with opposite feelings.

no bishops left in Portugal; bishops being the legal judges on such points. The question was referred to the dean and chapter of Lisbon, who, on the 24th of March, pronounced her marriage with Alfonso null. She then demanded from the *Cortes*, her portion, and a ship to take her home; but upon that assembly's entreating her to continue to be the consort of their sovereign, she acquiesced so promptly in their desire, that upon the 2d of April she and the prince-regent were married.

All this had been done without papal concurrence, the Roman see never having acknowledged the Braganza family as lawful sovereigns. But the peace with Spain having removed the difficulties that had debarred Portugal from commerce with Rome, Clement IX. willingly received a Portuguese ambassador, and sanctioned the proceedings relative to the two marriages. In 1670, his successor, Clement X., put an end to the only remaining inconvenience arising from his predecessor's hostility to the House of Braganza, by confirming the bishops whom the king named;—the long-established practice of the Portuguese church.

Peace with Portugal had become the more important to Spain, inasmuch as the evils of a weak and detested regency were enhanced by war with the all-powerful Lewis

Spain and the
Netherlands
from A.D.
1665—1668.

XIV., who had already begun the series of unjust aggressions upon that unhappy country, which ended in his seizing it altogether for one of his grandsons, in direct violation of the faith of treaties, and of his own most solemn engagements. Upon the death of Philip IV., Lewis had unreservedly acknowledged his infant brother-in-law as king of all the Spanish dominions; but early in the spring of 1667, having completed his preparations, and by proposals of partition allured the Dutch, who still perhaps retained a lingering ill-will towards Spain, the French king unblushingly claimed part of the Netherlands as the birthright of his queen, upon the absurd pleas, that in some districts of those variously constituted provinces, a custom prevailed of preferring the daughter of a first marriage to the son of a second, in the succession to private property, and that Maria Theresa, being a minor at the time of her marriage, could not renounce the rights of her children. Adding insult to injury, he gave the queen-regent notice that he had no in-

tention of breaking the peace existing between the two countries, and only meant to take possession of his wife's wrongfully-withheld inheritance.

Lewis then poured his troops into the Netherlands, and as the governor, in the security of peace, was unprepared for war, took town after town, almost without opposition. In fact, no preparation could now have enabled Spain to withstand the power of France, wielded by an ambitious sovereign, who really does appear to have cherished those schemes of universal monarchy, so long imputed to the Austrian princes. But this first indication of Lewis's passion for conquest, and of his total disregard of justice in pursuing his own aggrandizement, aroused Europe to the necessity of resistance, and especially opened the eyes of the Dutch to their own danger. The memorable triple alliance between England, the United Provinces, and Sweden, was signed, and, for the moment, Lewis was checked in his conquering career. In May, 1668, he concluded with Spain the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, by which he restored most of his acquisitions, retaining, however, a large portion of, what was thenceforward called, French Flanders. In this treaty he avoided all recognition of Maria Theresa's having renounced her birthright.

This disastrous war, and little less disastrous peace, did not tend to strengthen the queen-regent's power. Don John, supported by a large body of nobles, was enabled to compel the dismissal of the detested Jesuit; but this was all he could effect. Nitard was sent away with high honours, being appointed ambassador to Rome, (where the queen obtained for him a cardinal's hat,) and Don John himself was still excluded from the administration. He was made viceroy of Aragon, for the express purpose of removing him from court, and from the young king's person; and another favourite succeeded to the confessor, who brought reproach of a different kind upon the queen.

Spain
from A.D.
1668—1690.

This favourite was Don Ferdinand de Valenzuela, a gentleman of Granada, who had been a creature of Nitard's, and upon his departure acquired such unbounded influence over the queen, that she was generally suspected of living with him in a dishonourable connexion. As a minister, Valenzuela was a mere nullity; but he courted the favour of the populace, by amusing them with bull-fights, and studying to keep the

markets well supplied; and he might have avoided the general odium that he incurred, had he not made a gratuitously-offensive display of his suspicious intimacy with his royal mistress.

During Valenzuela's administration, the war with France broke out anew. French intrigue having detached Sweden and England from the Triple Alliance, Lewis invaded the United Provinces, under the idle pretence of resenting a treaty, concluded between them and Spain, for mutual protection in the Low Countries. The United Provinces had no other ally; they had lost during peace the high courage that marked their revolt from Spain: they were rapidly overrun, and, in 1672, reduced almost to despair; whilst Spain was compelled to disavow an endeavour of the count of Monterey, governor of the Netherlands, to assist them.

It was from the very depth of their danger and despair that the means of preservation arose. The house of Nassau had been driven from the government by the republican party, and its head, the young prince of Orange, afterwards William III. of England, was then living in obscurity and inaction. He took advantage of the terror excited by the French victories, to gain the ascendancy over the adverse faction which was suspected of partiality to Lewis. He was named Stadtholder, the title of the Dutch chief magistrate; and under his able guidance the energies of the Seven Provinces revived, whilst the emperor united with Spain for their protection. The war, however, lasted for years; the Netherlands were again devastated, and in great part conquered, by France; and Lewis further harassed Spain by inroads into Catalonia, and by exciting a rebellion in Sicily, whither he sent a French armament, which held Messina long after the removal of an obnoxious viceroy had soothed the rest of the island.

In 1675 Charles completed his fourteenth year, and assumed the government. His mother's influence over him prevented for a while any change of men or measures; but this could not last. Don John's able government of Aragon had rendered him popular throughout Spain, and had even subdued the disdain of the haughty nobles for his illegitimate birth. An association was formed, headed by Alva and Monterey, for the purpose of placing Don John at the head of affairs; and, in January 1676, prevailed upon the young king to name his uncle prime minister. The queen-

mother was confined in a convent at Toledo; Valenzuela was banished to the Philippines, and the administration committed to Don John, who was hailed as the protector and preserver of the country.

But the new minister did not find it easy to fulfil the hopes his reputation had excited, or to infuse into the exhausted and debilitated Spanish monarchy the vigour requisite for contending against Lewis XIV., in the plenitude of his power. In 1678, the other European powers concluded with France the treaty of Nimeguen, by which she was allowed to retain Franche Comté, (formerly called the *County* of Burgundy, a fief of the empire, and till then one of the Netherland provinces,) upon restoring her other conquests. Don John, seeing no alternative when deserted by every ally, reluctantly acceded to the treaty.

He now seems to have meditated endeavouring to gain for Charles the friendship of his formidable adversary and brother-in-law, for which purpose he effected a marriage between Charles and Lewis's niece, Maria Louisa, a daughter of the duke of Orleans, by Henrietta of England. All French connexion was at this moment distasteful to Spain. Don John's popularity had already suffered from the necessity of signing a disadvantageous treaty. He had given offence by his harsh treatment of the queen-mother. By his declared intention of punishing all malversation during her regency, he had provoked the enmity of those who had anything to fear on that account; and, finally, the French marriage gave full scope to the malice of his rivals. Don John found the young king's affections alienated from him, and saw little hope of accomplishing the reforms and improvements he meditated in the commerce, agriculture, finances, and general condition of the kingdom. Disappointment and mortification preyed upon his health, and are said to have rendered a casual ague fatal. He died in September, 1679.

With this second Don John seems to have expired the last spark of talent in the Spanish branch of the Austrian dynasty, the last chance of re-invigorating the sinking monarchy. The queen-mother was instantly recalled, and the court was divided between her party and that of the queen-consort. The government presented a scene of hopeless anarchy. A low-born man named Eguya, who, introduced as an ordinary

clerk, had found means of captivating the king's favour, persuaded Charles to govern in person, or, in other words, to allow him to exercise the authority, without the name, of prime minister. But Eguya had not understanding proportionate to his ambition, and his knowledge was confined to the routine of public business. Every department fell into disorder, and the whole action of government seemed to be suspended.

The external tranquillity which Charles might have hoped to purchase by the heavy sacrifices he had submitted to at the peace of Nimeguen, was first disturbed by disputes and transatlantic hostilities with Portugal. Spain claimed possession of both banks of the river de la Plata, as forming part of her province of Buenos-Ayres. Portugal maintained that the northern bank belonged to Brazil; and, in assertion of this right, in 1680, built a town upon the bank she claimed, to which was given the name of Colony of the Sacrament. This town the governor of Buenos-Ayres seized and destroyed, and a war had nearly ensued. But neither court wished to recur to arms; and it was at length agreed that Spain should make reparation to Portugal, by rebuilding the town, the question of right being reserved for discussion by commissioners. Neither the commissioners, nor even the pope, could, however, satisfactorily decide so difficult a point; and for upwards of a century the Colony of the Sacrament remained a constant subject of irritation and contention between Spain and Portugal.

The latter kingdom took little share in the general politics of Europe. The prince-regent was engrossed by the internal concerns of his dominions, and by negotiations touching the marriage of his only daughter, the *Infanta* Isabella Louisa. She was his presumptive heir; and notwithstanding that the right of the house of Braganza to the throne rested entirely upon the law which excluded every princess married to a foreign prince, all the matches proposed for the *Infanta* were with foreign princes; the suspension of the fundamental law of Lamego in her favour being always a presupposed condition. For various reasons all these nuptial treaties were broken off. The death of the deposed King Alfonso, A.D. 1693, produced no other perceptible effect upon the affairs of Portugal than

the assumption of the title of king by the prince-regent, now Pedro II. But when it was followed by that of Alfonso's divorced wife and actual sister-in-law, who bore the title of queen, this second time but for a few months, the hand of Isabella became a prize of less value; and upon Pedro II.'s remarrying four years afterwards with a German princess, Maria Sophia of Neuburg, she sank into the ordinary condition of the daughters of second or third-rate sovereigns.

The anarchy of the Spanish government at length induced Charles to appoint the duke of Medina Celi prime minister. This nobleman was well-intentioned, and sought to bring forward men of talent and experience; but he was thwarted by the jealousy of Eguya, and, in fact, only added another faction to those already distracting the court. Ere long the queen-mother's cabal drove him out of office, and he was succeeded by the count of Oropesa, a young man of far superior abilities, who long retained the king's confidence.

But the king himself, who anxiously desired to promote and enforce all salutary measures, harassed by these conflicting parties and interests, distracted between his love for his beautiful young queen, and his detestation of everything French, was fast sinking into a state of hypochondriacal disease. The finances of Spain were altogether ruined; the government was disorganized; the army had lost its reputation for courage and discipline; commerce was annihilated, and agriculture so nearly so, that famine was a constantly-threatening evil. What could the talents of one man do against such an accumulation of ills? And to interfere with Oropesa's attention to the remedies necessary for healing these internal disorders, Lewis XIV. continued, even in peace, an uninterrupted course of petty aggression and encroachment. In 1684, a twenty years' truce, concluded at Ratisbon, confirmed to France several places pilfered from Spain and Austria since the peace of Nimeguen.

It was not until Lewis's persecution of his own Protestant subjects had stirred up against him the vehement resentment and indignation of every Protestant nation, especially of the Dutch, and until the revolution of 1688, by placing William III. upon the English throne, threw the whole weight of the British empire into the Grand Alliance, that any effectual resistance was opposed to French

ambition. Then, although Lewis was still upon the whole successful, especially in the Netherlands and the ever-turbulent Catalonia, his triumphs were mingled with defeats, and the united English and Dutch fleets deprived him permanently of the naval superiority he had till then enjoyed. The peace of Ryswick, concluded in 1697, confirmed to him Strasburg, and some additional conquests in the Netherlands, but much fewer than any treaty that had preceded it, his chief acquisition on this occasion being the greater part of the island of Hispaniola or St. Domingo.

The remainder of Charles's reign was entirely occupied by intrigues concerning the succession to his crown. He had no children, either by Maria Louisa, who died in 1690, or by his second wife, a Palatine princess, Marianne of Neuburg, a sister of the queen of Portugal and of the Emperor Leopold's third empress. There were three rival candidates for the immense inheritance, which his increasing infirmities promised to leave open at an early period; and whose respective and conflicting pretensions divided his court and council.

The dauphin of France claimed through his deceased mother, who, as Charles's eldest sister, would have been his heir but for her renunciation. The Empress Margaret, Charles's second sister, was, like the eldest, dead; and had left only one daughter, Maria Antonietta, electress of Bavaria. This Princess also had since died, leaving one son, the sole representative of Margaret. The emperor, unwilling to see the Spanish succession pass from the direct Austrian line, had obliged his daughter to renounce her right to her maternal heritage at her marriage; but her renunciation, not having been confirmed by the king or *Cortes* of Spain, was generally esteemed invalid; and her son, who under all circumstances was assuredly the right heir, was the favourite candidate both with Charles and his people. The third pretender was the Emperor Leopold, who considering his grandson's rights to be set aside by Maria Antonietta's renunciation, claimed both through his mother Maria, daughter to Philip III., and as the sole remaining male descendant, in the direct line, from Joanna, the daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella. At the same time, to avert any objection to the re-union of the Spanish dominions with the empire, Leopold offered to renounce his right, for himself and

his eldest son, in favour of his second son Charles.

The queen warmly supported her nephew the archduke, and, influenced by her, a strong party adopted his interests. The queen-mother, at the head of another party, as warmly supported her great grandson, the electoral prince of Bavaria. Her death gave a great advantage to the archduke's advocates, but the king still inclined to the electoral prince, though hesitating, and unwilling to take any decisive step. The count of Monterey was, at this early period, the only person of consideration who inclined to the Bourbons. The aspect of affairs was quickly changed by French intrigue, combining with the difficulties arising from the divided interests of those who should have united against French aggrandizement.

Lewis found means to persuade William III. that the best security against such an increase of power, to either France or Austria, as might endanger the rest of Europe, would be the division of the Spanish dominions amongst the claimants. In conformity with this view he induced him to concur in, what is called, the first partition-treaty, by which Spain, the Netherlands, and America, were given to the electoral prince, the two Sicilies, as Naples and Sicily are termed, to the dauphin, and the Milanese to the archduke. This treaty was to be kept a profound secret from every one except the emperor, whose assent to it William undertook to obtain.

Whilst this negotiation was proceeding, Lewis had sent the Marquis d'Harcourt to Madrid as his ambassador. D'Harcourt was an artful diplomatist, with a clever and fascinating wife. This adroit couple quickly routed the stiff and straight-forward Count Harrach, the Austrian ambassador; won over many courtiers, including the influential Cardinal Portocarrero, to their side; lured the queen with the prospect of marrying the dauphin, then a widower; excited an interest in favour of the dauphin's sons, by exhibiting their pictures, and pointing out their likeness to Maria Theresa, who was still tenderly thought of, as the natural heiress; and finally, they strove to alleviate all fears of annexation to France, by suggesting the choice of the second of these princes, Philip, duke of Anjou. The partition-treaty was no sooner concluded, than the secret was betrayed to the court of Madrid; and, as Lewis had

anticipated, exasperated both king and people against the planners of such an attempt at dismembering the Spanish monarchy, which was represented as originating with King William.

But if Charles was thus alienated from his best friend, and instigated to make a will, no other immediate benefit resulted to Lewis. The king of Spain consulted the Spanish lawyers upon the justice and law of the case, and with their advice made a will declaring the electoral prince his legitimate heir. Had this disposition taken effect, many of the wars that ravaged Europe during the last century might have been avoided; but an unexpected calamity overcast these happy prospects. In February, 1699, the electoral prince died unmarried, and his death was attributed by his father to poison. Be that as it may, the event rendered all previous arrangements whatever useless, and Lewis persuaded William and Leopold to concur in a second partition-treaty. It was signed in March, 1700; the share of the electoral prince was transferred to the archduke, Navarre only excepted, which with the Milanese, or Lorraine, as an equivalent, was added to the dauphin's; but the archduke was prohibited from visiting Spain during Charles's life.

This treaty, like the first, was immediately betrayed to Charles, and produced yet greater irritation. Cabals and intrigues were renewed with increased vigour and virulence. The queen had returned with heart and soul to the Austrian party, and won the king to it, by revealing to him the proposal for her marrying the dauphin after his decease. A courier was despatched to Vienna with the promise of a will in favour of the archduke, upon condition of his immediately coming to Spain, with fifteen thousand men, to defend his future kingdom against France. Leopold thankfully accepted the promise, but did not comply with the condition, either from want of means, or through fear of offending Lewis and alienating William; and the Count of Maceira warned Herrach, 'By your blunders we shall swear to a Bourbon, whom, once acknowledged, we shall never desert.'

Charles was deeply hurt at the appearance of neglect, and the Bourbon faction profited by his resentment. As his maladies increased, the influence of the wife gradually yielded to that

of the confessor, who was bribed by Lewis; and aided by him, Cardinal Portocarrero at length persuaded the king to consult the pope. Innocent XII. was the enemy of Austria, and had besides been gained by Lewis. He decided that the children of the eldest sister were the lawful heirs; and in order to insure the permanent separation of the crowns of France and Spain, recommended the selection of the duke of Anjou, upon condition of his solemnly renouncing his French birthright. His very nomination proved the futility of such renunciations.

Even the pope's sentence, though powerful, was not final. Charles still hesitated: his sick chamber was still the scene of cabal and angry contention. But with the approach of death the influence of the cardinal and the confessor rapidly increased, the papal verdict became more sacred, and at last carried the day. On the 2d of October, 1700, Charles signed a will in favour of Philip of Anjou; and on the 3d of November this unfortunate monarch expired.

His reign had been generally disastrous. He left Spain, sunk to the very extremity of imbecile weakness. His losses to France have been already stated; and in Africa the Puerto de Marmora was conquered from him by the Turks. In America only his dominions remained unimpaired; but the tributary wealth annually furnished by the New World to Spain, had to Charles proved wholly unavailing, and had moreover been frequently intercepted by French cruisers.

In the year 1699, Portugal first began to derive similar supplies of the precious metals from Brazil, the chief wealth of which had till then been sugar and dye-woods. The rich gold mines of that region were casually discovered by some wandering, outlawed criminals. They immediately communicated the important discovery to government, and easily obtained their pardon, together with permission to work the mines, paying the customary fifth to the king. This obligation they regularly discharged; but by their turbulent character they excluded any interference of the government with their concerns, beyond the receipt of the royal share, and lived in a sort of lawless anarchy, the terror of all peaceable colonists within their reach. They were called the Paulistas, and long continued a source of much anxiety and trouble to the viceroys of Brazil.

America
from A.D.
1690—1700.

BOOK III.

CHAPTER I.

Philip V. acknowledged throughout the Spanish monarchy—Spain governed in fact by Lewis XIV.—Philip acknowledged by all the powers of Europe, except the emperor—Emperor invades the Spanish dominions in Italy—Grand Alliance—Philip visits Italy—Disaffection of Neapolitans—Victories in Lombardy—The interference of the French ambassador disgusts the Spanish nobles—Discontents—Changes—Disorder of the administration—Archduke Charles invades Spain—Spanish pride roused to favour Philip—Rooke surprises Gibraltar—Battle of Blenheim—Pedro of Portugal paralytic—Catherine, dowager of England, regent—Portuguese and British again invade Spain—Charles and Peterborough sail for the eastern coast—Land in Valencia—Charles proclaimed king at Denia—Siege of Barcelona—Peterborough's daring stratagem—Barcelona taken—Charles III. acknowledged throughout the eastern coast—Death of the Emperor Leopold.*

HAD the electoral prince of Bavaria lived, there can be no doubt but that the Spanish nation would gladly have received and acknowledged, as their king, the grandson of an *infanta*, who had neither renounced, nor been formally deprived of, her birthright, and whose descendant could bring no such accession of strength to the monarchy, as ought in reason to alarm the other powers of Europe. After the unfortunate death of this prince, had the emperor complied with the king of Spain's wish by sending the Archduke Charles to Spain, even though he had been un-

accompanied by an army, it seems almost equally probable that the influence of the queen, his aunt, and Charles's personal inclination to favour his own family, must still have prevailed over the intrigues of the French faction, and have secured a will in his favour, with which the nation would have been well satisfied; both because the power of the king to dispose of his subjects by will seems to have been admitted as incontestable, and the will of the last monarch, moreover, as altogether superseding those of his predecessors; and from the natural disposition of mankind to bestow all feelings of loyalty upon the prince in actual possession, and thence to regard even the lawful claimant, if compelled to seek his right by arms, as a foreign invader.

Leopold, by an unaccountable oversight, forfeited this advantage. The will of Charles II. was, immediately upon his decease, announced to be in favour of the duke of Anjou; and the regents despatched a copy of it to the French court. Lewis affected to hesitate, not whether he should keep his engagements with his allies, but whether the bequest to a grandson, or the partition treaty, were most beneficial to himself. He assembled his council, and a mock deliberation ensued, which of course ended in a resolution to accept the will obtained by so much artifice and intrigue.

Lewis then presented his grandson to the court as king of Spain and the Indies; made him renounce his right of succession to the French throne, as his grandmother Maria Theresa had renounced hers to the Spanish, but far less solemnly; and, after observing that the Pyrenees were now annihilated, despatched Philip V., then seventeen years old, surrounded by French counsellors, to his new kingdom. There great numbers of the higher ranks were his partizans; and the bulk of the nation appears to have been content with any descendant of their royal blood, who offered them the prospect of an independent and unmutated monarchy. Philip was accordingly well received in Spain, where he was acknowledged as the choice of the people, and was freely proclaimed in the Netherlands, the Sicilies, the Milanese, where the Viceroy

* The authorities principally resorted to for this chapter, are *Yriarte, De Costa, La Ciede, Coxe, Lord Mahon, Voltaire, Mémoires de Noailles, Universal Modern History, Memoirs of Captain George Carleton, an English officer, including Anecdotes of the War in Spain, under the Earl of Peterborough, written by himself, 8vo. Edinburgh, 1808; an interesting and entertaining account of Lord Peterborough's share in the succession war, by a gallant officer, so eye-witness of, and participant in, his exploits. Mémoires du Maréchal de Berwick, écrits par lui même. 2 Tom. 8vo. Suisse, 1778.* One of our best authorities for all affairs in which Berwick was concerned.

had been gained by Lewis, and in America. He at once banished the queen-dowager from Madrid, disgraced all the leaders of the Austrian party, and placed Cardinal Portocarrero at the head of the administration.

But whatever were the apparent powers of the cardinal, Spain was now in fact governed by Lewis XIV.; whose ambassador assumed a right of advising, if not dictating, in all affairs, and demanded admission to the councils held by the young king and his Spanish ministers. A Frenchman, named Orri, who had shewn some talent, if not much honesty, in inferior financial departments in his own country, was employed to regenerate the finances of Spain. And the authority of the grandfather was yet further established upon Philip's marriage with Maria Louisa Gabriella, daughter to the duke of Savoy, and younger sister to the wife of Philip's elder brother, the duke of Burgundy. The Princess Orsini, called by the French des Ursins, a Frenchwoman, and the intimate friend of Mad. de Maintenon, whom Lewis XIV. had secretly married, was named *Camarera Mayor*, or chief lady of the bedchamber to the young queen, and the appointment was less offensive to the Spanish nation than those of her countrymen and women in general, from the circumstance of the princess being the widow of a Spanish Grandee. The new *Camarera Mayor*, who possessed considerable talents, and peculiarly brilliant conversational powers, soon acquired over her inexperienced mistress an influence nearly as absolute as that which Maria Louisa herself acquired over her husband.

The different powers of Europe acknowledged Philip V. as king of Spain; even those that had been most anxiously opposed to the accession of a Bourbon prince. The Dutch were, indeed, alive to the dangers threatening them from an increase of French power. But Lewis sent his troops into the Netherlands by an understanding with the elector of Bavaria, whom he had persuaded Charles II. to appoint governor, and surprised a considerable body of Dutch troops, garrisoning some of the fortified towns under an arrangement with Spain; whereupon the states of the United Provinces purchased the liberation of their troops by the recognition of Philip. The emperor

alone refused to acknowledge a Bourbon sovereign of Spain, protested against the will of Charles II. as surreptitious and as invalid; and called upon Europe for assistance to enforce his son's claims, and repress the inordinate ambition of Lewis XIV.

Leopold began the war in Italy, whither he dispatched an army under the celebrated Prince Eugene, who then and there took the first steps in his brilliant military career. Eugene was a member of the ducal house of Savoy, sprung from a branch which had long been domiciliated in France. He had been originally destined for the church; and when he wished to change his profession, his solicitations for a regiment were contemptuously repulsed by Lewis XIV. He in consequence entered the service of the emperor, and his victories in this first Italian campaign, over some of the best French generals, early taught the arrogant monarch to repent his rash judgment of a young man, whose abilities he had not known how to appreciate.

Prince Eugene's success had the more important effect of encouraging the anti-Gallican party throughout Europe. The Grand Alliance, as it was called, between England, Holland and Austria, for securing to the emperor his just rights, and preventing the union of Spain with France, was concluded in August, 1701; and immediately afterwards Lewis, by treating the Pretender as king of England upon the death of James II., so exasperated the English nation, that the war which ensued, known by the name of the Succession War, became as popular as William himself could desire.

That able and persevering antagonist of Lewis XIV. did not live to conduct the confederation he had organized. William died in March, 1702, and his successor, Queen Anne, was one of the weakest sovereigns that ever sat upon a throne. But the spirit of the country was now roused, and the queen was compelled to follow up her predecessor's plans. Fortunately for the success of those plans, and for the independence of Europe, her private attachment to the duchess of Marlborough, induced her to place the administration of public affairs and the command of the army in the hands of two truly great men, Marlborough and Godolphin, who raised England once more to the proud eminence she had occupied in the days of

Foreign States
from A.D.
1700—1702.

her Henries and her Edwards; the laurels she gathered upon the present occasion being, however, purer and brighter than of yore, inasmuch as they were unsullied by ambition or injustice.

Whilst the Grand Alliance was preparing its means for severing France and Spain, Philip was in quiet possession of his new dominions, and, notwithstanding the constant irritation excited by French interference, had, in the eyes of his subjects, become, as Maceira had predicted, a national king. In Naples only symptoms of dissatisfaction appeared; and thither,

Italy
from A.D.
1700—1702.

by Lewis's directions, he determined to go. The only point of difficulty was Philip's reluctance to part from his young and beloved wife. He pleaded hard for leave to take her with him; but Lewis, who appears to have been jealous of Maria Louisa's influence over her consort, insisted upon his leaving her behind; and perhaps no stronger instance can be adduced of the despotic authority exercised by the French king over the grandson whom he affected to treat as an independent sovereign, than the obedience paid by Philip to this mandate. He sailed alone; and to pacify the young queen, who was not yet fifteen years of age, the government of Spain was committed to her, with the assistance however of a council of regency.

At Naples an extensive conspiracy in favour of the Archduke Charles had been discovered, and suppressed, by the viceroy. But the disposition of the Neapolitans was still unfavourable to the Bourbon prince. Philip was coldly received, and his endeavours to ingratiate himself failed with both the nobles and the people. Every day brought fresh rumours of plots, and even his Neapolitan suzerain, the pope, overawed by the presence of the Austrian troops in Lombardy, dared not, however favourably inclined to Lewis's grandson, to grant him the formal investiture of the kingdom. Disgusted with Naples, the young king eagerly quitted it in June, and hastened to Lombardy, where he assumed the nominal command of the French, Spanish, and Italian troops, against the Austrians.

The duke of Vendôme, who had recently been placed at the head of that army, had, by his skill and judgment, checked the victorious career of Prince Eugene. Under his guidance, and aided

by superiority of numbers, Philip gained the advantage over the Imperialists at Vittoria and Luzzara. In these engagements the young king displayed great personal courage; when, satisfied with having established his character in this important point, and impatient to rejoin his queen, he left the army in order to return to Spain.

During this visit to Italy, Philip first showed symptoms of the hypochondriac malady, to which he was ever afterwards subject. Upon the present occasion the attack was short and slight, yielding to the excitement of active hostilities.

Meanwhile, Maria Louisa's regency had been anything but tranquil. Her court was disturbed by the hourly increasing jealousy of French interference, which at length provoked Don Juan Tomas Henriquez de Cabrera, admiral of Castile and one of the principal grantees, to withdraw to Lisbon. He availed himself of his appointment as Ambassador to France to quit Madrid; but from Lisbon he returned the sums advanced him for his embassy, notwithstanding the confiscation of his own property. He was kindly received by Pedro, who, influenced partly by the old connexion between Portugal and England, and partly by a proposal for his daughter's marriage with the archduke, had joined the Grand Alliance. And, to increase the young queen's embarrassments, an English armament had first alarmed and plundered Cadiz, and then captured and destroyed the greater part of the plate fleet, as the fleet that brought American treasure was usually named, in Vigo bay. But the resolute temper and high spirit of Maria Louisa successfully struggled with her difficulties. She checked the growth of alarm and discontent, conciliated the affections of the nation, and prevailed upon the nobles to give effective assistance against the invaders.

The return of Philip by no means lessened the evils arising from Lewis's desire to be as thoroughly king of Spain as of France, and to make his grandson nothing more than his viceroy. This he did, to a degree that might have satisfied the most unbridled lust of universal dominion, by means of the Princess Orsini; as may be judged from the single fact of his obtaining, through her instrumentality, a written promise from Philip to cede the Netherlands to him, in compensation for the expense of

Spain
from A.D.
1701—1704.

a war, undertaken, as Lewis alleged, solely to maintain Philip on the Spanish throne. But for Lewis such influence was not enough. He seems to have thought Princess Orsini not sufficiently devoted to the interests of France, or rather to his own, in contradistinction to those of Spain; and therefore commissioned his ambassadors to interfere with and thwart her proceedings. He now insisted that these representatives of his own person should be admitted to the king's most confidential and private conferences with his different ministers:—a privilege peculiarly offensive to Spanish dignity,—and upon the malicious misrepresentations of one ambassador, the Cardinal d'Estrées, he ordered the Princess Orsini back to France. This recall was only suspended upon the urgent remonstrances of the young queen, who seems to have been almost driven to despair at the idea of being robbed of her friend and adviser. Even Portocarrero, to whom Philip mainly owed his crown, was disgusted and driven from the ministry by French influence. He retired to Toledo, whither he had contributed to banish the queen-dowager.

In the year 1704, the contest for the crown of Spain really and vigorously began. The Archduke Charles, accompanied by eight thousand English, and six thousand Dutch troops, was conveyed to the Peninsula in an English fleet, under the command of Sir George Rooke. He landed at Lisbon; and although the *infanta*, his betrothed bride, had recently died, he was received with cordial good will by Pedro, and acknowledged as Charles III. of Spain. As such the admiral of Castile did homage to him; and Charles prepared to invade the kingdom he claimed at the head of an army composed of English, Dutch, and Portuguese. He thus presented himself to the Spaniards, not as a rival candidate of their own royal family, but as a foreigner, whom a confederation of their natural enemies, mostly heretics, were striving to force upon them. Nor was the ill effect of this appearance at all compensated by the efficiency of the allied troops he led. Of English and Dutch he had few. The Portuguese were enervated by a long peace; their fortresses were dilapidated, their soldiers undisciplined, their officers ignorant; and their generals, as self-sufficient as they were incapable, quarrelled

with the generals of the allies. To crown all, the king of Portugal had fallen into a state of hypochondria, which paralyzed every department of government.

On the other hand, Louis XIV. sent to his grandson's assistance a body of French troops, Spain
A.D. 1704. under the command of Marshal Berwick, a natural son of James II., by a sister of Marlborough's, and a general of distinguished ability. The Spaniards were roused by the menace of Portuguese invasion. Troops were assembled upon different points of the frontier. Berwick and his French corps joined the principal army near Alcántara, and Philip placed himself at their head, under the marshal's guidance. This display of intrepidity yet further gained the hearts of the Spaniards to their Bourbon king. The bulk of the nation remained faithful to him, and Charles's hopes were disappointed.

After landing the archduke, Rooke proceeded to the eastern coast of Spain, encouraged by the representations of the prince of Hesse Darmstadt (who had been viceroy of Catalonia under Charles II.) that the Catalans were all hostile to Philip, and that Barcelona waited only the arrival of the allies to declare for Charles. But Barcelona had expected more powerful support than her former viceroy with two or three thousand men; and the energetic measures of the then viceroy, Don Francisco Velasco, completely prevented any ebullition of popular feeling. The prince and the English admiral quitted the coast of Catalonia in mortification.

Upon their return, however, their disappointment was materially compensated. Amongst other consequences and proofs of the complete debility and imbecility into which Spain had sunk, her fortresses were neglected; and even Gibraltar, trusting, perhaps, to its natural strength, was left almost destitute of artillery, ammunition, and even of a garrison. Sir George Rooke and the prince of Hesse Darmstadt resolved to attempt its capture. The troops were landed, lines were opened, and batteries raised; whilst a body of sailors, scaling a part of the rock supposed to be inaccessible, struck terror to the hearts of the little garrison. After a two days' siege, the governor, Don Diego de Salmas, capitulated. Possession was taken in Queen Anne's name; the prince of Hesse Darmstadt was stationed there with a garrison of two thousand men; and

Gibraltar has remained ever since in the hands of the English.

But the most memorable military transactions of the year passed in Germany; and, indeed, although the succession war was essentially a Spanish war, the great battles to which it owes its principal celebrity, and by which the issue was, or ought to have been, decided, were fought in Germany and the Netherlands. At the very breaking out of hostilities in 1703, the duke of Marlborough was sent to the Low Countries, where, at the head of sixty thousand men of British and allied troops, he checked the enterprising genius of the French commanders, and wrested from them several towns. The campaign of 1703 was equally favourable, but not very important.

In the year 1704 the operations in the Netherlands were again indecisive; the main design of the French being, in conjunction with the elector of Bavaria, to surprise and overpower the emperor in his hereditary dominions. One French army had joined the elector; another was on its march; and Leopold, who was at the same time harassed by rebellion in Hungary, seemed upon the brink of inevitable destruction. But the duke of Marlborough hastened with thirty-six thousand men, drawn from the Netherlands and the banks of the Rhine, to the relief of Austria. He deceived the enemy by his masterly *manœuvres*, and effected his junction upon the banks of the Danube with the margrave of Baden, who commanded the troops of those states of the empire that adhered to their emperor. Prince Eugene, who, with fifteen thousand men, was observing the movements of a French army of thirty thousand, succeeded in joining Marlborough and the margrave, at the very time that the troops he had been watching joined the elector.

Marlborough and Eugene now determined to engage; and on the 13th of August they attacked the Gallo-Bavarian army, which was strongly posted near Blenheim. They overcame all the difficulties of the ground, and, after a hard-fought battle, gained the glorious and decisive victory of Blenheim. The French lost forty thousand men, including prisoners; the remainder fled towards the Rhine, and the emperor was completely relieved from the ruin so lately impending over him.

In the year 1705, Fortune began to smile upon Charles in Spain also. The first military event of the campaign was an unsuccessful siege of Gibraltar by the French and Spanish troops under Marshal Tessé, which was raised before the end of April. The marshal then hastened to take the command upon the Portuguese frontier, whence Berwick had been recalled, as one fruit of the intrigues carried on by the French ambassadors against Princess Orsini. Despite the young queen's entreaties, that extraordinary woman had been banished from Spain by Lewis's orders in 1704. But upon reaching Versailles, she was, as an especial favour to Maria Louisa, admitted to the King's presence, when she thoroughly justified her conduct, even according to his views. Her triumphant re-installation in her post of *Camarera Mayor*, is said to have been materially hastened by Mad. de Maintenon's jealousy of the pleasure Lewis evidently took in her society and conversation.

The exchange of Berwick for Tessé was unfortunate for the Bourbon cause; whilst, on the other side, the substitution of Lord Galway and the Marquess das Minas to the discordant commanders of the preceding year, infused vigour into the allied troops, to which the political alterations that occurred at Lisbon contributed.

The king now laboured under a paralytic seizure, which rendered him totally incompetent to the duties of royalty. His queen was dead, and his eldest son still under age. The regency was, therefore, committed to his sister Catherine, queen-dowager of England, who had returned to Portugal upon Charles II.'s death. Catherine displayed in her high office a vigour of intellect for which she had not had credit at the English court, and exerted herself zealously to support her former subjects, and to forward the object of the Grand Alliance. Galway and das Minas invaded Spain; and Tessé, who here, as before Gibraltar, complained bitterly of the inefficient and destitute condition in which his army was left by the court of Madrid, could not prevent the fall of several fortified towns. He thought himself fortunate in preserving the most important, Badajoz and Alcántara.

Charles was no longer with this army, or on the Portuguese side of the Peninsula. A small army, destined to act on the eastern

The Netherlands
and Germany
from A.D.
1702—1704.

Spain
A.D. 1705.

Portugal
A.D. 1705.

Spain
A.D. 1705.

coast of Spain, had been despatched from England. The fleet conveying it touched at Lisbon in June; and Charles gladly embarked, to accompany the troops and their commander, the bold, able, but eccentric earl of Peterborough, and renew in person the attempt that had failed the year before. As they passed Gibraltar, the prince of Hesse Darmstadt joined the expedition.

The first place they made was Altea Bay, in the kingdom of Valencia. In this district the people were favourably disposed to the archduke. The small town of Denia surrendered without resistance; and here, first in Spain, the archduke was proclaimed as Charles III. It appears to have been Peterborough's plan to gain possession of the ill-defended capital, Valencia itself, and then march direct upon Madrid, by a road on which, no attack being anticipated, no preparations were made for resistance. But the earnest representations of the prince of Hesse Darmstadt as to the superior strength and importance of Catalonia, and the good disposition of the Catalans, prevailed with Charles. Peterborough's promising plan was abandoned, and leaving a small garrison in Denia, they sailed for Barcelona.

Barcelona is a well-fortified town; but its principal defence is the adjoining fort of Montjuich, situated upon a lofty hill, and esteemed nearly impregnable. The garrison outnumbered the besieging army; and although the citizens were inclined to favour Charles, the vigour of the viceroy, together with the recollection of his triumph of the preceding year, prevented any movement on their part. The Catalans were now generally hostile to the French and the Bourbon king; but they waited for some signal success of the allies, or their possession of some strong place, ere they would declare openly for Charles. They joined the army only in small bands; and being unused to the restraints of discipline, these were disposed to act only as *somatenes* or *miquelets*—names for irregular troops, derived from the *somaten*, or alarm bell, that summoned the inhabitants to arms, and from the name of a favourite leader. Their accession afforded, therefore, but trifling encouragement to the allied commanders.

Under these circumstances, the camp was a scene of disorder. The prince of Hesse still urged the immense importance of the siege, and by him Charles

was much influenced. The admiral and officers of the fleet adopted the same opinion. The Dutch general, on the other hand, positively refused to expose his troops to the useless and certain destruction attending an attempt so manifestly hopeless. The council of war judged it impossible to take Barcelona, without more forces, and the little army was discouraged. A daring stratagem of Peterborough's, the success of which depended upon his deceiving his friends as well as his enemies, solved all these difficulties. He called a new council of war, and agreed, that should the siege still be deemed impracticable, upon an appointed day it should be abandoned, and the armament should sail for Naples. Upon the day he had named, notwithstanding the dissatisfaction of Charles, the violent complaints of the prince of Hesse Darmstadt, and the disapprobation of the naval officers, he sent his artillery on board, and made every preparation for re-embarking the troops.

The garrison of Barcelona beheld these operations from their walls, and, lulled into perfect security, celebrated with public rejoicings the supposed retreat of their enemies. But at the very moment of their imaginary triumph, Lord Peterborough, who had made his dispositions according to both his professions and his real design, put himself at the head of twelve hundred foot and two hundred horse, and calling at the quarters of the prince of Hesse Darmstadt, whose bitter censures had intimated some doubts of the valour of a general so ready to retreat, invited his highness to bear him company upon an enterprise which might induce him to form a better opinion of British courage. The prince readily joined the small band, and Peterborough led them up the hill upon which Montjuich is situated. They surprised the garrison, drove them from their outer works, and entered the inner works pell-mell with them; when the earl, bringing up other bodies of troops whom he had stationed conveniently for that purpose, was quickly master of the fortress. The prince of Hesse Darmstadt fell in the assault.

This brilliant achievement decided the fate of Barcelona. The town was commanded by Montjuich. The spirits of the besiegers were prodigiously elated, and inconceivable exertions were made. The Catalans were filled with confidence, and fourteen thousand immediately joined Charles's standard. The

garrison of Barcelona was proportionably depressed. The disaffected inhabitants clamoured for a surrender; and Velasco, upon a practicable breach being made, capitulated. But his government had been somewhat arbitrary: the people rose against him; the *miquelets*, making their way into the town, began to plunder the adherents of Philip; and Lord Peterborough was obliged to force an entrance into the place before the time specified, in order to rescue the viceroy from the revenge of those who had been subject to his rule, and to repress the disorders of his own friends, the *miquelets*. In this he presently succeeded, and had besides the high satisfaction of snatching the young and beautiful duchess of Popoli, whose husband had been next in command to Velasco, from the hands of a licentious soldiery.

On the 23d of October Charles entered Barcelona, was received with the greatest demonstrations of joy, and proclaimed king of Spain. He restored the old Catalan constitution, and Catalonia almost unanimously declared in his favour. Philip's Spanish troops deserted to him in great numbers. The garrisons that remained faithful to Philip were reduced, and Rosas alone, in the whole province, resisted the authority of Charles.

Catalonia thus secured, Lord Peterborough returned to Valencia. There too the country rose in favour of King Charles. Most of the towns did the same; and the capital enthusiastically welcomed the English leader. Those places, that professed adherence to Philip, Peterborough terrified into submission by threats, which, had they made the slightest attempt at resistance, he had no means of executing. He defeated bodies of men three or four-fold his own numbers, summoned and took well-fortified cities with a handful of horse, deceived his foes in a thousand ways, sometimes of questionable honour, and relieved his deficiencies of artillery and ammunition by intercepting supplies destined for the enemy. Murcia was as easily overrun as Valencia, and the whole east of Spain acknowledged the authority of King Charles, Philip retaining only Rosas, Alicante, and Pefi-sola. The same Carlist spirit spread into Aragon; and it was with great difficulty that the archbishop of Saragossa could preserve the tranquillity of that capital, or prevent the inhabitants from rising against the French troops sent to form their garrison.

In the Netherlands nothing of moment occurred this year, the duke of Marlborough's plans being thwarted by the coldness, if not the jealousy, of the marriage of Baden and the Dutch generals. In Italy Vendôme decidedly gained the advantage over Prince Eugene; and the duke of Savoy, who had deserted the cause of his sons-in-law to join the Grand Alliance, was stripped of far the larger part of his dominions. Great apprehensions were entertained that the death of the Emperor Leopold, which took place in May, would materially weaken the allies; but it produced no change in the politics of Austria. His eldest son, Joseph I., succeeded him; and if fraternal affection was a less powerful incentive to exertion than Leopold's attachment to his favourite son had been, the new emperor was too sensible of the importance to himself, and indeed to every state in Europe, of repressing the all-grasping ambition of Lewis, not to concur strenuously in the schemes of the allies.

The Netherlands,
Italy, and Ger-
many, A.D. 1705.

CHAPTER II.

Barcelona besieged by Philip—Relieved at the last extremity by an English fleet—Philip and his Queen quit Madrid, which the British and Portuguese occupy—Charles gains possession of Aragon—Peterborough recalled—Berwick reinstates Philip in Madrid—Battle of Ramillies—Marlborough's conquests in the Netherlands—Prince Eugene's success in Italy—Death of Pedro II.—John V. marries an Archduchess—Imperialists occupy Naples—Berwick gains the battle of Almanza—Catalonia alone faithful to Charles—Philip abrogates the constitutions of Aragon and Valencia—Dissensions with the Duke of Orleans—Battle of Oudenarde—English occupy Sardinia—Negotiations for peace—Allies dissatisfied with Lewis's offers—Negotiations broken off—Philip dismisses his French ministers—Battle of Malplaquet—The Netherlands wholly occupied by the Allies—Congress at Gertruydenberg—Duplicity of Lewis—Negotiations broken off—Marlborough and Eugene invade France—Charles twice defeats Philip—Enters Madrid in triumph—

*French invade Catalonia—Vendôme and Philip surprise Stanhope at Brihuega—Defeat him and Stahrenberg separately—Charles again confined to Catalonia—Whig ministry overthrown in England.**

THE spring of 1706 opened with Philip's endeavour to recover Catalonia. He summoned Tessé, with 20,000 men from the western frontier, to form the siege of Barcelona. Lewis sent Marshal Noailles with considerable reinforcements to assist in it; a French squadron, under one of his natural sons, the Count of Toulouse, blockaded the harbour by sea, and Philip placed himself at the head of the army. Charles, elated by his recent success, had not anticipated the attack. His troops were dispersed to occupy the various fortified towns in his possession, only 3,000 remaining to garrison a place which, from the extent of its works, required 15,000; the fortifications of Montjuich had not been repaired since its capture, and Peterborough was in Valencia. Hoping to profit by these circumstances, Philip prevailed upon the cautious and unwilling Tessé to advance at once upon Barcelona, leaving behind them all other Carlist towns and fortresses; and the immediate reduction of this seat of his competitor's power, with the seizure of that competitor himself, were confidently expected.

But the spirit and determination of their chosen king inspired the inhabitants as well as the garrison of Barcelona with correspondent energy. All the citizens, including the clergy, took arms to assist the troops, and the women and children laboured at repairing the fortifications. Lord Peterborough, upon the first tidings of the siege, collected what troops he could, hurried back to Catalonia, and stationed himself, with a little band of 2000 foot and 600 horse, in the mountains near Barcelona, whence he incessantly harassed the besiegers, whilst, by daily shifting his position, he baffled all their endeavours to repay him in kind. Count Cifuentes, with the

miquelets, similarly annoyed the besieging army on the opposite side of the town. General Donegal resolutely defended Montjuich, and, notwithstanding its dilapidated state, held out for twenty-three days. At the end of that time, he himself being killed, the garrison evacuated the fortress and retired into the town.

The whole force of the besiegers was now turned upon the place itself. A practicable breach was made by the batteries, and Barcelona and Charles had no hopes left, when an English fleet appeared in sight with supplies and reinforcements. The Count of Toulouse immediately withdrew, Admiral Leake entered the harbour of Barcelona, and Philip, in despair, raised the siege, abandoning his artillery and hospitals.

The French and Spanish army were dreadfully harassed in their retreat by Peterborough and Cifuentes, and fairly driven across the Pyrenees. When once upon French ground, Philip was strongly urged to abandon Spain altogether. But danger and difficulty aroused that habitually indolent and now hypochondriac prince to exertion. He professed his resolution never to give up the contest, and hastened back to Madrid, where fresh disasters, the result of the former, awaited him.

The withdrawing of Tessé and his 20,000 men from the western frontier, had so weakened the army on that side, that Berwick, who had been replaced in command there, was unable to resist Galway and das Minas. Those generals reduced Alcántara, Ciudad Rodrigo, and Salamanca, and in the month of June advanced rapidly towards Madrid. Charles meanwhile had entered Aragon, where he was joyfully received. On all sides persons who had till then been deemed adherents of Philip, deserted to the conqueror. The Balearic Isles submitted upon the appearance of the British fleet.

Upon this emergency, the personal attachment felt for the Bourbon king, and yet more for his queen, seems to have prevailed at Madrid and indeed throughout Castile, over the detestation of French interference and dictation; and those *grandees* who had hitherto distracted the court with their factions spirit, were now unanimous in their devotion to Philip and Maria Louisa. The queen, with the ministers, the tribunals of justice, and other organs of government, removed to Burgos; and

* The authorities principally consulted for this chapter, are Yriarte, Da Costa, La Clède, Cox, Lord Mahon, Carleton, Voltaire, Berwick, Marmont de Noailles, Universal Modern History, History of Great Britain, from the Revolution 1688, to the Conclusion of the Treaty of Amiens, 1802, by W. Belsam, 12 vols. 8vo. London, 1805; a work the authority of which is, however, somewhat impaired by its coloring of strong party feelings.

Philip, accompanied by all those nobles who did not attend the queen, joined Marshal Berwick's army.

Philip and Maria Louisa had quitted Madrid but a day or two ere Lord Galway and the marquess das Minas took possession of the capital. Here they were to have been joined by Charles; and, had he hastened thither, he might perhaps have rivalled Philip in the affection of the inhabitants, and the contest have been at once decided. But the bold and enterprising Peterborough had again left him, returning to Valencia to make preparations for conducting the monarch he supported by that road to Madrid; and Charles was persuaded by those about him to complete the subjugation of Aragon, and take possession of Saragossa in his way. It has been suggested that Galway, jealous of Peterborough's brilliant reputation, urged the young king to this course in order to foil a rival's plans. This is unlikely; Austrians are proverbially slow; and the more probable conjecture seems to be that Charles, who saw no urgent reason for hurry, fancied he was making sure work by his deliberate progress, and wished to receive some complimentary invitation from his capital ere he entered it.

If this were Charles's expectation, he was disappointed. The Castilians looked with disgust upon a conquering army of foreigners, great part of whom were heretics, (a feeling which only the presence and conciliating address of the descendant of their kings could have changed,) and Toledo alone of the considerable towns declared for Charles. Even this demonstration of anti-Gallican sentiments was produced by the influence and exertions of the queen dowager and Cardinal Portocarrero, who had now united with his former antagonist to promote the cause he had been the chief instrument to defeat.

The forces under the duke of Berwick were at this moment so reduced, that had the allies united, and vigorously assailed him, he must needs have been expelled from Spain. But Galway and das Minas loitered at Madrid, where they suffered their troops to indulge in excesses that, besides further disgusting the inhabitants, nearly unfitted the soldiers for subsequent exertion in the field. Whilst they were thus losing the favourable moment, the army that had retreated from Barcelona into France, recrossed the Pyrenees, and joined Berwick, who immediately advanced to-

wards Madrid. This movement, and the difficulty of maintaining any discipline amidst the licentiousness of a great town, determined the allied generals to leave the capital, and march to Gualdalaxara, where they were met by Charles, who had now obtained entire possession of Aragon, and by Peterborough, who had been engaged in opening the road from Valencia to Madrid, by the reduction of intervening fortified towns.

But Berwick was now too strong for the allies; and, to complete the overthrow of Charles's high-raised hopes, the supreme command of all the English troops in Spain was given to Galway. Peterborough, whose temper rendered it difficult to act with him, had, upon a quarrel with das Minas, offered to undertake a mission to Savoy. He was taken at his word by Charles, and soon afterwards recalled to England. Galway was no match for Berwick. It may, by the way, be worth observing, that Galway, the English general, was a Frenchman, (his name was Roubigné; he came to England a protestant fugitive from Lewis's bigoted persecution, and was much esteemed, and promoted to his actual rank, by King William,) whilst Berwick, the French commander, was, as has been already stated, an Englishman. In a masterly campaign, Berwick recovered nearly all Castile, and Philip and Maria Louisa returned to Madrid, where they were received with rapturous delight.

The triumphs achieved this year by the generals of the The Netherlands, A.D. 1706. Grand Alliance were as brilliant in other quarters as in Spain, and not, as there, followed by reverses. In the Netherlands the French were encouraged by the small portion of advantage, which the jealousies and rivalries that thwarted Marlborough's plans had afforded them the preceding year, to resume the offensive; and Marshal Villeroi, who had the chief command, was ordered to risk a general engagement. The result of this rash measure was that Marlborough gained the splendid and decisive battle of Ramillies, in which the French lost their whole train of artillery, and 18 or 20,000 men, killed, wounded, and prisoners, whilst the remainder fled in complete disorder. Louvain and Brussels immediately opened their gates to the conquerors; Meehlin, Antwerp, Ghent, Bruges, and Oudenarde, surrendered upon being summoned; Ostend; Menin, Dendermond, and Ath, captu-

lated after a few days' resistance, and almost the whole of the Netherlands was in possession of the allies.

Another consequence of the battle of Ramillies was, that Lewis, convinced of the incompetence of his favourite Villeroy, recalled Vendôme from Italy, to take his place. Vendôme found the troops too much reduced, and everything too much disorganised for even his talents to offer any effectual resistance to Marlborough. But his absence from Italy removed the only obstacle in Eugene's path. The French were

engaged in the siege of Turin, almost the last remnant of the duke of Savoy's dominions, when they were attacked and completely defeated by Eugene. They lost their artillery and baggage, and 8,000 men, killed, wounded, and prisoners. Turin was relieved, the French were driven beyond the Alps, the duke of Savoy was reinstated in his duchy, and the Milanese was recovered. The Emperor detached some small districts from the Milanese, which he allotted to the duke of Savoy, in recompense of his sufferings in the cause of the allies, conferred upon his brother Charles the duchy of Milan as an imperial fief, and, in his name, appointed Prince Eugene governor.

In December of this year died Pedro 11. of Portugal, and was succeeded by his eldest son, John V., a high-spirited, though not highly-endowed, youth, who had barely completed his eighteenth year. What alteration this made in Portuguese politics was favourable to the allies, inasmuch as John's marriage with the Archduchess Marianne, sister to Joseph and Charles, strengthened his attachment to their interests.

Lewis XIV. now endeavoured to remedy, by intrigue and negotiation, the failure of his arms. He opened secret communications with the different allies, and by proposals for dividing the Spanish monarchy between the rival kings, contrived to weaken, if not to destroy, the unanimity upon which the power of the Grand Alliance depended. The emperor concluded an armistice for the north of Italy, of which he took advantage to gain possession of the kingdom of Naples, whence the Spanish and French troops had been withdrawn; the former to reinforce Philip's armies in Spain, and the latter in consequence of the detestation expressed towards them by the natives. The whole kingdom submitted joyfully to the Imperialists.

But this acquisition was more than balanced by the opportunity which the armistice afforded Lewis of sending a second army into Spain, under the command of his nephew, the duke of Orleans. The energy and address of the marquess de los Balbases, viceroy of Sicily, prevented that island, where the Bourbons were equally hated, from following the example of Naples.

The year 1707 was unfavourably to the allies. In the Netherlands the judgment with which Vendôme conducted his defensive operations temporarily obstructed the victorious progress of Marlborough; but nothing material occurred. An attack upon Toulon, destined to cripple the French marine, failed entirely.

In Spain the incompetency of Galway to contend against Berwick blighted Charles's lately fair prospects. Galway and das Minas were anxious to crush Berwick ere he should be reinforced; and he skilfully availed himself of that laudable desire, to draw them into attacking him in an advantageous position that he had taken on the *vega*, or plain of Almanza. His numbers were larger than the allied generals were aware of, and their troops were exhausted by long and hasty marches. The battle, which was fought on the 25th of April, was severely contested, but ended in the complete defeat of the allies. Both Galway and das Minas were severely wounded and carried off the field, and the loss of their generals finally, perhaps, decided the fortune of the day against the Anglo-Portuguese, who lost seventeen thousand men, killed, wounded, and prisoners, with all their artillery, baggage, and one hundred and twenty standards. The consequences of this great victory were the recovery of all the Portuguese conquests by the duke of Berwick, whilst the duke of Orleans, who arrived the day after the battle, almost as expeditiously reduced Murcia, Valencia, and Aragon. The kingdom of Charles was now again limited to the province of Catalonia, where he still held his court at Barcelona, and was joined by his recently-spoused bride, a princess of Brunswick Wolfenbüttel.

Philip expressed his gratitude to the duke of Berwick by creating him a grandee of Spain and duke of Liria and Xerica. The exultation of the court was soon afterwards heightened, and the loyalty of the Spaniards to their Bourbon king confirmed, by the birth of an

Italy,
A.D. 1706.

Portugal,
A.D. 1706.

Spain,
A.D. 1707, 1708.

heir, who was named Lewis, and immediately created prince of Asturias. When the duke of Orleans had completed the subjugation of Aragon and Valencia, the revolt of those provinces was punished by the final and entire abrogation of their already impaired separate constitutions, and of the few popular or aristocratical privileges they had preserved from the despotism of former Philips. With the exception of the Biscayan provinces, in Catalonia only now lingered any remains of the once excessive Spanish liberty.

The duke of Orleans had flattered himself with following up the successes of 1707, by the conquest of Catalonia, and the expulsion of Charles, in 1708. The financial difficulties of Spain,—augmented by Sir Charles Wager's intercepting the plate fleet,—frustrated these brilliant plans, and involved the duke in dissensions with the court of Madrid, which were increased by his character, and in the end produced considerable inconveniences. The duke of Orleans was a man of extraordinary capacity, but of still greater profligacy, and of a disposition rather to boast of his immorality than to conceal it. His vices were peculiarly revolting to the pure and pious Philip V.; and Princess Orsini, whose virtue is believed not to have been quite as scrupulous as the king's, was offended by the levity of his manners and the recklessness with which he rendered her the butt of his wit. Cahals were set on foot against the duke at the French court; Philip wrote to his grandfather, and the princess to Madame de Maintenon, charging him with aspiring to the crown of Spain.

In consequence of these intrigues, the duke of Orleans was recalled to France, where Lewis questioned him closely, and is said to have been convinced that his nephew aimed only at insuring means to advance his own claim in case of Philip's complete failure. It is further said that the French king, depressed by his reverses, and foreseeing a possible necessity of abandoning his grandson, who, if so abandoned, must needs fall, gave the duke of Orleans leave secretly to form such a party as might give a chance of another Bourbon's succeeding to the Bourbon who might be dethroned; an underhand line of policy which produced increasing ill will between the royal cousins, involved the old monarch in some embarrassments, resulting from the king of Spain's suspicions, and in the end embroiled France and Spain.

Of the generals who had lost the battle of Almanza, das Minas was recalled, and Galway was superseded by Stanhope, who bore the additional character of envoy to King Charles; and the emperor sent Count Stahrenberg, esteemed inferior only to Prince Eugene in the Austrian service, to act as his brother's general. But, from want of troops, Stanhope and Stahrenberg were unable to profit by the difficulties and squabbles which led to the duke of Orleans quitting his army. In Spain, the campaign proved insignificant.

In the Netherlands, Marlborough and Eugene engaged Ven- The Netherlands,
A.D. 1709.
dômeat Oudenarde, and the able French commander's prudent plans being counteracted by the duke of Burgundy's presumption, they gained a complete victory. They followed up their advantage by the siege and capture of Lille, the capital of French Flanders. The other military events of the year were, the conquest of Sardinia for Charles by an English expedition, and the fall of Oran, in Africa, of which the Moors, after so many unsuccessful attempts, now made themselves masters.

The year 1709 opened with new and more serious negotiations Foreign States,
A.D. 1709. for peace. Lewis, humbled by reverses, conscious of the exhaustion of his resources, and satisfied, notwithstanding the attachment of the Castilians to Philip, of that prince's inability to preserve his crown without French support, offered great sacrifices, including, at last, the acknowledgment of Charles III., and the abandonment of Philip. But the allies, exulting in their success, and, with good reason, both resentful of the interrupted course of unjust aggrandizement pursued by Lewis from the moment of his assuming the government of France, and suspicious of his future intentions, required yet more. They not only sought to reduce France within the limits assigned her by the treaty of Westphalia, but they insisted upon the French king's compelling his grandson to surrender the Spanish monarchy to Charles. Whether the allies were or were not justified in exacting sacrifices so humiliating as well as painful, is a question that has excited much controversy. But although Lewis's notorious ambition and bad faith might be a sufficient ground for considering his mere engagement to withhold all assistance from Philip as illusory, it is indisputable that the allies

were injudicious in attempting to impose such terms, unless they had been certain of their own power to enforce submission. Lewis positively rejected the demand of compelling his grandson to abdicate, declared that if he must make war, it should be against his enemies, not his children, and appealing to his people against the inhumanity of the requisition, called forth their sympathy, and roused the drooping and exhausted nation to extraordinary exertions.

Philip, with similar effect, made a similar appeal to his subjects, announcing his determination rather to perish in the field than resign his crown. Further to confirm and inflame Spanish loyalty, Princess Orsini, through the agency of the queen, persuaded him, in appearance at least, to emancipate himself from French trammels. The French ambassador was excluded from the king's confidential interviews with his ministers; Orri was sent back to France; an administration was formed of Spaniards of high rank, wholly unconnected with the French faction, and Cardinal Portocarrero, returning to his former allegiance, took a prominent share in its deliberations. Princess Orsini herself tendered her resignation, as part of the new system; but the queen could not part with her friend and favourite, and she remained Lewis's only influential agent at Madrid. The nation was gratified, but its financial resources suffered from Orri's dismissal.

The revived energies of France and Spain were not productive of the success that might have been expected. The military operations of the year began in the Netherlands, with the

The Netherlands,
A.D. 1709.

siege and capture of Tournay by the allies, after an obstinate defence. They next laid siege to Mons; and Marshal Villars, one of the best French generals, advancing with a powerful army to attempt its relief, Marlborough and Eugene resolved upon attacking him in his camp. This produced the battle of Malplaquet, the hardest fought and most sanguinary that took place during the war, thirty thousand having, according to computation, fallen in it on either side. Marshal Villars was wounded, and compelled to quit the field, when his place was ably supplied by Marshal Boufflers. The victory was decidedly gained by Marlborough and Eugene; the French retreated, Mons fell, and in all the Low Countries only four towns

now remained in the hands of the French. His losses at Malplaquet obliged Lewis to recall the greater part of his troops from Spain for the protection of his own territories. But Stanhope and Stahrenberg were still too weak to profit by the opportunity. The war languished in the Peninsula, and the capture of a town or two were the only events of the campaign.

The year 1710 was more fruitful. It began, like the former, with a renewal of negotiations. A congress of plenipotentiaries from all the belligerents assembled at Gertruydenberg, and continued their labours during many months. The issue was the same as that of the less formal preceding conferences. The allies persisted in their former demands of what they deemed the only security against Lewis's underhand support of Philip, offering, however, to detach Sicily and Sardinia from the Spanish monarchy, as an establishment for the dethroned king. Lewis still positively refused to turn his arms against his grandson, but tendered every pledge, every co-operation short of actual hostilities, whilst he was at the same time giving Philip the most positive secret assurances of his determination never to desert him.

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Lewis, notwithstanding his apparently desperate situation, was encouraged by sundry political occurrences to resist those certainly severe terms. In the north of Europe a war was raging between Czar Peter of Russia and Charles XII. of Sweden, which, involving one by one the different German states in its vortex, threatened to divide, at least, the emperor's forces and attention. But the change upon which the French monarch chiefly relied had taken place in England. The imperious temper of the duchess of Marlborough had gradually cooled the queen's affection for her favourite; and thus enabled the intrigues of a bedchamber-woman to work the overthrow of the influence so long held by the powerful intellect of the duchess over the feeble mind of Anne. Alienation from the duchess was speedily followed by alienation from the men and measures she supported; and the tory party of Harley and St. John, whose instrument the triumphant bedchamber-woman, Mrs. Masham, was, gained the queen's ear. The entire substitution of a tory for that whig ministry, which boasted some of the ablest men England has ever known, was not

indeed effected until the autumn of this year. But symptoms of the approaching change appeared in the spring, and it was evidently in progress when Lewis, assured that its consequences must be favourable to him, recalled his plenipotentiaries from Gertruydenberg in July, and thus virtually dissolved the congress.

Whilst the deliberations were yet proceeding, the successes of Marlborough and Eugene in the Netherlands might almost have counteracted these political hopes. They had early taken the field, and notwithstanding the judicious defensive measures of the able and cautious Villars, had broken in upon the French frontiers by the capture of four strongly fortified towns, Douay, Béthune, Aire, and St. Venant. But it was in Spain that this campaign proved most eventful. It there opened as inauspiciously for the Bourbon cause as in France, although it terminated more prosperously.

Philip early took the field; but he had now no skilful general to direct his inexperience, and knew not how to derive any benefit from his numerical superiority. But in July, Lewis was obliged, by the invasion of the allies, to recall some of his troops for the defence of France: Charles's generals obtained reinforcements, and a battle ensued near the little town of Almenara, in which Stanhope and Stahrenberg defeated Philip's army. His loss did not, indeed, exceed fifteen hundred men, but the rout was so complete that the troops fled from Catalonia into Aragon; and it was not till both parties had reached the neighbourhood of Saragossa that he could again offer any resistance to the conquering advance of his rival. Here, Philip being joined by the marquess of Bay with reinforcements, a second battle was fought, and a second victory gained by Charles (who was present at both actions), which proved far more bloody and decisive than the former. The marquess, with about eight thousand men, made good his retreat towards Soria. Philip fled to Madrid; and, dreading the close pursuit of the victors, again deemed it requisite to forsake his capital. He removed, with his queen and court, to Valladolid.

Charles, after making a triumphant entry into Saragossa, and confirming the attachment of the Aragonese to his cause, by restoring their abrogated liberties, marched upon Madrid, of

which city he took possession on the 28th of September. But the Castilians, and more especially the citizens of Madrid, were now firmly attached to Philip; they hated Charles because supported by the rival States of Aragon, Catalonia, and Valencia; and although the conqueror was acknowledged as king, and the administration he organized obtained the entire direction of public affairs, he was disgusted with the coldness he everywhere found. In fact, he was disappointed of all the advantages which he had anticipated from the occupation of the capital. The Castilians were not to be conciliated; and the Portuguese, whom they had expected to meet there, in order jointly to consummate Philip's ruin, refused to advance, upon the plea that when they occupied Madrid, Charles had disappointed their hopes of a junction, and, by so doing, sacrificed them. In fact they deemed the war over, and wished to secure some frontier towns for themselves.

It has been supposed, that if, instead of hastening to Madrid (which he had been blamed for not doing on a former occasion), Charles, in compliance with Stanhope's advice, had marched northwards, and cut off Philip's communication with France, he would have entirely crushed that prince's dispersed troops and disheartened party. But however idle such conjectural reasonings upon what might have been, founded upon the manifest evils resulting from what was done, it is certain that Philip never appeared so nearly reduced to despair as at this moment. Judging Valladolid too exposed a residence for his family, he removed farther northwards, to Vittoria, and it is believed that, if driven thence, he must have fled to France. But the spirit of his young queen never sank. To Philip himself, extreme danger always acted as a powerful stimulus, that for the moment roused him from the indolence incident to his hypochondriac temperament; and Lewis sent him far more than an army in the person of the Duke of Vendôme; not only the most enterprisingly able commander in the French service, but the general upon whom the Spanish court had most reliance, probably from his having been Philip's first military adviser.

Philip now proclaimed the resolution he had adopted, conjointly with his queen, of never concurring in any compromise that should include renouncing his rights, of struggling to the uttermost

in Spain, and of retiring to his Transatlantic empire, if unable to maintain himself in the mother-country. This declaration roused the sympathies of the Castilians. Prodigious efforts were made, and Vendôme soon found himself at the head of twenty-five thousand men. With this army he took post so as to prevent the junction of the Portuguese with the army in Madrid; and Lewis, encouraged by these demonstrations of firmness and vigour, ordered Noailles to invade Catalonia with an army of twenty thousand men, assembled north of the Pyrenees.

Catalonia was the main seal of Charles's power, and his queen was left at Barcelona. The tidings of this invasion, therefore, at once recalled the Austrian prince and his forces from Madrid. Charles himself hurried forwards with an escort of cavalry; his troops took the same road more leisurely, and, from the difficulty of feeding them in a sterile and exhausted district, in two divisions. Stahrenberg led the way with his Germans; Stanhope followed at some considerable distance with the British. Vendôme now closely pursued his retreating foe; and Philip, after a flying visit paid in the beginning of December to his freed capital, to compliment and confirm its loyalty, hastened to rejoin Vendôme.

On the 9th of December Philip and Vendôme overtook, surprised, and surrounded Stanhope, who had not quite six thousand men with him, at Brihuega, a small town, where he had halted for the night. The place had no defence beyond an old wall; but Stanhope barricaded the gates, threw up intrenchments in the streets, and disputed every inch of ground. Despite his immense numerical inferiority, he might perhaps have succeeded in maintaining his post until Stahrenberg, who was encamped some miles in advance, could have come back to his relief, had not the inhabitants of Brihuega increased the difficulties of his situation by co-operating with Vendôme from within. They barred their doors against the British soldiers, and from the roofs of their houses flung down missiles of every description upon their heads. After an obstinate resistance, Stanhope was compelled to surrender with his little band, now reduced to four thousand five hundred men.

Stahrenberg, upon the first intelligence of the attack, had hastened to collect his troops, and march back to the

assistance of his colleague. But he was still six miles distant from Brihuega when Stanhope was overpowered. Although alarmed by the cessation of the firing, he continued to press onwards till he met Philip and Vendôme, with their victorious army, still superior in numbers, from the skill with which Vendôme had taken advantage of his enemies' separation, and managed to engage them singly. The Germans fought bravely, and far less at disadvantage than the English. Night put an end to the battle, and both parties claimed the victory. Stahrenberg remained in possession of the field; but learning the disaster that had befallen Stanhope, he abandoned it in the night, leaving his artillery spiked, and his baggage to the enemy, and prosecuted his retreat to Catalonia. Philip and Vendôme thus enjoyed the fruits of victory, becoming masters of the spoils of the field; and, what was more important, the former recovered every part of his kingdom except Catalonia.

In England the whig ministry was by this time deprived of the appearance as well as the reality of power.

*Foreign States
A.D. 1710.*

Harley and St. John, afterwards created Lords Oxford and Bolingbroke, were at the head of affairs; and, although they did not immediately venture to take the command of the army from the great general who had led it to such brilliant victories, Marlborough felt that he was no longer supported at home with energy or cordiality; he felt that the spirit of English policy had changed, and that his own power was thereby lamed. In fact, intimation had already been conveyed to Versailles that Queen Anne's inclinations were pacific.

CHAPTER III.

Death of the Emperor Joseph—Charles succeeds him—Marlborough deprived of his command—Congress of Utrecht—Deaths in the French royal family—Peace of Utrecht—Spain and America confirmed to Philip; the Netherlands, the Milanese, Naples, and Sardinia, to Charles; Minorca and Gibraltar to England; Sicily ceded to Savoy, and Louisiana to France—Peace with Portugal, ceding the north bank of the river Plate—Philip abrogates the Catalanian constitution—Recalls Orri—Death of Maria Louisa—Origin and rise of Alberoni—He

induces Princess Orsini to select Elizabeth Farnese for Philip's second wife—The young queen dismisses the princess—Elizabeth's ascendancy over Philip—Her ambitious schemes—Alberoni prime minister.*

THE political, civil, and military occurrences of the year 1711 tended to facilitate the negotiations for an object now almost equally desired in France and England.

In the month of April died the Emperor Joseph I., leaving only two daughters. This event very essentially altered the complexion of the war. According to the singular law of succession established in Austria, although females are allowed to inherit, the rights of daughters are postponed to those of collateral male heirs. The whole of Joseph's hereditary dominions fell, therefore, to his brother Charles, his own daughters being only called to the succession in default of Charles's male heirs, but in preference to Charles's daughters. The empress-mother, whom Joseph had named regent, immediately caused Charles to be proclaimed in the several hereditary states, and, conjointly with Prince Eugene, took effectual measures for insuring his election as emperor.

The necessity of securing this ample heritage called Charles in haste to Germany. But prior to his departure from Spain he assured his faithful Catalans that he would speedily revisit them, with such an army as should enforce his right to the Spanish crown; and he left his consort at Barcelona, both to conduct his affairs in that quarter, and as a pledge for his return. He embarked in September for Italy, on his way to Vienna. At Milan he met the joyful news of his election to the imperial dignity, and was solemnly crowned emperor before the end of the year.

The re-establishment of a sovereignty similar to that of Charles V., by the reunion of all the hereditary dominions of the house of Austria, Spanish and

German, had never been contemplated by the Grand Alliance, the chief object of which was the maintenance of the balance of power in Europe. Some new modification of the succession to the Spanish realms became therefore indispensable. The simple expedient of substituting the really legitimate heiress, Joseph's eldest daughter, to her uncle, upon the throne of Spain, does not appear to have been even proposed. New partition schemes were talked of, which alienated from the allies both the new emperor, who claimed the whole, and the Spaniards, who gloried in the magnitude of their monarchy. These last, even such as had hitherto been Carlists, identifying Charles with the strangers who presumed to suggest the dismemberment of the Spanish dominions, learned to consider Philip as the sole champion of Spanish dignity; and the English ministers, instead of seeking to devise remedies for the existing difficulties, caught at the possible danger to Europe from Charles's uniting the Spanish and the imperial crowns, thereby to justify the negotiation they were secretly carrying on with France.

Under circumstances so favourable to their views, these ministers grew bolder, and judged the time to be arrived when they might venture to cope even with the high fame of the duke of Marlborough. That great general was again pursuing his career of glory. By a series of masterly manœuvres he had penetrated the formidable lines which Marshal Villars, with the assistance of the most celebrated engineers of those days, had formed for the protection of France, and which were boldly pronounced impregnable. The important fortress of Bouchain had surrendered to the invaders after a short resistance, and it seemed as if another battle of Ramillies or Malplaquet alone were wanting to lay Paris itself at the conqueror's mercy. It was at this moment that the mandate of the weak sovereign, over whose reign his exploits had cast such a blaze of glory, took the command of the British army from Marlborough.

After his recall no military event of real importance occurred, although the war was continued, nominally, by all the original belligerents, and as actively as the exhaustion of their resources would permit, by Lewis, Philip, and Charles. The French made a successful plundering expedition against Brazil, whilst an English one, sent

* The authorities principally consulted for this chapter are Yriarte, Da Costa, La Ciede, Scapler, Coxe, Lord Mahon, Veltair, Marshal Berwick, *Mémoires de Noailles*, Belsham, *Universal Modern History*, *Mémoires of the Affairs of Europe, from the Peace of Utrecht*, by Lord John Russell, 2 vols. 4to. London, 1824, 1829. It might appear like flattery of a living author to say more of this work, than that the title of *Mémoires* has happily enabled the noble writer to relieve the dry narration of wars and politics with those lively minor details which the pride of history rejects.

against Quebec, under Mrs. Masham's brother, General Hill, altogether failed. In September preliminaries of peace were signed between France and England, but of so vague a character as to give general offence when made known; and in the beginning of the following year, plenipotentiaries from all the belligerents assembled in congress at Utrecht.

Notwithstanding the eagerness of most of these powers to put an end to the war, the negotiations were considerably protracted by a series of calamities in the French royal family, which renewed the alarm of Europe touching the probable union of the crowns of France and Spain upon one head. The death of the dauphin, Lewis's only son, in 1711, was followed within a twelvemonth by those of the duke and duchess of Burgundy, who, upon his decease, had become dauphin and dauphiness, and of yet a third dauphin, their eldest son; leaving only one weak and sickly infant before Philip in the line of succession. To provide against a seemingly imminent union of realms that threatened the balance of power with permanent subversion, Philip was required to make his election between the two kingdoms. He gave the preference to the kingdom of which he was actually in possession, to the subjects who had proved their attachment for his person, and whose decorous and stately solemnity accorded far better with his reserved and melancholy disposition, than the restless vivacity of his own countrymen.

Philip's decision was announced to the allies; and the continued separation of the two crowns was deemed sufficiently secured by the king of Spain's solemnly renewing his renunciation of his French birthright in favour of his younger brother, the duke of Berri, and of his cousin, the duke of Orleans; and by those princes, on their part, renouncing all pretension to the crown of Spain. With such empty precautions were the British ministers, in their impatience to conclude the pending negotiations, content, although the mere fact of Philip's having the power of choice was abundant proof of the inanity of all renunciations of the kind; although Lewis had refused to suffer these especial renunciations to be ratified by the States General of the kingdom, and had candidly replied to the first proposal upon the subject, that no renunciation, no act of any individual, could alter the law of succession to the French throne.

All difficulties being thus at length smoothed, the peace of Utrecht was signed upon the 11th of April, 1713. By this treaty Philip was formally recognized as king of Spain and the Indies, and the duke of Savoy as his heir in default of his own issue, the future succession to the crown being regulated by a sort of compromise between the Spanish and Salic laws, allowing females to inherit, but, as in Austria, excluding them so long as the most remote collateral male should exist. The Spanish monarchy thus confirmed to Philip, was, however, deprived of its European dependencies, according to the very plan, the suggestion of which had excited such indignation against the allies. Naples, Sardinia, the Milanese, and the Netherlands, were assigned to the emperor; some few towns being detached from the latter country to strengthen the frontiers of the United Provinces, as also the duchy of Limburg, to form an independent sovereignty for Princess Orsini. Sicily was given to the duke of Savoy, with the title of king. England retained her conquests, Gibraltar, Minorca, and the French colonies, St. Christopher's, Newfoundland, Hudson's Bay, and Acadie, now called Nova Scotia. France likewise agreed to destroy the harbour and raze the fortifications of Dunkirk; and, under the name of the *Asiento* contract, England acquired the odious right of supplying Spanish America with negro slaves. France had previously obtained from Spain the large tract upon the Mississippi river, lying between Mexico and the Floridas, ceded in compensation of the sacrifices made by Lewis XIV. to secure the Spanish crown to Philip. The name of Louisiana was now given to this province, which France immediately proceeded to colonize.

The emperor, dissatisfied with the small portion, of what he deemed his birthright, allotted to him by this treaty, refused to concur in it, and continued the war one year longer. But unassisted by his former allies he was unable to cope with the united power of France and Spain. He was obliged to recall his troops from Catalonia; and even with these reinforcements Prince Eugene still found himself too weak to make head against the French generals in the Netherlands. In 1714, therefore, Charles, by a separate treaty with France and Spain, concluded at Rastadt, agreed to the terms he had rejected at Utrecht.

Portugal had, like the emperor, declined to accept the peace of Utrecht, and she alone now remained at war with France and Spain. Hostilities were carried on by these powers yet another year; but they produced no result of any consequence, and, in 1713, a peace was concluded. King John acknowledged Philip, who on his part renounced all pretensions to the long disputed settlement upon the river La Plata, as did France to the territory north of the river Amazon, to which she had laid claim, thus restricting her South American possessions to the narrow limits of Cayenne.

Meanwhile, various and important changes had taken place in Spain. The empress and the Austrian troops had evacuated Catalonia by a convention, one of the conditions of which was a general amnesty for the Catalans; and Charles had further obtained from Lewis and Anne the promise of their good offices for the preservation of the old and free Catalonian constitution. But the Catalans would not take the benefit of the amnesty; persisting in their opposition to Philip, until, Barcelona having fallen after such a resistance as seems almost peculiar to Spanish towns, they were finally subdued by his grandfather's troops; when neither France nor England chose to hold themselves bound by promises, which the subsequent conduct of the Catalans had, as they averred, annulled. The Catalonian constitution was therefore abrogated, as the Aragonese and Valencian had previously been; and Spain was more completely than ever before united into one uniform and absolute monarchy.

All alleged obstacles to the regeneration of the country were now done away with, and Philip really desired to administer the arbitrary power he had acquired beneficially for his subjects. Such kindly intentions of absolute kings are always more difficult of execution than might be supposed; and, upon the occasion in question, they were not directed by sound judgment. The notions of Philip himself, and of his chief adviser, the Princess Orsini, were essentially French, and the first step they took was to recall Orri.

Orri was undoubtedly a man of talent, and, in financial knowledge, far superior to any of his Spanish competitors. But he sought rather to assimilate the insti-

tutions of Spain to those of France than to reform and ameliorate her own, or to adapt his alterations to the national character; and although in the financial department he did correct some abuses, and introduce some improvements, in so doing he offended an arrogant people, then peculiarly jealous of French usages. But the innovator was not allowed time to prove whether his plans were or were not calculated to restore Spain from the state of decrepitude into which she had declined. Events were in progress, which, by overthrowing the power of his patroness, Princess Orsini, occasioned Orri's second and final dismissal.

Maria Louisa had long suffered under a scrofulous disorder, that gradually undermined her constitution. In February 1714, it consigned her to the tomb, in the twenty-sixth year of her age. She left two sons, Lewis and Ferdinand. Philip had been passionately attached to his queen, and entirely governed by her. Upon her death he abandoned himself to despair; committed the administration to Cardinal del Giudice, a Neapolitan prelate, recently appointed grand inquisitor; and flying from the home where he had been, happy with his lost consort, shut himself up in the palace of the duke of Médina Celi. There he remained in strict seclusion, refusing to attend to any kind of business, or to admit any person to his presence, except his children, and their governess, the Princess Orsini.

But this seemingly devoted affection was rather the result of habit, and the subjection of a weak to a stronger mind, than the exclusive sentiment properly designated as love. The princess judged another wife to be the suitable and certain remedy for his grief; and it is generally believed that, notwithstanding her advanced age (she was then between sixty and seventy), she aspired to succeed to her deceased mistress. If she ever did conceive a hope so preposterous (preposterous even with this yielding and now irrecoverably hypochondriac Philip), she speedily abandoned it; for the funeral procession of Maria Louisa is said to have been the occasion of a conversation between her and Aiberoni, the Parmesan envoy, which determined her to select Elizabeth Farnese as Philip's second queen.

Aiberoni, the author of a marriage for many years so harassing in its consequences to Spain, and indeed to the greater part of Europe, was a man whose

Portugal
from A.D.
1707—1713.

Spain
from A.D.
1711—1713.

rise and fortunes were too remarkable to be passed over unnoticed. He was the son of a mere working gardener in the duchy of Parma, and his extraordinary native talent having attracted the observation of the Jesuits, he obtained in their seminary an education far superior to his station. He took holy orders, and by a combination of real abilities and great knowledge, with shameless adulation and buffoonery, he was gradually making his way, when he obtained the situation of interpreter to the bishop of St. Domino, who was sent by the duke of Parma upon a mission of some importance to the duke of Vendôme, then commanding the French forces in Italy.

The bishop, disgusted and offended by the inconceivable grossness of Vendôme's manners, soon refused to hold any intercourse with a person so wholly unobservant of the commonest decencies of life; when the conduct of the negotiation was transferred to the interpreter. He, unrestrained by any considerations of personal delicacy or official dignity, took everything in good part, and found means to establish himself so firmly in Vendôme's good graces, that he not only succeeded in the somewhat difficult affair committed to his charge, but becoming a prime favourite with the French general, quitted the duke of Parma's service for his. When Vendôme was appointed to the command in Spain, he employed Alberoni in all his transactions and negotiations with the court of Madrid; during which this skilful and tolerably unscrupulous diplomatist managed so completely to win the good opinion of the Princess Orsini, that when, upon Vendôme's death, he returned home, he was, in consequence of his intimacy with, and presumed influence over her, named envoy from Parma to Spain.

It was with this wily politician that the princess, as the deceased queen's funeral passed, discussed the urgent necessity of providing the disconsolate widower with another wife. Alberoni rapidly ran over the different princesses from amongst whom the future queen must be selected; found objections to each, and adroitly recommended to her preference Elizabeth Farnese, the niece and step-daughter of the reigning duke of Parma, by speaking carelessly of her, as a good girl, fattened upon Parmesan cheese and butter, and educated so strictly and narrowly, that she had not an idea beyond her embroidery; but whose prospect of succeeding to her

childless uncle, might afford a footing in Italy, whence to attempt the recovery of those provinces which the peace of Utrecht had wrested from Philip in that country.

The deluded Princess Orsini imagined she had found in Elizabeth the very queen through whom still to govern the uxorious Philip. She easily obtained his approbation of her choice; the court of Parma of course gladly accepted so honourable a proposal, and the marriage was hurried on with the utmost precipitation. Princess Orsini is said however to have been seasonably apprised of the deception practised upon her, relative to the disposition of the bride, and to have instantly sent off a courier with orders to suspend all further matrimonial proceedings. The messenger, it is added, reached Parma upon the morning of the day fixed for performing the marriage ceremony by proxy; but, the tenor of his despatches being suspected, he was detained, and prevented from delivering them, until it was too late to obey the orders they contained.

The young queen immediately set out for Spain, travelling through France. Upon crossing the frontiers she was received by all her household, except her *Camarera Mayor*, the Princess Orsini, who was bearing the king company upon his journey to meet and solemnly espouse his bride. At Alcalá, where the king stopped for the night, the princess left him, hastening forward to join the queen, and resume her former functions. She reached the small village of Xadacca, appointed for the queen's last halt, in time to receive her new mistress as she alighted from the carriage. She kissed her hand, was treated with apparent graciousness, and in virtue of her office conducted the royal stranger to her apartment.

Upon reaching that apartment the lady of the bedchamber addressed some compliments to the queen in the name of her expecting bridegroom; when Elizabeth accused the *Camarera Mayor* of insulting her by disrespectful behaviour, and by appearing before her in improper attire. She rejected her apologies, refused to hear her remonstrances, and turning her out of the room, ordered the officer on guard to arrest, and convey her beyond the frontier. The officer hesitated to touch a favourite so long supreme in Spain. The queen inquired if his instructions were not to obey her implicitly? Upon his replying in the affirmative, she imperatively repeated

her commands; and as he still required a further sanction, called for pen and ink, and wrote, upon her knee, an order for the princess's arrest.

The officer, though still confounded and alarmed, no longer presumed to disobey. The princess, in full dress, was hurried at night-fall into a carriage, with a single female attendant, and two officers. She was not permitted to take either a change of garment, or additional protection against the cold; not even money to procure upon the road any of the ordinary conveniences of which she was destitute. In this condition was an elderly woman, whose will but a few hours back had been absolute throughout the kingdom, unfeelingly compelled to travel in an inclement night in the depth of winter, upon her way from a country she had so long ruled; and thus did the young queen, whom she had hoped to find a docile instrument, venture ere she had even seen her consort, to dismiss that consort's favourite. Early the next morning Elizabeth joined the king; the marriage ceremony was performed, and the bride at once gained an ascendancy over the amorous but conscientious Philip, similar to that enjoyed by her predecessor. The name of the Princess Orsini was not again heard at the Spanish court.

This extraordinary and, in truth, savage transaction astonished the whole contemporary world, and has since perplexed and divided historians. It has been ascribed to the bold temper of the high-spirited Elizabeth, who, well informed by Alberoni as to the peculiar character of the king, and the state of the court, resolved by thus at once cutting the Gordian knot she might have been unable to untie, to avoid the difficulties, perils, and humiliations of a long struggle for influence with a woman accustomed to govern Philip, and to rely upon her own powers of captivation, for obtaining from her royal bridegroom, in the first transports of their union, the pardon of her daring step. The better opinion, however, seems to be, that Elizabeth acted under Philip's sanction; and that the ungrateful and feeble-minded monarch, weary of a control which he wanted resolution to shake off, had commissioned his new queen to deliver him from his old favourite.

Princess Orsini had not her promised duchy of Limburg to retire to in all the dignity of an independent, though petty sovereign; that arrangement of the

peace of Utrecht having been subsequently abandoned at Rastadt. She was forbidden to appear at Versailles, and ultimately fixed her residence at Rome; where she forfeited the pride of her character, and degraded herself to a mere intriguing courtier, by playing, at the mock court of the Pretender, an imitation of her former singular but exalted part.

It has been said that Elizabeth at once acquired over the king an influence at least equal to that Maria Louisa had enjoyed. The price she paid for it most women would have deemed exorbitant, being the complete sacrifice of everything like amusement. To Maria Louisa, the dull existence to which Spanish etiquette, and Philip's melancholy condemned her, was relieved by the society of her clever and vivacious favourite the Princess Orsini; but Elizabeth spent her life in an almost unbroken *l'été-à-tête* with a reserved and hypochondriac husband, who was excessively jealous of his authority. Through the whole of the four-and-twenty hours the king and queen were never separated, except during about a quarter of an hour, whilst the king was dressing in a closet adjoining their bed-chamber. The instant his toilet was completed he went to attend the queen's, and did not lose sight of her again, unless when either of the royal pair was engaged in the indispensable duty of confession.

The royal *l'été-à-tête* was interrupted only by the regular visits of the *infantes* by conferences with ministers, or by audiences granted to foreign ambassadors; and it was the inexhaustible flow of entertaining conversation with which Elizabeth enlivened this everlasting solitude, it was her unwearying exertion of all arts of captivation, of the most refined coquetry, extravagant flattery, and perfect dissimulation, that obtained for her the political influence which she affected to disclaim; always discreetly withdrawing to a distant part of the room when a minister presented himself, whence, if she were not recalled by Philip, the minister, as discreetly, took care that she should hear every word he addressed to the king.

To Elizabeth all this seems to have been easy, provided it answered her purpose. She was a woman of restless ambition, of impetuous temper; and she employed the vast influence thus arduously earned, in rendering the whole reign of the pious Philip a scene of aggression, breach of faith, and cabal. The objects

which she thus unremittingly pursued were two, and in both Philip's wishes concurred with hers, although it is most likely that, without her instigation, he would have taken no step for carrying either of them into effect. The first of these objects was securing the reversion of the French crown in case of the duke of Anjou's death, in utter contempt of Philip's often-repeated oaths of renunciation; the second, obtaining independent sovereignties in Italy for her children.

Her Italian schemes Elizabeth sought to accomplish by recovering the Italian provinces, ceded to Austria and Savoy, as a kingdom for her eldest son, and insuring to her second, the succession to her own patrimonial duchies of Parma and Placentia, as also to the grand-duchy of Tuscany; to which last, be it observed, she had not the shadow of a pretension, the reigning grand-duke, John Gaston, having a sister married to the elector palatine, whilst Elizabeth could claim only in right of his aunt, her grandmother. To acquire these establishments for her sons, she involved Spain in unceasing wars. Cabals, intrigues, and conspiracies, were the means by which she endeavoured to regain for her husband his abandoned French birthright.

Elizabeth possessed an able confidant in the man to whom she was indebted for her own exaltation, and whom congeniality of disposition, no less than gratitude, established in her full confidence. She first induced Philip to consult and trust Alberoni as a family ambassador. She next raised him to the post of prime minister, although it will readily be believed, that the aversion of the Spaniards to such an office was not lessened by seeing it in the hands of a foreigner. And still not satisfied, she, in the course of a very few years, prevailed upon the pope to grant Alberoni a cardinal's hat, and upon Philip to make him a grandee of Spain.

If Alberoni possessed not quite the master mind that might have reconciled the haughty nation, committed to his charge, to the obnoxious supremacy he enjoyed, he nevertheless justified Elizabeth's partiality by an administration far superior to all that Spain had long known. He was endowed with a powerful and original genius, which he zealously devoted to the devising of plans for ameliorating the internal condition of the country, and increasing the bene-

fits derived from the colonies; and, what is perhaps an equally valuable quality in a premier, he knew how to avail himself of the talents and knowledge of others in those departments of government with which he himself was unacquainted. Thus his economical schemes were chiefly adopted from the suggestions of his confidential friend, Baron Ripperdà, the descendant of a Spanish family settled in the Netherlands, who, having by marriage with a wealthy Dutch heiress become a considerable Dutch citizen, was then resident at Madrid, as envoy from the United Provinces.

Alberoni appears to have been sincerely desirous of maintaining peace; at least until the success of his regenerating system should have restored Spain to her pristine power and energy. But either his boldness of conception and enterprising spirit gradually overpowered his judgment, or his anxiety to preserve his situation compelled him to submit his better sense to the queen's impatient ambition; for ere long he adopted all her views, and prosecuted them with a reckless daring, that seemed little suited to the resources by which his attempts were to be supported.

CHAPTER IV.

Death of Lewis XIV.—Measures of Elizabeth and Alberoni—Their cabals against the Regent Duke of Orleans—Sardinia surprised and taken—Sicily invaded—Intrigues with the English Jacobites—Alberoni confederates the Northern Powers in favour of the Pretender—Precipitates the French conspiracy—His schemes fail—War with France, England, Holland, and the Empire—Fall of Alberoni—Spain accedes to the Quadruple Alliance—Restores Sicily and Sardinia—Reversion of Parma and Tuscany assured to Elizabeth's sons—Double marriage between French and Spanish Bourbons prospectively concluded—Philip abdicates—Death of King Lewis—Philip resumes the government—Ripperdà gains the queen's confidence—Lewis XV. sends home the Infant, and marries Maria Leczinska—Indignation of Spain—Double marriage with Portugal—Duke of Parma dies—Elizabeth's eldest son succeeds him—War with the Emperor—Duke of Parma conquers Naples and Sicily

—*Peace of Vienna—War with England—Death of Charles VI.—Philip claims his inheritance—Invades the Milanese—Death of Philip*.*

THE death of Lewis XIV., in Sept. 1715, first called the activity of Elizabeth and her minister into play, Lewis XV. was a sickly child, not yet five years old, and Philip, but for his renunciation of his French birthright as the price of the Spanish monarchy, would have been the natural heir of his nephew, and the legitimate regent during that nephew's minority. Philip considered himself as defrauded of his right by the appointment of the duke of Orleans to the regency; his resentment of what he deemed an usurpation, was heightened when the duke emancipated himself from all the limitations with which Lewis XIV. had endeavoured to shackle his nephew's authority; and the Spanish monarch's hatred of a successful rival was further embittered by horror of the regent's unbridled profligacy. Alberoni caballed with all those in France who were personally opposed to the duke of Orleans; and the regent, on his part, anxious to insure support to his own claim, as heir to the French crown in case of Lewis XV.'s early death, concluded an alliance with the former enemies of France, —England and the emperor.

This triple alliance thwarted the schemes of Alberoni, who vainly endeavoured to excite suspicions and distrust amongst the allies. And now the impatience of the queen, and the irritation of the king, exasperated at seeing himself deserted by France, and insulted by the emperor, (who caused the newly-appointed Spanish grand inquisitor to be arrested as he traversed the Milanese with a papal safe-conduct on his way home from Rome,) could no longer be restrained by Alberoni's representations. War was accordingly declared against the emperor in 1717; and an armament, which had been equipped at Barcelona, professedly against the African Moors, was despatched against Sardinia. The Marquess of Ledi, the commander, made himself master of the island within three months.

The emperor was at the period of this aggression engaged in war with the Turks, and his dominions were thence held to be under the guardianship of the Pope: his Holiness therefore considered the capture of Sardinia as an offence to the holy see. He was besides incensed at having been duped by Alberoni, who had assured him that Spain was arming only against the infidels; and Charles called upon his allies to chastise this flagrant violation of the treaty of Utrecht. France and England did interpose their good offices, but Philip and his queen would listen to no remonstrances, and Alberoni strained every nerve to prepare for invading Sicily in the ensuing spring; whilst he laboured to insure success, and prevent foreign interference by stirring up intestine troubles in most European states. A new Spanish armament was despatched, and a landing in Sicily effected. But an English fleet under Admiral Byng defeated the Spanish fleet that had conveyed the troops thither, thus seriously embarrassing the ulterior movements of the invaders; the Dutch acceded to the Triple, thenceforward termed the Quadruple, Alliance; and a peace being concluded, by the intervention of the allies between the Austrians and the Turks, Charles found himself at liberty to devote his whole force to the defence of his Italian acquisitions.

The indignation of the court of Spain was raised to the highest pitch by this interference of the other parties to the peace of Utrecht in favour of the emperor, although it was no more than he was entitled to demand of them. Alberoni intrigued with the English Jacobites for the restoration of the house of Stuart: he negotiated a reconciliation betwixt the great heroes and enemies of the north, Charles XII. of Sweden, and Czar Peter of Russia; and as each of those potentates had some private quarrel with George I., who had now succeeded Anne upon the English throne, he prevailed upon them to lay aside their mutual hatred, for the purpose of restoring the Catholic house of Stuart to the sovereignty of Great Britain. Finally, he precipitated the French conspiracy, conducted by the Spanish ambassador Cellamar, the immediate object of which was the seizure of the regent's person, the convocation of the States General, and the transfer of the regency, by their authority, to Philip.

The detection of this plot, the dismis-

* The authorities principally consulted for this chapter are, Yriarte, Da Costa, La Ciede, Coxé, Sempère, Lord John Russell, Belsham, *Universal Modern History, Précis de l'Histoire de Louis XV. par M. de Voltaire, Œuvres complètes de M. de Voltaire*, 106 tom. 12^{vo} Basle, 1792—a work of the same character with the others of this author already cited.

sal of Cellamar, and the imprisonment of the French conspirators, disappointed Philip's hopes in France, at the same time that the death of the king of Sweden, who was killed whilst besieging a petty Norwegian fortress, overthrew Alberoni's expectation of dethroning George I. An open war followed. It proved, as might have been anticipated, most unfavourable to Philip; and Alberoni offered to treat respecting the terms upon which Spain would accede to the Quadruple Alliance. But George I. and the regent, resenting the plots especially directed against themselves, as well as the disturbance of the peace of Europe, all of which they ascribed to the gigantic schemes and audacious temper of Alberoni, considered the dismissal of the cardinal as essential to the restoration of general tranquillity; and the regent undertook to effect the desired change in the Spanish cabinet.

Alberoni's influence was already shaken by the failure of his projects. The jesuit d'Aubenton, the king's confessor, was employed to prejudice his royal penitent against the obnoxious minister; and memorials reprobating his measures were supplied by Ripperdá, who, having renounced the Protestant religion and settled in Spain, relying upon Alberoni's favour for advancement, had incurred the jealousy of his former friend, and was exasperated at the consequent delay or obstruction of his promotion. Still the queen's co-operation was indispensable; and to obtain that, or rather, to make any secret communication whatever to her majesty, was the difficulty. Elizabeth, it has been already said, except during her religious interviews with her confessor, the length of which the king watchfully noted, was alone only upon first rising from her bed, whilst her *azafata*, or chief woman of the bedchamber was putting on her shoes and stockings. The post, which afforded so invaluable an opportunity of private conference, was held by her Parmesan nurse, Laura Pescatori, a rapacious woman of low birth, through whose purchased agency foreign ambassadors and Spanish ministers were alike accustomed to transmit letters or messages to the queen. Upon this occasion, the concurrence of the duke of Parma having been obtained, his envoy the marquis of Scotti was employed to assure her majesty through Laura, that the dismissal of Alberoni should be

repaid by establishments for her family far superior to what she could hope from his political schemes.

Elizabeth's assent thus secured, the late all-powerful minister was discarded with a cold dissimulation, which charity would fain attribute rather to the king's nervous shrinking from the pain of an explanation, than to utter heartlessness, and disregard of past services, in either Philip or Elizabeth; although Princess Orsini's treatment would justify the harsher view. No diminution of the cardinal's authority or favour was suffered to transpire. He spent the evening of the 4th of December, 1719, in transacting business with the king and queen; and the following morning their majesties having quitted Madrid for the Pardo, a country palace, a royal decree was sent to him by one of the secretaries of state, depriving him of all his offices, and enjoining him to quit Madrid within eight days, and the Spanish dominions within three weeks.

A signal testimony was upon this occasion borne to Alberoni's merits as a statesman. He had been detested by all Spain, and especially by the grandees; but the tidings of his disgrace entirely changed this feeling. Nobles and clergy now flocked to his house, in such numbers as had never visited it during his prosperity, and as alarmed the king, who thereupon ordered the cardinal to hasten his departure.

Alberoni was pursued in his retirement by the bitter enmity of France and England; and Philip transmitted to Rome a series of accusations against him for maladministration, for which he required the pope and college of cardinals to try him. They did so. He defended himself boldly and ably, and his judges, without apparently convicting him, terminated the investigation by ordering him to retire into a monastery for three years; a period which Pope Innocent XIII. shortened to one. After the death of his chief enemy, the regent, he was allowed to leave his monastic prison, and passed the remainder of his life free from persecution. But he, like his predecessor, Princess Orsini, forfeited some part of the esteem he might have enjoyed, by engaging in petty Italian intrigues; especially in one, in which he failed, for reducing the little republic of San Marino under the temporal authority of the holy see.

The fall of Alberoni was followed, after a short resistance, by Philip's acces-

Spain
from A.D.
1715—1720.

sion to the Quadruple Alliance. Parma and Tuscany were assured to the queen and her heirs; and, in return, Philip agreed, however reluctantly, to evacuate Sardinia and Sicily, and to sanction the exchange of those two islands between the duke of Savoy, now king of Sardinia, and the emperor, as well as the continued occupation of Gibraltar and Minorca by England.

Upon the conclusion of peace the fleets and troops that were ready for action were employed by Spain in one of the usual expeditions to Africa; the only fruit of which was a useless victory. Soon afterwards the reconciliation between the two branches of the house of Bourbon was cemented by the double marriage of the prince of Asturias to Louisa Isabella de Montpensier, third daughter of the duke of Orleans, and of Lewis XV. to Mary Anne, eldest daughter of Philip and Elizabeth. These marriages were, however, only prospective, *Madame de Montpensier* being only eleven years old, and the *infanta* not having as yet completed her fifth year. The young brides were exchanged in 1721, to finish their educations in the lands over which they were destined to reign.

The next event that surprised Europe in the singular reign of Philip V. was his abdication, in 1724, in favour of his son Lewis, who was not yet quite seventeen years of age. Such an act on the king's part, even at the usually vigorous age of forty-one, might not have excited much astonishment, considering the bigotry and melancholy temperament of Philip, who is said to have entertained scruples touching his right to the Spanish crown, and fancied that that right would acquire validity when transmitted to the next heir. But that Elizabeth Farnese should voluntarily resign the sovereign power, appeared altogether incomprehensible to her contemporaries. An easy explanation of her conduct offers itself, however, to the reflecting inquirer. Lewis XV. was at that period in a state of health, perhaps even more precarious than at any time since his early infancy, and the prospect of succeeding to his kingdom seemed at hand. The queen might, therefore, be induced to yield to her husband's wishes, by such considerations as the following: she might think to facilitate the great object of her wishes by laying down the crown of Spain, which Europe had declared must not be united with that of France; and

by surrendering one kingdom to the prince of Asturias, she might further think to secure the other, and far more desirable, France, for her own son. It is affirmed as certain, by some writers, that during several weeks after Philip's abdication, and retreat to his favourite residence, the palace of San Ildefonso, the king and queen remained with their jewels packed up, ready to set out for France upon the first tidings of the young king's death. Philip was accompanied to San Ildefonso by the marquis of Grimaldo, who, with very inferior talent and energy had, upon Alberoni's fall, acquired the chief authority, and although the young king adopted his father's cabinet and household, preferred the service of the abdicated to that of the reigning monarch.

Lewis XV. recovered; and as Philip's hopes of France faded away, both he and his queen seem to have repented of their abdication, and interfered with the administration to a degree very distasteful to the new court. Philip's mortification must have been increased by the conduct of his son. The boyish king, neglecting the cares of government, indulged in the most frivolous follies and vices, such as his youth only could palliate, and could hardly excuse. His queen, tainted, young as she was, by the profligacy of her father the regent's court, incurred more serious reproaches and suspicions. To her husband she was an object of rooted dislike, whilst Philip and Elizabeth affected to believe her mad. Against all this ill will, whether deserved or not, Louisa Isabella had no protection. Her father was dead; the duke of Bourbon, who now governed France as prime minister, detested the house of Orleans; and negotiations were set on foot, with the concurrence of France, for repudiating her. Upon this the courts of Madrid and San Ildefonso were agreed. In matters of government an angry rivalry was growing up between them, when an unexpected change occurred. King Lewis caught the small-pox, and on the 31st of August fell a victim to the virulence of the disease, and the unskilfulness of his physicians. He had not reigned quite eight months. The young queen, by the assiduity with which, although she had herself never had the small-pox, she attended her husband, regained the good opinion of the world. She took the infection, but recovered, and returned to France, where she afterwards shut herself up in a convent.

Philip, at his abdication, had made a vow never to resume the crown; and as Lewis died without children, some difficulty arose with regard to the succession. Lewis, in the delirium that preceded his death, had signed a will appointing his father his heir; but Philip hesitated to act upon this instrument, in violation of a solemn vow; and the council of state, instead of urging him to set that vow aside, insisted strongly on its validity. A *junta* of divines was then assembled and consulted. They proposed declaring Philip's second son, Ferdinand, king, the father governing as regent. A proposal that exasperated Philip, who had probably hoped the divines would remove, not confirm, his scruples. He now listened more favourably to the arguments of Grimaldo and Elizabeth; and she, prevailing upon the pope's nuncio to take her side of the question, at length carried her point, and replaced her husband on the throne.

The resumption of power by Philip and Elizabeth was speedily followed by the rise of a second, but very inferior, Alberoni. This was Baron Ripperdá; who, although disappointed by the intrigues of Grimaldo and d'Aubenton, in his expectation of at once succeeding to the office and influence of the friend and patron whom he had assisted to overthrow, had, ever since Alberoni's fall, been gradually insinuating himself into the queen's favour. He now persuaded her that, if sent ambassador to Vienna, he could obtain for her eldest son, Charles, the hand of Maria Theresa, the eldest daughter of the emperor, who was then earnestly labouring to secure her succession to the hereditary states of Austria, in direct contravention of his deceased brother Joseph's testamentary dispositions. Ripperdá was accordingly despatched, professedly to negotiate a treaty of strict alliance and friendship between the former rivals, Charles and Philip, and to ask the youngest arch-duchess, with the Netherlands and Italian provinces as her portion, in marriage for Ferdinand, now prince of Asturias. His private instructions were, to solicit the hand of the elder sister, with the Austrian inheritance, for Prince Charles, and his zeal was stimulated by the promise that, if successful, he should, upon his return, be declared prime minister.

Ripperdá so far succeeded in his negotiation, that he certainly concluded an intimate alliance between Philip and the emperor, including a promise of the

zealous interposition of the latter to obtain from England, by force if necessary, the restitution of Gibraltar and Minorca; and the ambassador further asserted that, in a secret article, he had received a satisfactory assurance respecting the desired marriages. This assertion appears however to have been a misrepresentation of the ambitious plenipotentiary's. The emperor, indeed, was not, it should seem, disinclined to the connexion; but the empress was bent upon uniting her daughter to the duke of Lorraine; and Maria Theresa herself, who was much attached to that prince, strenuously resisted all other proposals.

Pending this secret negotiation, a quarrel had occurred with France, which, rendering the conclusion of the treaty with the emperor a matter of serious concern, had probably induced Ripperdá to relax in his urgency touching the matrimonial alliance. The disputes likely to arise, in case of Lewis XV.'s death without children, respecting the validity of Philip's renunciation, made the young king's early marriage peculiarly important; and as several years must still elapse ere any offspring could be hoped from the *infanta*, a sudden resolution was adopted by the duke of Bourbon, to send the childish bride back to Spain, and marry Lewis without loss of time to a princess of suitable age. His choice fell upon Maria Leeczinska, daughter to Stanislaus, who had been made king of Poland by Charles XII. of Sweden, and dethroned and expelled by Czar Peter. The indignation of the king and queen of Spain at this rejection of their daughter was unbounded. Elizabeth tore off a bracelet with her intended son-in-law's picture, and trampled it under foot; Philip declared that all the blood of France could not wash out the insult; and the Spanish nation, keenly sensitive to the dignity of its princes, sympathised in his resentment. Even England, because she would not break with France upon the occasion, became almost as much an object of hatred as the offending country.

But all this dissatisfaction did not produce immediate hostilities. Ripperdá, notwithstanding his boasts of replacing Spain upon the pinnacle of greatness on which she had once stood, felt unable to undertake a war single-handed. He could not draw from the always exhausted treasury the subsidies he had promised the emperor, who would not move without them; and he failed in all

his projects for sowing dissension between the maritime powers and France. In the course of a few months the king began to perceive the vanity of his new minister's extravagant professions; the queen grew impatient that nothing was effected in her Italian schemes, and that she could obtain no positive promise of the archduchess's hand for her son.

Ripperdá was disgraced as rapidly, and at least as irrationally, as he had been promoted. His schemes of commercial policy were certainly so far faulty, that they were formed upon the narrowest system of monopoly and exclusion. But that system was then universally approved; and he not only introduced real ameliorations into the financial department, but his ideas were adopted and followed up by most of the subsequent Spanish ministers. Had his projects, however, been as perfect as genius, philosophy, and experience could have made them, many years must have elapsed ere Spain could have been restored from imbecility to health and vigour; and Ripperdá lost, first his favour, and then his places, after a ministry of a few months. His fate was very different from Alberoni's. He was thrown into prison, whence he escaped by the help of a maid servant, and spent the remainder of his life as a wandering adventurer. He died in the service of the bashaw of Tetuan, probably as a renegade.

Intrigues in France to secure the succession, unchecked by a formal reconciliation between Philip and Lewis, disputes and negotiations with Charles, and an unsuccessful attempt to recover Gibraltar, occupied some years. The French intrigues were put an end to, in 1729, by the birth of a dauphin; and England compelled the Spaniards to raise the siege of the fortress. In the beginning of 1729 the double marriage was celebrated of the prince of Asturias with Barbara, *infanta* of Portugal, and of the Spanish *infanta*, Mary Anne, the rejected bride of Lewis XV., with Joseph, prince of Brazil, as the heir apparent of Portugal was now designated.

In 1731 the death of Antony, duke of Parma, opened to Elizabeth the succession to her patrimony; and the treaty of Seville, concluded between France, Spain, England, and Holland, to which the emperor afterwards succeeded, gave her eldest son the duchies of Parma and Placentia, and assured to him the reversion of Tuscany.

Philip's hypochondriacal malady had now increased upon him to such a degree that he would frequently remain in bed for months together, refusing to attend to any kind of business. Upon these occasions he would sometimes commit the government to the queen; sometimes every department of the state was suffered to fall into confusion; and Elizabeth's chief care was to prevent the prince of Asturias from assuming the regency, and the king from a second time abdicating his throne. The only thing that could rouse or excite Philip was war; and the first amusement of this dreadful kind provided for him by Elizabeth, was an expedition sent to Africa, under the duke of Montemar, to recover Oran, in which it succeeded; though all further attacks upon the Moors failed.

Soon afterwards, Spain was involved in the war that embroiled all Europe upon the death of Augustus II., elector of Saxony and king of Poland, in 1733. The crown of Poland being elective, various competitors for the prize presented themselves, of whom the principal were, the son of the deceased king, Augustus, elector of Saxony, supported by the emperor, by the empress of Russia, and by the maritime powers, and Stanislaus Leczinsky, father to the queen of Lewis XV., whose pretensions were of course supported by his son-in-law. Philip being now upon friendly terms with his nephew, joined with him in the war; but rather as an opportunity of accomplishing Elizabeth's Italian schemes whilst the emperor's forces should be engaged in the North, or at least divided, than for the purpose of affording effective assistance to Stanislaus.

A Spanish army was sent to Italy, placed nominally under the command of the young duke of Parma, but really under that of the duke of Montemar. The French expected that these forces should co-operate with them and the king of Sardinia against the Milanese; but to effect any common object was not Elizabeth's design. The duke of Parma, leaving his allies to make their own part good, hastened to Naples; and, assisted by the restless temper of the Neapolitans, now as weary of their German, as they had formerly been of their Spanish masters, speedily gained possession of that kingdom, as he soon afterwards did of Sicily. France like-

Spain
from A.D.
1730—1734.

Italy
from A.D.
1733—1735.

Italy
A.D.
1731, 1732.

wise obtained some advantages, though less important; and, as the maritime powers refused to take part in the war, the emperor, in 1735, was glad to sign preliminaries of peace with France, under the mediation of England. By these preliminaries he agreed to cede Naples and Sicily to the duke of Parma, (who was henceforward called king of the Two Sicilies,) obtaining in exchange the duchies of Parma and Piacenza, and the reversion of Tuscany; and France was to have the duchy of Lorraine, upon condition of acknowledging Augustus III. as king of Poland, and guaranteeing to Maria Theresa her father's inheritance.

The king of Spain refused to concur in these arrangements; and the queen especially was furious at the transfer of her patrimony, upon which, since the conquest of the Two Sicilies, she had calculated as a principality for her second son, Philip. They found, however, no allies to support them against the almost unanimous desire of Europe for peace, and in May, 1736, were obliged to accede to the preliminaries.

About the same time the ill will always subsisting between Spain and Portugal, notwithstanding their matrimonial connexion, broke out into hostilities upon an idle dispute touching the privileges of ambassadors. In Europe, indeed, no actual war took place; the powerful interposition of England on behalf of her old ally, inducing the Spanish court to refer the quarrel to the mediation, or arbitration rather, of France and the maritime powers. In America more serious hostilities took place, the governor of Buenos Ayres seizing the opportunity to attempt the recovery of the long-contested colony of the Sacramento, now called Nova Colonia. The Portuguese repulsed him, and gained the advantage in every engagement; but suffered much from the ravages of the Spaniards, for which the arbitrators adjudged them no compensation.

The final arrangements of the Treaty of Vienna were not easily settled. The compensations respectively required by Stanislaus and the duke of Lorraine, and the reluctance of the queen of Spain to cede, upon any consideration, her own patrimony, occasioned great difficulties and delays. At length, in the winter of 1738-9, the treaty was concluded. In addition to

the changes already mentioned, it was settled that Stanislaus should have Lorraine, with the title of king, for life, France contenting herself with the reversion upon his death. The duke of Lorraine, now the husband of Maria Theresa, received Tuscany in exchange (the grand duke had conveniently died the preceding year); and the right of succession to the Austrian dominions, under the name of the Pragmatic Sanction, was guaranteed to the archduchess by France, Spain, and Savoy—the guarantee of the latter power being purchased by some small districts of the Milanese. In fact, the securing his daughter's succession to his hereditary states was the chief object of Charles VI.'s policy throughout his reign.

The peace restored by the Treaty of Vienna was of shorter duration than almost any previously known. Even whilst its negotiations were pending, the commercial disputes, which had arisen between England and Spain since the Treaty of Utrecht, had begun to assume a hostile complexion. Philip had constantly employed or countenanced every species of artifice to defraud England of the commercial advantages which had been urged as the sole rational plea for her conduct in concluding that peace; whilst the British merchants had as constantly endeavoured to extend and protect their contraband trade with the Spanish colonies, under colour of the limited rights given them by the *Asiento* Contract. Great irritation existed on both sides; and only the pacific disposition of Sir Robert Walpole, prime minister to both George I. and George II., had hitherto prevented its leading to war. In the year 1739, however, the exasperation of the English nation, inflamed by stories of the ill-treatment which English sailors endured from the Spanish custom-house officers, overbore the minister. War was declared, and the fleets of England were as usual sent to harass the treasure-ships and Transatlantic possessions of Spain. Porto Bello was taken by Admiral Vernon in November. Commodore (afterwards Lord) Anson assailed yet more remote colonies: he reached the Pacific, ravaged the coasts of Peru and Chile, and took many rich prizes, especially the well-known Acapulco galleon, the cargo of which is always of immense value, being the only vessel allowed to trade between the Philippines and America.

Spain
from A.D.
1734—1736.

Spain
from A.D.
1736—1739.

Portugal
from A.D.
1716—1738.

Foreign States
from A.D.
1736—1739.

More general and serious hostilities marked the following year. The Emperor Charles VI. died upon the 20th of October, 1740; and immediately the different powers of Europe that had guaranteed the succession of Maria Theresa, and in most instances had acquired provinces in consideration of such guarantee, endeavoured to take advantage of the supposed helpless condition of the young heiress, to dismember her inheritance. Almost every prince brought forward pretensions to part of it.

Frederic of Prussia produced some obsolete right to Silesia, which he at once invaded; and the king of Savoy laid claim to the Milanese. The king of Poland demanded the whole for his wife Maria, the daughter of the Emperor Joseph. The elector of Bavaria, who was a candidate for the vacant imperial crown, advanced a similar demand, in virtue of the will of Ferdinand I. from whose eldest daughter he descended. A more surprising claimant of the whole Austrian inheritance was Philip V., who insisted upon being considered as the lineal representative, in right of his grandmother, of the elder branch of the Austrian line, to which it was to revert in failure of Ferdinand I.'s male heirs. These extravagant pretensions he could never expect that any European country, even France, would sanction; but he probably did hope that their very extravagance would enable him to obtain a large portion of the spoils of a princess who, it was imagined, must be presently dethroned. Philip's real aim seems to have been the Milanese, in addition to Tuscany, Parma, and Placentia, with the title of king of Lombardy for his third son Philip, who, the preceding year, had married Maria Louisa, daughter to Lewis XV. France, Russia, and England advanced no claims: but the first of these powers prepared to assist the elector of Bavaria and Philip, betwixt whom she probably meant to divide the booty; Russia refused to interfere; and England alone, faithfully observing her engagements, supported the queen of Hungary, as Maria Theresa was now intitled.

A Spanish army was equipped, and placed under the command of the *infante*, assisted by the duke of Montemar; but the fleet destined to convey the troops to Italy was kept in check by

a British fleet, under Admiral Haddock, until the close of 1741, when France having declared war, sent her naval forces to assist those of Spain. The allied fleets then amounting to double Haddock's numbers, he was compelled to retreat to Port Mahon, in Minorca, and Montemar with his army reached the shores of Italy by sea, whilst the *infante* proceeded through France to join him. The success by no means answered to the hopes of the projectors of this enterprise. The king of Sardinia, when he discovered

Italy
from A.D.
1736—1746.

Philip's views upon the Milanese, deserted the Bourbons, and joined the queen of Hungary, who, supported by English subsidies and the generous zeal of her Hungarian subjects, now found herself able to send powerful reinforcements into Italy; whilst a division of the British fleet, entering the Bay of Naples, compelled Charles to declare himself neutral, and recall his troops from Lombardy, whence Montemar was at the same time driven by the Austrians and Sardinians.

This failure was at Madrid imputed to Montemar. He was pronounced superannuated, and Gages was sent to supersede him in the command. Gages fully justified his predecessor both by the cautious line of conduct he judged it necessary to adopt, and by the defeat he suffered when the orders of the impatient Elizabeth forced him to change his measures. The French army, with which the *infante* was endeavouring to make his way through the passes of the Alps, failed likewise. It was not until 1744 that Don Philip, and the prince of Conti, leading their troops by incredible exertions over mountains previously deemed impassable, nearly reached the plains of Piedmont. But this was even now the limit of their success. By the ability of the king of Sardinia they were foiled in the siege of Coni, which town barred their farther progress; and were finally compelled to retreat their steps, ere the snows of winter should entirely block up the way.

The campaign of 1745 proved more fortunate. Genoa, impelled by jealousy of the king of Sardinia, entered into alliance with the Bourbons, and the friendship of the republic facilitated the passage of the maritime Alps. When that was accomplished, sixty-two thousand men, French and Spaniards, were united, and the Milanese was overrun.

The pride of the Spanish court was heightened by the failure of the English attempts upon Carthage and Cuba, as well as by a naval battle in the Mediterranean, which the dissensions of the English commanders rendered indecisive. The close alliance between the two branches of the house of Bourbon was confirmed by the marriage of the dauphin to the *Infanta* Maria Theresa, a younger sister of the *Infanta*, previously affianced to his father, Lewis XV.; and Elizabeth, elated by so many favourable circumstances, in imagination already saw her second son king of Lombardy.

But the following year overthrew her brilliant hopes. Maria Theresa, now the empress-queen, in consequence of her husband's election as emperor, being induced to purchase peace with Prussia by the cession of Silesia, was enabled to reinforce her Italian armies more efficaciously. The French and Spaniards were again worsted; the rebellion in England in favour of the Pretender was quelled; and France opened a separate negotiation with Austria, proposing to divide the Milanese between the *Infante* and Charles Emanuel of Savoy. Philip and Elizabeth were incensed by this attempt to blight the prospects of their son; and their resentment was not lessened when it appeared that the wily king of Sardinia had listened to the French overtures only to gain time for the arrival of more Austrian troops, and to extort a further territorial bribe from the Empress Queen. Community of interest, however, subdued the dissatisfaction arising between the two Bourbon courts; and their exertions were renewed in Italy. These exertions were again baffled, and negotiations were again opened by Lewis XV., to which he, with great difficulty, obtained the concurrence of the king and queen of Spain.

But in the midst of these discussions the reign of Philip V. was abruptly closed. Struck by a sudden fit of apoplexy on the 9th of July 1746, he expired in the arms of the queen, before either medical or spiritual assistance could be procured for him. Notwithstanding the various unjust and imprudent wars into which he was hurried by the ambition of his queen, Philip left Spain in a better condition certainly than he found it. His desire to govern well was undeniable, but neither had that desire sufficient energy to conquer

his constitutional indolence, nor was it guided by a comprehensive intellect or sound judgment. His endeavours to improve his kingdom were too French in their nature to suit the disposition or the wants of Spaniards, and his ablest ministers attempted too much at once to succeed. The gradual course by which alone efficient and safe ameliorations are to be effected, requires a knowledge of human nature and a sacrifice of all private ambition, even of the desire of fame, to the public good, which can hardly be expected from any foreigner, certainly not from such foreigners as Ripperdá or even Alberoni. Nevertheless those ministers did much for Spain, and at his death Philip left a restored army and navy, and less dilapidated finances than Charles II.; although he considerably augmented his pecuniary difficulties by the immense sums he expended in building San Ildefonso.

Philip concluded a treaty called a *Concordat* with Pope Clement XII., putting some check upon that constant acquisition of property by the church, which is one of the greatest calamities of Spain. He founded a royal library for public use, an academy for the cultivation of the Spanish language, and another for that of sculpture and painting. But his patronage of literature was not likely to succeed. The taste Philip sought to introduce was French. Nothing could be more repugnant to the old Spanish genius; and although it has since, under the influence of successive Bourbon kings, obtained a very considerable ascendancy, that could not well happen immediately, or amidst the wars and troubles of Philip's reign.

The restless Elizabeth Farnese, whose ambition had so long disturbed Europe, although permitted by her step-son to enjoy from Philip's bequests a degree of wealth far exceeding that usually allotted to queens dowager in Spain, was thenceforward condemned to obscurity and repose. It appears strange that she should have chosen to pass the remainder of her life in Spain, where she was generally detested, instead of removing to the Italian dominions of her own son; the securing such a retreat for herself having been represented as one of her motives in seeking independent principalities for her children.

CHAPTER V.

Accession of Ferdinand VI.—Influence of his queen—Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle—Infante duke of Parma—Ferdinand studies to maintain peace and improve his dominions—Factions and diplomatic intrigues at Madrid—Ferdinand's council and court—Ensenada—Farinelli—Carvajal—Commercial differences with England settled by compromise—John V. paralytic and imbecile—Renewed dissensions concerning the north bank of the Plata—Agreement to exchange it for part of Paraguay—The Jesuits' government of Paraguay—Indians of the Reductions refuse to evacuate the ceded district—Death of John V.—Accession of Joseph—His able minister, Carralho—Joseph and Carralho reject the proposed exchange—Their exertions to promote internal prosperity—Earthquake of Lisbon—Death of Carralho—Wall—Ensenada's intrigues to embroil Spain with England—Detected by English ambassador—Fall of Ensenada—Death of Barbara—Despair and death of Ferdinand.*

FERDINAND VI. was in his thirty-eighth year at his accession to the crown. He exhibited much of his father's hypochondriac temperament, and carried some of the faults proceeding from it to greater excess; he was more irresolute, more indolent, and perhaps inferior to him in capacity. But he was more of a genuine Spaniard, and though warmly attached to his Bourbon kindred, and tenacious of his right of succession to France, he was determined against being made, like his father, a French viceroy of Spain. He was also more consistent in his piety than Philip, entertaining a truly religious horror of war undertaken for purposes of aggrandizement, and a great reluctance to engage in even

just wars, without an overruling necessity.

Ferdinand is said to have been disgusted by the first sight of the homely features of his Portuguese bride; and the only personal charm she possessed, an elegant shape, she soon lost, becoming exceedingly corpulent at an early period of life. But the excellent qualities in heart and mind of that amiable princess so abundantly compensated for her want of beauty, that she speedily gained her husband's affections, and acquired an influence over him, fully equal to that of Elizabeth Farnese over Philip. This influence Barbara had no temptation to use contrary to the interests of Spain; whilst her attachment to her native Portugal, and to her cousin the empress-queen, secured her opposition to any participation in the warlike schemes of Lewis XV.

Soon after Ferdinand's accession, overtures of a pacific tendency were made by England, through Portugal, to Spain, to which the new king readily gave ear. They were broken off by the intrigues of the queen-dowager, a circumstance which induced Ferdinand to make some changes in his cabinet—he had till then retained all his father's ministers. He likewise sent the Marquess de las Minas, a true Spaniard in his hatred of France, to supersede Gages, and he excluded his half-brother Don Philip, who, as Lewis XV.'s son-in-law, was wholly under the control of the court of Versailles, from all authority over the Spanish army. But at the same time he professed his determination not to make peace without procuring Don Philip an Italian principality, and if he did not carry on the war with all his stepmother's energy, he certainly did as much as the *Infante* was entitled to expect.

All parties, except Maria Theresa, were by this time equally weary of the war. France had indeed, under the able conduct of Marshal Saxe, again overrun the Netherlands, and now menaced Holland. But Lewis XV.

Foreign
Politics
A.D. 1748.

* The authorities principally consulted for this chapter are, Yriarte, Da Costa, Coxe, Lord John Russell, Southey, Sempère, Voltaire, Belsham, Universal Modern History, Mémoires de Sébastien Joseph de Carralho e Melo, Comte d'Argenson, Marquis de Fombat, Secrétaire d'Etat et Premier Ministre du Roi de Portugal Joseph I. 4 toms. 12mo. Paris, 1784. These memoirs are written in a spirit of bitter hostility to Pompadour, who made himself many violent enemies by his impetuous severity, and still more by his successful attack upon the Jesuits. The General Biographical Dictionary, by A. Chalmers. 32 vols. 8vo. London. 1812-14-17.

was impatient of the interruption of his voluptuous pleasures, his finances were exhausted, his marine ruined, and the splendid talents and success of Marshal Saxe could not shield that commander, as a foreigner, from harassing opposition and cabals. England was tired of bearing the chief burthen of expense for a cause in which she had only a relative

and general interest, and for a princess whom she thought ungratefully indocile to her counsels and wishes. The empress-queen alone was urgent to persevere until she should have recovered all the possessions wrested from her, and refused to purchase the restoration of the Netherlands by the cession of an Italian establishment for Don Philip.

Negotiations were opened between France and England, notwithstanding Maria Theresa's opposition, and a congress was invited to assemble at Aix-la-Chapelle. All the belligerent powers sent ministers thither, but the negotiations were wholly managed by those of France and England, upon the principle of restitution of conquests, and the grant of Parma, Placentia, and Guastalla, to Don Philip. Preliminaries were signed on the 30th of April, 1748, by all the plenipotentiaries except Count Kaunitz, the representative of Maria Theresa. The empress-queen could not, however, but be conscious of her inability singly to resist the will of Europe; and finding her allies deaf to her vehement remonstrances, she at length yielded. Kaunitz signed the preliminaries, and in the month of October of the same year, a definitive treaty, which fixed the above mentioned arrangements, but provided that, of Philip's duchies, two should revert to Austria, and one to the king of Sardinia, in case of his succeeding to the crown of the Sicilies, by Charles's accession to that of Spain (Ferdinand having no children). To this provision Charles positively refused to submit, claiming the right of disposing of the Two Sicilies to one of his own younger sons, in the event of his becoming king of Spain; and he persisted in his refusal despite the representations and entreaties of his brothers. The commercial dissensions between Spain and England were referred to a separate negotiation between those powers.

From this period Ferdinand preserved his realms exempt from war. The chief business of his reign consisted of, endeavours to improve the agriculture, trade, and manufactures of Spain, and to obtain increased benefit to the mother country from the colonies. These patriotic labours were often disturbed by diplomatic and court intrigues, carried on for the purpose of drawing Ferdinand into more intimate connexion with either France or England, and of displacing or supporting his ministers,

according as they inclined to one line of policy or another. His ministers and his court, therefore, demand our principal attention.

Of his father's ministers, Ferdinand permanently retained only one, Don Zeno Somo de Villa, Marquess de la Ensenada, a peasant, who with natural good parts having obtained an education superior to his birth, had gradually risen from the situation first of clerk in a banking-house and then of clerk in a government-office, to the post of minister of marine, war, and finance. He was a man of considerable talent, and appears to have been laudably proud of the humble origin from which he had advanced himself to this height. He is said to have even intended an allusion to it in his title of Marquess of Ensenada (the Bay), the words *en se nada*, meaning, in English, In himself nothing. He was decidedly attached to the interests of France, and it was supposed that he would lose his situation upon Philip's death. He was maintained in office, however, partly through the queen's plan of endeavouring to maintain and increase her own influence by playing and balancing against each other all interests, domestic or foreign, all parties, in or out of the state, all ministers and all diplomatists; but yet more, perhaps, than to her policy, Ensenada owed the preservation of his office to the friendship he had early contracted with the celebrated singer Farinelli, who played so important a part at the court of Ferdinand and Barbara, as to have become an historical personage.

Carlo Broschi, surnamed Farinelli, was a Neapolitan, whose voice and skill had obtained him great musical renown, and enabled him to amass a handsome fortune upon the boards of the London opera-house. During one of Philip's worst fits of hypochondria, Elizabeth Farnese invited Farinelli to Madrid, in order to try the effect of exquisite music upon her husband's obstinate melancholy. The result answered to her utmost hopes. She arranged a concert in a room adjoining that where Philip had for months lain in bed, pertinaciously resisting every entreaty to attend either to the business of his kingdom or the cleanliness of his person. Farinelli's vocal powers aroused him. He sent for the performer, and amidst a profusion of encomiums, promised to grant him whatever reward he should ask. Where-

Spain
from A.D.
1748—1750.

upon Farinelli, by the queen's instructions, requested the king to rise from his bed, undergo the usual operations of shaving and dressing, and attend the council of state. Faithful to his word, Philip complied, and returned for a while to his ordinary habits of life. From that moment Farinelli was retained, with a handsome pension, at Philip's court, and daily soothed the half insane monarch with his melodious warblings.

Farinelli enjoyed equal if not greater favour with the prince and princess of Asturias, who were passionately fond of music; and upon Ferdinand's accession this favour rose to the unexampled height already alluded to. Farinelli, besides being appointed director of the opera, and, in fact, superintendent of all the royal pleasures, was honoured with the cross of Calatrava. As Ferdinand's mind required almost as much as his father's to be amused, his office brought the singer into constant intercourse with the queen, and he was immediately beset by the solicitations, flattery, and offers, of those who desired to secure her influence.

Farinelli seems never to have forgotten himself in this singular exaltation. He rejected all bribes, laughed at the adulation of his superiors, and long answered to those who besought his interference, 'I am a musician, not a politician.' In spite of his modesty, however, he at length became a political agent, having discovered that his intervention was, upon many occasions, agreeable and convenient to Barbara. The influence he was thenceforward led to exert, acted in two opposite directions from the honest feelings of his heart, as did Barbara's, from the dictates of her policy: his warm attachment to the empress-queen, whose subject he was born, and to England, where he had acquired his wealth, rendering him a zealous advocate of their interests, whilst friendship for Ensenada induced him, if not to assist in forwarding all that minister's plans, yet to make the utmost exertions to support him in his place.

Don Joseph de Carvajal, a younger son of the duke of Linares, was the minister whose power balanced that of Ensenada. Carvajal was a genuine Spaniard of the old school; of sound judgment, but not brilliant abilities, and of such inflexible integrity that even a common compliment appeared to him a deviation from truth. He openly professed his

opposition to the influence so long exercised by the French over the Spanish court, which he considered as equally derogatory to the honour, and injurious to the interests, of Spain; and he consequently laboured to promote a closer connexion with England, boasting that he himself descended from the house of Lancaster.

The first subject upon which the ministerial factions tried their strength, was the settlement of the commercial differences with Great Britain, and upon this the result was, in fact, a compromise. The often mentioned *Asiento* contract England gave up, but in return she was replaced upon the footing of the most favoured nation, recovering all the privileges she had held during the reign of Charles II.; and Ferdinand himself acknowledged to the English envoy, Mr. Keene, the truth of the old Spanish saying, that the interests of Spain required, 'Peace with England' if at the price of 'War with all the world;' an acknowledgment hardly to have been expected from a Bourbon king. Ensenada and the French party are represented as much mortified at having failed to prevent this concession. They need scarcely have wished to do so. It was vague, and gave birth to such incessant disputes in America and the West Indies, that the utmost exertions of Carvajal were required to allay them, and prevent the rekindling of the flames of war.

The next power with which dissensions occurred was Portugal. That kingdom had taken no part in European politics since the Succession War; and some insignificant disputes with Rome touching ecclesiastical immunities and the bestowing of a cardinal's hat, which were easily settled, were the only events recorded in her domestic history since her diplomatic quarrel with Spain. The state of paralytic imbecility into which John V., like his father before him, had sunk, seemed to promise a continuance of Portuguese inaction, at least during the remainder of his reign; whilst the queen of Spain's unlimited influence over her husband, and warm attachment to her own family and country, offered additional security for the peace and harmony of the Peninsula. The old contests concerning Nova Colonia were nevertheless revived; but the negotiations that ensued, were conducted in a frank spirit of conciliation; and it

Portugal
from A. D.
1739—1750.

was proposed finally to get rid of this subject of ever renewed contention, by exchanging the territory occupied by the Portuguese upon the Plata, for a district more conveniently situated relatively to Brazil, namely for a part of Paraguay, which adjoins the Portuguese dominions on their western frontier.

No scheme could appear more reasonable, or more mutually advantageous. Nova Colonia, a distant settlement always exposed, upon the breaking out of war, to surprise from the superior power of Buenos Ayres, had no value to Portugal except as a smuggling station, whilst the portion of Paraguay to be given in exchange was fertile, and well cultivated by converted and civilized Indians. But, with the best intentions, it is difficult for distant statesmen, imperfectly informed as to the peculiar condition of colonial possessions, to judge upon such subjects; and the projected exchange proved, if not absolutely impracticable, yet fraught with obstacles and evils.

Paraguay had been entirely resigned by the Spanish court to the government of the Jesuits, and that able and active fraternity had there laboured in the cause of religion, charity, and virtue, with a zealous diligence that might almost have expiated the crimes, of which their order had, at an earlier period, been the authors or the instigators in Europe. In Paraguay the missionary jesuits had formed several establishments called Reductions, to which they allured the savage natives; and those whom they could thus draw together they reclaimed from their barbarous habits, converted to the Christian religion, and instructed in the virtues and duties of humanity, as well as in many of the arts of civilization, whilst they accustomed them to live under social institutions. The system pursued by the jesuits towards their Indian converts was not, indeed, calculated to advance them rapidly in wealth or knowledge. They ruled them with the despotism of a schoolmaster, and sought only to make them docile and happy children. But this minutely strict discipline seems to have been well adapted to the Indians, such as they were. In the Reductions their peaceful contentment was untroubled by cares for the future, and their attachment to the ruling fathers bordered upon adoration.

Seven of these prosperous Reductions the court of Spain proposed to cede to

Portugal in exchange for Nova Colonia, the jesuits and their flocks being ordered to remove into some other portion of the Spanish territories. The jesuits prepared to obey, but earnestly remonstrated against the measure, representing the cruelty of expelling men from the homes and fields that their toil had reclaimed from the wilderness, the difficulty of prevailing upon the indolent Indians, thus discouraged, to undertake, a second time, the severe labours required in forming new settlements, and the danger of the half-civilized converts not only returning to a savage life and idolatry themselves, but, by the influence of their example, tempting their countrymen in the other Reductions to do the like. These remonstrances proved unavailing, and the command for the emigration of the converts was repeated. The Indians of one Reduction began their journey; but quickly sickening of its hardships, returned home; when even the authority of the jesuits failed to compel submission, and the Seven Reductions revolted. The Spanish governor and the Portuguese viceroy united against these unhappy men, who dared resist the mandate to forsake what they deemed doubly their own possessions. The insurgents were of course defeated with great loss; but circumstances had meanwhile occurred in Europe, which occasioned the suspension of the contemplated exchange.

The death of John V., in 1750, transferred his sceptre to his son Joseph, who chose for his minister the bold and enterprising Don Sebastian José de Carvalho e Mello. This nobleman had been employed by John in diplomacy, especially upon a mission to England, but had afterwards languished in a sort of disgrace, on account of his harsh temper and innovating spirit; and the new reign began with an energy corresponding to the minister's character. Joseph positively refused to confirm the exchange of Nova Colonia for the Seven Reductions; and this refusal at once appeased the disorders of Paraguay. It, however, at the same time revived the dissensions touching the northern bank of the Plata, and, generally, respecting the boundary line between Brazil and the Spanish dominions.

But the colonies and foreign relations were secondary objects with Carvalho, whose thoughts were almost exclusively devoted to promoting the internal pros-

Spanish
America
A.D. 1750.

Portugal
from A.D.,
1750—1756.

perity of Portugal, by improving her agriculture and commerce. It is only to be regretted that his knowledge of political economy not being commensurate to his good intentions, the measures by which he endeavoured to accomplish his laudable purpose were frequently so injudicious, as to produce effects very contrary to his desires. A lively jealousy had long been entertained in Portugal of the great benefits derived by England from the trade with that country; and in this jealousy the minister, who had probably seen with mortification the flourishing state of Great Britain, fully participated.

In order to insure to the Portuguese a large proportion of those envied benefits, the laws against the exportation of gold and silver were enforced and sharpened; and the Company of Alto Douro, better known in England as the Oporto Wine Company, was instituted, and endowed with a monopoly right of bnying up the wine produced throughout the kingdom, and thus preventing English merchants from purchasing it of the growers or manufacturers at the former low rates. It can hardly be necessary to point out that whatever profit this last measure might transfer from the English merchant to the Portuguese company, would probably be very much counterbalanced by the diminution of demand which must always follow an increase of price; whilst to the wine-grower, by rendering competition for his article impossible, the effect could only be detrimental. Both measures created great dissatisfaction in the commercial portion of the British public; and, of course, considerable irritation between the courts of Lisbon and St. James's ensued. But ere any serious ill consequences had occurred, a calamity befel Portugal, that excited the compassion of all Europe, and entirely effaced the recollection of injury from the minds of the people and the government of England.

This calamity was the well-known terrible earthquake which, in the year 1755, desolated the city of Lisbon. It was on the 1st of November that the rocking and heaving of the ground under their feet startled the inhabitants of the devoted city from perfect security; and scarcely could they rush out of their houses before this frightful convulsion of nature flung down walls and roofs upon their heads, and opened wide chasms in the paths that had seemed to

offer a chance of flight and safety. The royal family escaped from the palace a very few minutes before it fell, and sought refuge, with almost the whole surviving population, in the open fields.

The greater part of the city, especially where the streets were narrow, was thrown down, with most of the churches. Upwards of fifteen thousand persons are computed to have perished, either buried under mounds of ruins, or ingulphed in the fissures that yawned at their feet in every direction. Many of the victims were persons of high distinction, amongst whom was the Spanish ambassador, crushed by the fall of his house. To heighten the distress caused by so awful a visitation, bands of miscreants, such as, unfortunately, always abound in large towns, took the opportunity to plunder: and, in order to increase the disorder whence they hoped to derive impunity, they set fire to every part of the city that remained standing. Several other Portuguese, and some Spanish towns suffered, although none in any degree that could bear comparison with the disastrous fate of Lisbon; and vessels many leagues out at sea are said to have felt the shock as though they had struck upon rocks. The whole population of Lisbon continued throughout the winter in tents or huts in the fields.

The distress was extreme in every part of Portugal, and called forth, as it has been already stated, the pity of all neighbouring nations. In Spain, Ferdinand deeply sympathised in his queen's sorrow for her countrymen, and repealed the existing prohibitions of exporting some of the necessities of life, and the heavy duties imposed upon the export of others, as related to Portugal. In England, though the claim might be less, more was done. George II. applied to Parliament for the means of relieving a people so severely afflicted; and the sum of one hundred thousand pounds was immediately granted for that purpose. The ministers expended it in corn, and other articles of provisions, or indispensable necessities, which were shipped off without a moment's delay to the desolated city.

The Portuguese felt gratitude both for the benefits conferred and for the kindly fellow-feeling that had prompted the act; and the old ties of friendship between England and Portugal seem to have regained much of their previously decaying strength. For some years subsequent to this event, the at-

tention of Joseph and his minister was mainly engrossed by endeavours to repair the ravages of the earthquake.

During this time the anti-Gallican party was gaining the ascendancy at Madrid, not a little aided by the dissensions constantly arising between Ferdinand and his half-brothers, the king of the Sicilies and the duke of Parma. This last was a prince of weak intellect, wholly governed by his father-in-law, Lewis XV., and always in pecuniary distress, from his childish endeavours to emulate, in his petty court, the voluptuous extravagance of Versailles. His difficulties led to applications to Madrid for assistance in money, which was very reluctantly granted by the frugal Ferdinand. Charles, on the other hand, offended him by the evident reference of all his plans to his eventual succession to the Spanish crown, by his exalts with the queen-dowager and her friends, and by his assumption of independence; for Ferdinand required from his brothers that submission to himself, as head of the family, which he, on his part, refused to Lewis XV., the undoubted head of the whole race of the Bourbons. The king of Spain repulsed all attempts of the French court to interfere between himself and his brothers; and notwithstanding the open and the secret opposition of that court and its Spanish partizans, he concluded a treaty for the tranquillity and neutrality of Italy with the king of Sardinia, (to whom he married his sister, Maria Antonia,) and with the emperor and empress-queen, as sovereigns of Tuscany and Milan. But to show his perfect independence and impartiality, he pertinaciously refused to allow of England's being a party to this treaty, alleging that she had no direct interest in Italy.

This pacific and neutral system was persevered in even after the death of its chief promoter, Carvajal, in 1754; and that, notwithstanding his successor was personally attached to England, and to the English ambassador Keene. This successor was Richard Wall, a native of Ireland, who, being excluded by his adherence to the Roman Catholic religion from all hopes of preferment at home, had, like so many of his countrymen under similar circumstances, sought his fortune abroad, and entered the Spanish army. He had risen high in his profession by talent and courage; had held various civil and diplomatic offices,

and, amongst others, had been employed in a sort of private mission to England during the negotiations for the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle. He had acquitted himself ably in all of these, as he did in the more important post now, in consequence of his high reputation, allotted to him. But his decided partiality for England had no effect upon the policy of Spain; inasmuch as the queen, pursuing her plan of balancing parties, thenceforward so far controlled her own anti-Gallican sentiments as to give additional support to Ensenada, until that minister overthrew himself by the boldness of his intrigues.

War was evidently on the point of breaking out between France and England, hostilities having actually taken place both in India and America; and all endeavours to work upon, what the French party called, the Bourbonism of Ferdinand to assist France having failed, Ensenada resolved, it should seem, to embroil him with England, whether he would or no. For this purpose he sent out secret orders to the Spanish commanders in the West Indies to attack the settlements which the English had been permitted, for the convenience of cutting logwood, to make on the Mosquito shore. A copy of these instructions was adroitly procured by Keene, and communicated, through Wall, to the king and queen. This step determined the fall of Ensenada, notwithstanding the utmost exertions of his faithful friend, Farinelli. But again Barbara interfered to prevent the ascendancy of a single minister. She retained many of Ensenada's partizans in high official situations, and afforded them her support; though she still resolutely repelled various artful attempts to draw her into intimate relations with the court of Versailles.

Such was the state of affairs at Madrid, when, in 1756, war was at length formally declared by most of the European powers; England, in alliance with Prussia, standing opposed to the empress-queen, the emperor and empire, France, Russia, Sweden, and Poland.

The endeavours of both parties, open and underhand, to obtain the cordial co-operation of Spain, were now redoubled. France attacked Minorca, and by the culpable negligence of the British ministry, and the, at least, unenergetic proceedings of Admiral Byng, who commanded an English squadron in the

Spain
from A.D.
1750—1756.

Foreign States
A.D. 1756.

Mediterranean, they took the island, after a gallant defence of fort St. Philip by General Blakeney. Minorca was immediately offered to Ferdinand by Lewis, as the price of his alliance, and effective assistance was promised in recovering Gibraltar. These offers were not accepted, but they made a deep impression upon the mind of Ferdinand, who felt as keenly as Philip had done, the dishonour of seeing Minorca and the strongest fortress of his kingdom in the hands of strangers. His inclination to take the bribe held out to him was increased by the irritation arising out of the irregular conduct of British privateers, both in Europe, and America.

The disasters of the first year of the war overthrew the weak English ministry; and that powerful statesman, William Pitt, afterwards created earl of Chatham, obtained the management of affairs. He considered the friendship of Spain as so important under existing circumstances, that he ordered the English ambassador, now Sir Benjamin Keene, to offer the restitution of Gibraltar to Ferdinand, on condition of his concluding an alliance, offensive and defensive, with England. Neither offer would, probably, have induced the essentially pacific Ferdinand to deviate from his system of neutrality; but it was not under his reign that these rival propositions were to be further weighed. That reign was rapidly drawing to a close, and may be said to have ceased prior to the king's death.

The health of Queen Barbara had long been declining, and Lewis XV. had eagerly speculated upon giving her a successor in one of his own daughters. But the attachment of Ferdinand for his consort was of a different kind from that of Philip V. Barbara died on the 27th of August, 1758, and Ferdinand's despair was not to be chased away by the idea of a new wife. He survived her about a year; but during that whole period he abandoned himself to such an excess of grief, as partially affected his intellects. He refused to pay any attention to business, took scarcely food or rest, and seldom spoke. He died on the 10th of August, 1759. Ferdinand's economy had so effectually aided the improvements of Alberoni and Ripperdá in restoring the finances, that he left about three millions sterling in the royal treasury, with an army and

navy in better condition than Spain had long known. It has been already stated that he took great pains to promote commerce and agriculture. By a *concordat* concluded with Pope Benedict XIV., he recovered the ancient right of the kings of Spain to the ecclesiastical patronage of their kingdom.

CHAPTER VI.

Pombal attacks the Jesuits—Plot against Joseph—Executions—Jesuits implicated—Jesuits expelled from Portugal and her dependencies—Brazilian Reductions decline under the secular clergy—Pombal attempts to curtail clerical privileges—Rupture with Rome—Accession of the king of Naples to the Spanish throne—His eldest son pronounced imbecile—The second, Charles, declared prince of Asturias, the third, Ferdinand, king of Naples—Charles III. adds the Neapolitan Squilaci to his brother's cabinet—The Family Compact—War with England—Charles and Lewis XV. require Joseph to join them against England—He refuses—Spaniards invade Portugal—Energy of Pombal—Spaniards evacuate Portugal—Seize Nova Colonia—English conquests—Peace of Paris—Spain recovers her losses, ceding the Floridas to England, and restoring Nova Colonia to Portugal—Internal improvements of Joseph and Pombal.*

WHILST Spain, under the pacific and beneficent rule of Ferdinand, was beginning to recover from the depth of her previous depression and debility, Portugal was similarly reviving. She had nearly recovered the ravages of the earthquake, under the energetic and patriotic, if not always judicious, administration of Carvalho, who had been created, in recompense of his services, count of Oeiras and marquess of Pombal. This bold minister had now engaged King Joseph in an attempt, certainly not to have been expected from the weakest and most bigoted court in Europe. This was the expulsion from all the Portuguese dominions of the powerful Order of Jesuits, whose for-

* The authorities principally consulted for this chapter are, Da Costa, Coxe, Southey, Voltaire, Belham, *Mémoires de Pombal*, Chalmers, *Universal Modern History*.

midable influence Pombal had experienced when he had early been compelled to seek advancement by courting them, and from whom he met with, or anticipated the principal opposition to his plans of reform.

The resistance offered by the Indians of the Seven Reductions to the projected exchange, had been attributed by the American authorities of both nations, to the Jesuits. The accusation had, at the request of the Fathers, been judicially investigated by Don Pedro Cavallos, the commander dispatched with strong reinforcements from Spain, to quell the insurrection, (conceived to be much more formidable than it really was,) and to complete the exchange. The result of his inquiries was the full and complete acquittal of the Jesuits. Pombal, however, either still believed the refuted charges, or pretended to do so, as a means of at least repressing an obnoxious Order, which, by the abilities of its members, and the deep political skill of its organization, had acquired a formidable, and often pernicious, influence throughout Catholic Europe.

It is singular enough, that the conduct of the Jesuits in America, where they were conferring real benefits upon humanity, should have been the crime imputed to them; but it seems not improbable, that their proceedings actually were misunderstood at home, and that the unlimited authority they acquired over the reclaimed Indians, was considered as dangerous to the sovereignty of the mother country, perhaps even to the safety of the colonists. Whatever were Pombal's motives, Joseph presented a memorial to Benedict XIV. against the Jesuits; and the pope, in compliance with the king's solicitations, appointed the cardinal-patriarch, Don Francisco de Saldanha, visitor, and apostolic reformer general of the company, in Portugal and its dependencies.

Whilst the Jesuits and their accusers were battling before the tribunal of the visitor, a plot to murder the king was organised at Lisbon in 1758, by two of the noblest families in the realm, the motives to which, as is often the case, were enveloped in obscurity; whence it was easy to implicate the Jesuits, whether guilty or not, in the criminal design. The Duke d'Aveiro, the chief conspirator, who had been a great favourite of John V., was descended from Don George, that natural son of John II., whom his

father had endeavoured to substitute to his cousin Manuel as his successor; and a daughter of the duke's was married to the eldest son of his confederates, the marquess and marchioness of Tavora. It has been surmised that the king, whose gallantries were notorious, was upon too intimate a footing with the young marchioness of Tavora, and that the two families resented such a stain upon their honour; it has been also surmised, that the old marchioness, a woman of imperious temper and uncontrollable passions, was exasperated at having been refused a dukedom for her husband; and finally, it was alleged at the time, that these two noble families were merely the tools of their Jesuit confessors, who sought by the king's death to quell the proceedings against their Order.

What can be stated with certainty is, that a young lady, a distant relation of the Tavora family, who resided with the old marchioness, was found dead, pierced with wounds and wrapped in a sheet, in one of the streets of Lisbon; that no judicial inquiry into the circumstances of her death took place, (a mode of connivance not uncommon when suspicion of crime attached to powerful families;) that soon afterwards, as the king was returning to the palace at night, from the residence of one of his mistresses, several shots were fired at the back of his carriage, one of which wounded him; and that the coachman, instead of going forwards to the palace, instantly turned his horses' heads, and drove to the house of the king's surgeon. It is believed that by this step he saved his master's life, as he thus avoided two or three other parties of assassins who were lying in wait on the road to the palace.

Some weeks elapsed ere the perpetrators of this outrage were detected, during which time d'Aveiro and Tavora were assiduous in their visits to the royal invalid. But in the end Pombal obtained a clue to the plot. A frightful number of persons were seized and imprisoned; and in January 1759, as it is alleged, after a very arbitrary and unsatisfactory trial, the duke, the marquess, his two sons, and several other persons, were broken on the wheel; the old marchioness, in consideration of her sex, was beheaded, and the young marchioness was shut up for life in a convent. Many persons were banished, and others imprisoned for life.

One of the conspirators is said, whilst

under the torture, to have accused three Jesuits as the instigators of the conspiracy, but to have retracted this accusation upon the scaffold. Of these three Jesuits, one was tried for heresy, not treason, convicted, and executed; the other two were not even brought to trial; but Pombal took the opportunity to charge the crime upon the whole Order, as the fruit of its principles and doctrines; an imputation to which their earlier conduct rendered the Order but too obnoxious. He issued orders for the confiscation of their property, and the seizure of their persons, throughout Portugal and the colonies, as advisers and instigators of regicide; and for the investigation of their doctrines. In the month of September of this same year, they were finally proscribed and banished.

The missionary fathers were torn from the Reductions, and with all Jesuits who could be found in Brazil, old and young, even the patients in their infirmaries, were stowed on board ship, without any of the conveniences, or scarcely any of the necessities of life, like the unfortunate negroes in slave-vessels, and transported to Europe. Upon reaching the mouth of the Tagus, some were landed and thrown into the Lisbon prisons, where they languished during the remainder of Joseph's reign: others were sent forward to Italy, where they were landed upon the papal territories, and left to find their way to the houses of their Order. It is said, however, that an allowance was made from Lisbon for their support, and that Pombal often complained of the extraordinary longevity of his Jesuit pensioners.

It is probably superfluous to observe, that this complaint of longevity referred solely to the survivors landed in Italy, and that the number of those who fell victims to the hardships suffered in their voyage across the Atlantic, was immense. The place of the Jesuits was supplied in Brazil by secular clergy; but these men, who undertook reluctantly the irksome and arduous missionary labours, to which the Jesuits had been impelled by zeal either for religion or for the honor of their Order, proved very inadequate substitutes, and were moreover viewed with ill-will by the Indians of the Reductions, as the supplanters of the Jesuits, to whom they had borne a filial love and reverence. In the end most of the Portuguese Reductions decayed, and numbers of the civilized and converted nations returned to savage life.

Pombal, who really appears to have been partly actuated by disgust at the slavery, however easy, in which the fathers had held their converts, and to have desired to place the Indians upon a level with their Portuguese masters, now endeavoured at once to effect this equalization. The scheme, if not extravagant, was at least premature. The Indians were incapable of understanding, and consequently of exercising, the rights he would have conferred upon them; and the colonists were indignant at the idea of being robbed of an important part of their property, in their power over those they deemed their slaves. Hence, this attempt to do too much, to achieve a desirable object without due preparation, ended in rendering worse the situation of those he would have benefited, and in checking the slow progress towards civilization which the Indians were making in the Reductions.

In Portugal likewise, Pombal, though he succeeded better, attempted too much; and by his injudicious endeavours to secure to the Portuguese the profit made by foreign, and especially English merchants, he merely harassed and injured the trade of the country, without at all advancing the end at which he aimed. That end was in fact unattainable. To deprive the enterprising capitalist of his profits is very possible, but not so to transfer them to the indigent, ignorant, or unenterprising. Pombal moreover involved Portugal in a quarrel with Rome, by his endeavour to subject the clergy to a lay tribunal, a sort of board of conscience, when accused of high treason, or other state crimes. The pope had granted this with respect to the Jesuits, but refused to extend it generally, unless the president of the tribunal were a prelate. In resentment of this restriction, Joseph recalled his ambassador from Rome, ordered all Portuguese to quit the papal territories, expelled the pope's subjects from his own dominions, and broke off all intercourse with the Holy See.

Prior to this rupture, a papal dispensation had been obtained for one of those incestuous connexions so frequent in the Peninsula, and more especially in Portugal. Joseph had no son; and to insure the undisputed succession of his eldest daughter, Donna Maria, it was deemed expedient to marry her to her uncle, his younger brother, Don Pedro. The dispensation was obtained, and the marriage celebrated in 1760.

Meanwhile the king of Naples had received the news of Ferdinand's death, and his own consequent accession to the throne of Spain, as Charles III.; and he appointed his mother, the queen dowager, regent, until he could sufficiently arrange the affairs of his Neapolitan dominions, to allow of his repairing to his new kingdom. By the provisions of the treaty that had assigned the Two Sicilies to Charles, the Spanish and Neapolitan crowns were, it will be recollected, to remain permanently separated; and upon Charles becoming king of Spain, Philip was to succeed him at Naples, the duchies of Parma, Placentia, and Guastalla reverting to Austria and Sardinia. To these stipulations Charles had always objected, and he had at length prevailed upon Austria and Sardinia to abandon their right of enforcing that part of the treaty.

The kingdom of the Two Sicilies was now, therefore, to be transferred to his second son. But here occurred a new difficulty, although Charles, by his queen, Amelia, a princess of Saxony, had a large family, of which seven sons and two daughters were then living. His eldest, Philip, was reduced by epileptic fits to a state of idiotcy, and Charles found it requisite to have his incapacity publicly established. He accordingly held an assembly consisting of the chief Neapolitan and Sicilian barons, a deputation from the city of Naples, a member of the council of Castile, his own ministers, and the whole diplomatic body at his court, to whom he formally announced the positive opinion of medical and other judges upon Don Philip's decided imbecility. This being acknowledged, he proclaimed his second son Charles, Prince of Asturias, and his third son, Ferdinand, King of the Sicilies. He then appointed a council of regency, presided by his prime minister the Marquess Tanucci, to govern the kingdom, until Ferdinand, who was only eight years old, should be of full age. On quitting the assembly, Charles embarked, with his queen and family, Ferdinand excepted, for Spain.

Charles's first act as king of Spain was one for which it is difficult to account, except as a proof of the queen mother's aversion to her deceased stepson and his consort. He ordered the unassuming Farinelli to leave Spain instantly; but continued the pension

granted him by the deceased king. Except in this one instance, he marked the utmost respect for Ferdinand, retaining most of his ministers, and expressing his especial confidence in General Wall; but he added a Neapolitan favourite, the Marquess Squilaci, to their number, and assigned to him the financial department, in which he had already proved his ability at Naples. And to the improvement of the finances and agriculture of Spain, Charles, with Squilaci's aid, devoted his serious attention, endeavouring to redeem the credit of the country, by adopting measures for the payment of the debts of his father and more remote predecessors, the refusal to discharge which had been one of the means employed by the economical Ferdinand for enriching his exchequer.

But Charles was not long permitted to dedicate himself to these internal cares. The cabals for inducing Spain to join France in the war, which had harassed Ferdinand, continued under his successor. For a while they were unavailing. The particulars of a plot fomented, if not set on foot by France, to substitute Lewis XV.'s son-in-law, the duke of Parma, for the king of the Sicilies upon the Spanish throne, are said to have been amongst the private papers of the king of Poland, which the victorious king of Prussia seized upon capturing Dresden. The discovery was forthwith communicated to the Neapolitan court, and of course strongly prejudiced the king, and yet more the queen, against the French monarch. With these Anti-Gallican prepossessions, Charles ascended the Spanish throne, and so long as Amelia lived, he persevered resolutely in his deceased brother's system of neutrality.

This gentle influence lasted not long. In September, 1760, the queen died; and when she was no more, the resentment which Charles had entertained against England, ever since her fleets had compelled him to declare the neutrality of the Two Sicilies, regained the ascendancy, and gave increased power to his feelings as a Bourbon. Perhaps too, politically speaking, he might be justified in deeming it essential to support France against England, the latter country having, under the administration of Mr. Pitt, so completely ruined the navy, and conquered the colonies of her rival in every part of the globe, that Spain might reasonably view her growing superiority with alarm.

In this state of affairs the duke of Choiseul, then French prime minister, managed further to exasperate Charles against British policy, by proposing that the commercial differences between Spain and England should be discussed and settled in the negotiations for peace then in progress between France and the latter country. Mr. Pitt positively refused to admit of French intervention; irritating language was exchanged between the cabinets of London and Madrid, and the duke of Choiseul prevailed upon Charles to sign the treaty called the Family Compact, by which the different sovereigns of the house of Bourbon bound themselves to support each other against all the world.

The signature of this treaty decided the question of peace or war; but as both France and Spain wished to temporize until the American register or treasure ships should be safe in a Spanish port, the Family Compact was kept secret, and the negotiations between London and Madrid continued. Pitt, however, found reason to suspect, if he could not actually obtain, proof of the engagements entered into by the Bourbon courts, and proposed at once to declare war against Spain, intercept the American Plate fleet, and attack her colonies whilst yet unprepared for resistance. But George III. had now succeeded to George II. upon the English throne, and the influence of the new king's favourite, the earl of Bute, is said to have been efficaciously exerted against the minister. Mr. Pitt's colleagues refused to believe in the hostile intentions of Spain, or unnecessarily to involve the nation in a war with another enemy; and on the 9th of October, 1761, the great English minister resigned his office, that he might not be held responsible for measures he was no longer permitted to guide.

The English cabinet, now entirely influenced by Lord Bute, continued to negotiate, and the court of Madrid to profess the most friendly disposition, until the last register ship of the year had arrived. The tone was then changed, the Family Compact avowed, and England virulently reproached with ambitious designs against the colonies of Spain. War was formally declared in January, 1762, within three months of Mr. Pitt's resignation.

The two Bourbon monarchs now required the king of Portugal to join

them against England, Charles kindly offering Spanish troops with which to garrison the Portuguese fortresses against British aggression. The close connexion between England and Portugal had slackened since Pombal's commercial alterations; but both countries still felt that their alliance was mutually beneficial, and Joseph was by no means tempted to place his fortresses in the hands of Spanish troops. Ill prepared as he was for war, he therefore boldly refused to desert his old ally; the Bourbon ambassadors quitted Lisbon, (a step nearly tantamount to a declaration of war) and a Spanish army immediately invaded Portugal.

Portugal
from A. D.
1760-1762.

During a peace of forty-eight years the Portuguese army had been neglected. The troops did not amount to twenty thousand men, and this small number were ill-armed, and worse disciplined. Their condition may be best appreciated from the single circumstance that almost all the subaltern officers were the menial servants of their superior officers, the great nobles, whose regimental rank was in a manner hereditary. It is not surprising that Braganza, Miranda, Torre de Moncorvo, and Almeida fell in rapid succession before the invaders, whilst the greatest alarm spread throughout the country.

But the genius of Pombal rose with the emergency. He excited the peasantry, who detested the Spaniards, to harass them with that species of irregular warfare in which they excelled. From England he obtained supplies of arms, troops, and especially of officers; and he appointed the Count de la Lippe, a German general of considerable reputation, to the chief command of the Portuguese army. La Lippe showed real talent by adapting his measures to the nature of the forces that were to execute them. By his direction the armed peasants defended the mountain passes; and the English brigadier-general Burgoyne successfully performed several surprises and small expeditions, which, if in themselves of little moment, served to revive the spirits of the Portuguese army, and being combined with the annoyance given by the peasantry, checked the progress of the Spaniards. Accordingly at the approach of winter, the invaders retired within their own frontiers, evacuating all their conquests. This campaign constituted nearly the

whole of the Spanish share of the seven years war in Europe; the rest was confined to contributing a few auxiliary troops to the French armies.

In America, Spain was more successful against Portugal, the governor of Buenos Ayres again making himself master of Nova Colonia, with a booty of four millions sterling, besides numbers of richly laden English merchant vessels. But the disasters she suffered in the West Indies and on the shores of the Pacific from the arms of Great Britain, far more than counterbalanced this advantage.

The English cabinet, upon the breaking out of the war, had adopted Mr. Pitt's plans, as far as the lapse of three months from their first suggestion left it feasible to do so. Actual surprise was now impossible; but a powerful British armament was dispatched to the West Indies under the command of Admiral Pocock, and General Lord Albemarle; and Cuba was the first object of attack. The Spanish government had expected this, and employed the interval allowed them, in strengthening the garrison and fortifications of the Havannah, and collecting a fleet in the harbour under the marquess of Real Transporte. But neither these precautions, nor the gallantry displayed by the Spanish commanders, could permanently defend the place; and after a sharp and resolute struggle of little more than two months, in which the various strong posts successively fell, the English were masters of the Havannah, with a booty of three millions sterling, besides nine sail of the line, three frigates, and naval and military stores to a very great amount.

The loss of the Havannah was almost immediately followed by that of the island of Trinidad in the West Indies, and of Manila, the capital of the Philippines, against which an expedition was dispatched under Colonel Draper, from the English possessions in the East Indies. After some hard fighting, this officer made himself master of the town, and his troops had already begun to plunder, when he signed a capitulation with the archbishop-governor, and the commandant of the garrison, by which they ransomed the place from utter destruction, with the sum of two millions of dollars, and an assignment for as much more upon the Spanish treasury. The booty was afterwards increased by the capture of the Acapulco

galleon, which was valued at three millions of dollars.

On the 10th of February, 1763, a treaty of peace was signed at Paris, between France, Spain, and England, by which France ceded to England, in North America, Canada, the adjacent islands, and the portion of Louisiana lying to the east of the Mississippi; in the West Indies, Dominica, St. Vincent and Tobago; in the East Indies many recent acquisitions on the coast of Coromandel, and in Africa Senegal; all other conquests being mutually restored. Minorca thus reverted to England, and Spain bought back the Havannah, Trinidad, and Manila, by the cession of the Floridas, the recognition of the right of English subjects to cut logwood in the bay of Honduras, and the restoration of Nova Colonia to Portugal. By way of compensation for these losses, Spain obtained from France the restoration of the remainder of Louisiana, lying west of the Mississippi. The king of Prussia and the empress-queen, deserted by their principal allies, did not think proper to continue the war; and the treaty of Hubertsburg, which replaced all parties in the condition they were in before the rupture, was signed by them, the empire, and the king of Poland, nearly simultaneously with the treaty of Paris.

Upon the restoration of peace, Joseph and Pombal resumed their patriotic labours for improving the internal condition of Portugal. With the assistance of La Lippe they remodelled, increased, and disciplined the army. They similarly reformed the state of the navy. They established a more efficient police, and abolished the *Indices Expurgatorios*, or prohibitory lists of books of the Inquisition, which banished from Portugal many good and really philosophical works. They did not indeed give liberty to the press, but established a board of censure, combining royal with prelatial and inquisitorial judges, by which all publications were to be examined. The verdicts of this board, if still somewhat illiberal, were far less so than the bigoted decisions of the uncontrolled Inquisition. Nay, it is even said to have admitted some free-thinking works, and condemned many books written in support of the more extravagant pretensions of the Papal See. To this board moreover all schools were subjected. Pom-

Foreign Politics
A.D. 1763.

America
A.D.
1761, 1762.

Portugal
from A.D.
1763-1773.

bal introduced great ameliorations into the constitution and forms of the university of Coimbra, where, till then, degrees in law, medicine, and divinity had been granted, without any real examination of the proficiency of the candidates.

Pombal likewise somewhat limited the right of entailing property, carried throughout the peninsula to a ruinous extent, diminished the excessive number of monasteries, imposed restrictions upon the admission of novices, and endeavoured to abolish the odious distinctions between old and new Christians, by repealing the tax laid especially upon the latter. He likewise rendered the royal sanction necessary for the celebration of *autos da fé*. On the other hand, Pombal sought to encourage agriculture by ordering all vineyards to be destroyed that were planted upon good arable land; he cramped commerce by injudicious attempts to encourage domestic manufactures, by establishing exclusive commercial companies, by passing sumptuary laws, and by various embarrassing regulations.

Upon the whole, however, the result of Pombal's administration was highly advantageous to Portugal; and it seems to be pretty generally acknowledged as such, since lapse of years has allayed the strong prejudice excited against him partly by the implacable severity already alluded to, but chiefly by the resentment of the friends and partisans of the Jesuits, and of the noble families implicated in the plot of 1758. In token of gratitude, if we must not rather say of adulation, to a minister then all powerful, the *Câmara*, or municipality of Lisbon, placed a medallion containing a bust of Pombal, upon the pedestal of a statue of Joseph, which they erected in the year 1775.

CHAPTER VII.

Grimaldi succeeds Wall—Marriages of the Bourbon princes amongst themselves, and with the houses of Austria and Sardinia—Dissensions with England—With Portugal—Squillaci offends the people of Madrid by innovations—Sedition—Charles dismisses Squillaci, and revokes his edicts—Aranda president of the council of Castile—Choiseul intrigues against the Jesuits—Jesuits expelled from Spain and Spanish America—Paraguay

Indians return to savage life—Naples and Parma imitate Spain—Clement XIII. menaces Parma with interdict and excommunication—Clement XIV. abolishes the Order of Jesuits—New dissensions with England—Choiseul overthrown by a court intrigue, and war prevented—Aranda's reforms—He attacks the power of the church and the Inquisition—Is dismissed.*

WHILST Joseph and his minister were thus labouring for the improvement of Portugal, the able and honest Wall had retired from office at Madrid.

From the moment that the French had decidedly gained the ascendancy he had repeatedly tendered his resignation, which Charles had as often refused to accept. He is said to have at length obtained his release by the whimsical artifice of rubbing his eyes with an ointment that gave them the appearance of inflammation, every time he attended the king. He was succeeded by another foreigner, directly opposed to him in politics.

This was Jeronimo Marquess Grimaldi, the younger son of a noble Genoese family, who had been educated for the church, and sent upon a political mission by his native republic to Spain, during the latter part of Philip's reign. The court of Madrid was then a general stage for foreign adventurers. The comeliness of Grimaldi's person, his lively conversation, and his insinuating manners, proved such potent recommendations, that the young ecclesiastic, encouraged by his favourable reception, renounced both the clerical profession and the service of his native land, and gladly took a subordinate situation in the Spanish government. Here he attached himself to the French party, thereby acquired the patronage of Ensenada, and was employed under Ferdinand in several diplomatic missions. Upon the accession of Charles he was sent ambassador to Paris, where he gained the entire confidence of the duke of Choiseul, and was a principal instrument in bringing about the Family Compact,

* The authorities principally consulted for this chapter are, Da Costa, Coxe, Voltaire, Sempère, Belsam, Sonthey, *Memorias Espectales sobre el Origen y Consecuencia de los Malos sucesos, hasta los años de 1816*, por Don Gerolamo Martin de Harro, 8vo. Londres,—a sort of political essay upon the causes of the helplessness of Spain, prior to Buonaparte's invasion, which affords some insight into her long misgovernment. It is written with strong animosity, and of course with much prejudice, which must be allowed for when referring to it.

the negotiations for which are believed to have been concealed from Wall until its signature. The favour of the court of Versailles was one of Grimaldi's chief recommendations as Wall's successor.

Under Grimaldi's administration the bonds of alliance between Paris and Madrid were drawn closer than ever, and the Bourbon sovereigns sought to gain strength and influence by matrimonial connexions, as well amongst themselves, as with the most powerful royal families of Europe. Charles, prince of Asturias, married Louisa Maria, the second daughter of Philip, duke of Parma, whose eldest daughter was the wife of the Archduke Joseph, eldest son of Maria Theresa. The empress-queen's second son, Leopold, grand duke of Tuscany, married Maria Louisa, second daughter of the king of Spain; and three of her daughters became severally the wives of Ferdinand king of Naples, of Ferdinand, who, in 1765, succeeded his father Philip as duke of Parma, and of the French dauphin, afterwards the unfortunate Lewis XVI.; whilst the dauphin's two brothers espoused two daughters of the king of Sardinia, a monarch who, though not very considerable in himself, enjoyed great local importance, with regard to all schemes of Italian conquest, and to the secure establishment of the Spanish Bourbon princes already endowed with Italian sovereignties.

In virtue of the close connexion between the houses of Bourbon and of Austria, produced by so many intermarriages, Maria Theresa wished to be admitted a member of the Family Compact. She was refused, upon the plea of that treaty being a mere matter of affection, not policy, with which as such Europe had no concern, but which would justly become an object of general alarm, should it be extended to other powers.

The peace restored by the treaty of Paris did not at first promise to be durable. The settlements for cutting logwood produced incessant wrangling between Spain and England; as did the Manila ransom, the Spanish court positively refusing to pay the two millions of dollars for which the archbishop had drawn upon it. Between Spain and Portugal differences equally existed touching the limits of the respective dominions of either country in South America; and although the temperate

firmness of the English cabinet was most useful in preventing those squabbles from producing actual hostilities, such an issue could not perhaps have been very long delayed, had not the attention of the king of Spain been diverted from external affairs by internal disorders. His favourite Squilaci had, as both a favourite and a foreigner, long been an object of popular ill will, which was further exasperated by his injudicious precipitation in attempting to carry a very really important point, namely, the introduction of an effective police at Madrid.

That capital was not only disgustingly filthy, but the scene of frequent unpunished and undetected assassinations. The security with which such crimes were perpetrated was ascribed in part to the national dress, namely, the large flapped hat that enabled any man at his pleasure to avoid recognition, without assuming a suspicious appearance of disguise, and the immense wrapping cloak that afforded similar means of concealing the person, as well as a pernicious facility for wearing hidden weapons. Squilaci, not content with cleansing the streets, and lighting the city, prohibited the national hat and cloak. This innovation upon established customs produced, well nigh instantaneously, various symptoms of a disposition to tumult and sedition; a disposition alleged to have been sedulously fostered by the French party, who were anxious to concentrate the whole power in the hands of Grimaldi. At this crisis, Squilaci, instead of endeavouring to conciliate the irritated populace, followed up his obnoxious, although useful measures, with an act of fiscal oppression, peculiarly affecting the lower orders. He established a monopoly for supplying Madrid with bread, oil, and other articles constituting the daily food of the people, the price of all which was, as an inevitable consequence, materially increased.

The long smouldering flame now burst out. The Madrid populace rose in arms, insisted upon every person's flapping his hat, set up the old cry of 'Peace with England, and war with all the world!' and demanded the head of Squilaci, whose house the troops with difficulty protected against their rage. These disorders began in the evening of Palm Sunday, in the year 1766. They lasted through the night and the greater part of the following Monday, until the king, finding all other means unavailing, appeared in a balcony of the palace, whence

he harangued the mob, promising to repeal the decree against flapped hats and long cloaks, to suppress the monopoly of provisions, and to dismiss Squilaci, appointing a Spaniard to his office. These concessions fully satisfied the insurgents; they dispersed with shouts of loyalty; and by Monday evening the city was as tranquil as if no tumult had occurred. But in the course of the night, the king, either terrified out of his usual discretion, or desirous to evade the promised sacrifice of his favourite, left his palace on foot, with the royal family and Squilaci, walked to the nearest city gate, and thence, getting into such carriages as could be procured, hastened to Aranjuez.

The populace considered this flight as a violation of the treaty concluded with them, and rose again with redoubled fury. The Spanish troops refused to act against the insurgents; the Walloons, who still formed the royal guards, had accompanied the king to Aranjuez; and for forty-eight hours Madrid was in the hands of an infuriated mob, a considerable number of whom had managed to procure arms. But though they spread dismay around, these unruly masters committed no acts of private violence; and when the deputy, whom they had sent to Aranjuez, to insist upon the king's returning to Madrid, brought back word that his majesty was too unwell to quit his chamber, but that Squilaci was actually dismissed, and Don Michael Musquiz appointed his successor, the people received the news with shouts of joy, and at once giving up the arms, of which they had lawlessly obtained possession, dispersed to their ordinary occupations. Whatever damage had been done was liberally paid by the ringleaders of the insurrection, and in a few hours' time no one could have supposed that Madrid had ever been disturbed. Similar disorders occurred in different parts of the kingdom, and were not always quelled without bloodshed.

1. The mind of Charles was deeply agitated by these events. His pride was hurt at having been compelled to capitulate with rebels; his affections were wounded by the necessity of dismissing a minister to whom he was personally attached; and the singularly disinterested and orderly conduct of the rebellious populace, amidst their very wildest tumults, excited suspicions of the insurrections having been organized and governed by persons of more conse-

quence. Ensenada, amongst others, was, in consequence of such suspicions, banished from court. Charles's whole administration was moreover disturbed by the retirement of Squilaci. Grimaldi was alarmed, and shrunk from responsibility; whereupon the king summoned Count de Aranda, then governor of Valencia, a popular nobleman, distinguished for vigour of character, to direct his councils; and revived in his favour the office of president of the Council of Castile, which had latterly been discontinued as too powerful, on account of the right it conferred of claiming a weekly private audience of the king.

In the course of a few months the vague suspicions entertained by Charles, touching the origin of the late tumults, were artfully directed towards the Jesuits, and, fixing there, proved the immediate cause of the suppression of that once formidable Order. The power and influence of the Jesuits had been seriously shaken by the blow Pombal had so successfully struck at them. The proof thus given that they were far from invincible, encouraged Choiseul, whom various circumstances, public and private, had rendered their inveterate enemy, to attack them in France. In that country, public opinion, swayed by those freethinking writers, whose doctrines are usually designated by the name of French philosophy, was strong against them. Bigotry was out of fashion, and, in the year 1764, the minister easily procured a sentence that banished them from the French territories. But they were spared the circumstances of inhumanity attending their expulsion from the Portuguese dominions. Elated and emboldened by this victory over a body, which he equally feared and hated, Choiseul now made the final suppression of the Order a leading object of his policy; and, as a preliminary measure, he sought to effect their downfall in the other Catholic states, but more especially in Spain, which might be considered as their native land.

In pursuing his object, Choiseul is said to have been little scrupulous as to means, employing, without hesitation, the grossest calumny, and even forgery. And, reluctant as every candid mind must be to credit such odious imputations, they assuredly do, upon the present occasion, acquire some degree of probability from the mere fact of Charles's suspicions with regard to the

Foreign
Politics from
A.D. 1764—1767.

Madrid insurrection, being led towards the Jesuits. For it is difficult to conjecture what interest those fathers could have had in the overthrow of Squilaci, whilst it was evidently desirable for the French premier to free his friend and creature Grimaldi from a rival who almost exclusively possessed the confidence of the king of Spain; and if in so doing he could likewise exasperate that monarch against an Order whom he, Choiseul, had made his personal enemies, he would gain two great ends by one stratagem.

Be that as it may, suspicion fell upon the Jesuits. Charles, once convinced that they were the authors of the machi-

Spain
A.D. 1767. nations against himself and his favourite, was converted from their zealous protector into their implacable enemy, and their expulsion from Spain and Spanish America was determined. The execution of this determination, when taken, was committed to Aranda, who planned and matured it in the most impervious secrecy. The king, by his desire, wrote with his own hand letters to the governors of every province of his extensive realms, which were not to be opened until a specified day and in a specified place. It is even said that, lest the circumstance of the king's writing so much more than usual should reach the ears and excite the attention of the ever-vigilant Jesuits, the minister carried the pen, ink, and paper requisite, to those private audiences to which, as president of the Council of Castile, he was entitled.

When the appointed time, the 31st of March, 1767, arrived, the colleges of the Jesuits throughout Spain were surrounded at midnight by troops, under the guidance of officers of police. At each college admission being obtained in the king's name, sentinels were posted, the bells were secured, the community was assembled in the refectory, and the royal decree of expulsion was read aloud. Every member was then permitted to take his breviary, linen, some few conveniences, and his money, specifying in writing the amount of this last. They were then placed in different carriages, escorted by dragoons charged to prevent all intercourse with any person whatsoever, and thus conveyed to the coast; where, with similar despatch and similar precautions, they were embarked in vessels provided to transport them to Italy. The seizure and deportation of these fathers from their

respective colleges remained everywhere unsuspected until the following morning, when the prisoners were already far advanced upon their journey to the place of embarkation. The decree for their expulsion was then promulgated.

The vessels bearing the Jesuits made Civita Vecchia, a sea-port of the Estates of the Church; but the governor of that place, having received no instructions upon the subject, would not allow them to be landed until he should have communicated with the pope; and his holiness positively forbade their admission into his territories, upon the plea, that if all the Catholic princes of Europe chose to abolish religious orders, and to send their members to him, neither could his dominions contain, nor his treasury support them. The unhappy Jesuits were, during these discussions, kept on board crowded ships in a sultry season and climate. The aged and infirm of course fell victims to their sufferings. The survivors, after three months tossing about upon the Mediterranean, were at length landed in Corsica, where they were stowed away, like bales of merchandise, in warehouses, without beds, or any of the commonest necessities of life. In this condition they remained, until a compromise was effected between the king of Spain and the pope; the former allowing them a pittance of a shilling a day each, and the pope thereupon permitting them to settle in his dominions.

A similar course was followed in the colonies, but inflicting yet greater evils upon the victims, whom the underlings of office there plundered of the little money and few comforts government allowed them. It is no small vindication of the persecuted Jesuits from the ambitious designs imputed to them in Paraguay, that not more than nine thousand dollars were found in their coffers, and that they not only, in no one instance, offered the slightest resistance to their cruel destiny, but in almost all the Reductions, exerted the unbounded influence they possessed over their flocks to restrain the enraged Indians from opposing the execution of the royal decree. Every other species of justification was effectually prevented by Charles and his minister, since it was publicly announced that if any apology for the conduct of the Jesuits should be put forth by a member of that Order, the pensions of the Spanish exiles should immediately

Spanish
America
A.D. 1767.

cease; and that writing for or against them should, in a Spanish subject, be equivalent to high treason. The decay of the Reductions, and the return of the half-civilised Indians to savage life and paganism, was as complete in Paraguay as it had been in the Brazilian missions.

The example of the king of Spain was followed by the king of the Sicilies and the duke of Parma. The pope had seen with pain and growing irritation the proceedings of so many sovereigns against an order esteemed the firmest champions of the spiritual and temporal power of the Holy See. He had remonstrated earnestly, but had only remonstrated, and, in the end, had given way. When, however, so petty a sovereign as the duke of Parma presumed equally to brave his authority, he deemed such forbearance needless, and menaced Ferdinand's duchy with an interdict, and his person with excommunication, if he did not immediately revoke his ordinances against the rights and privileges of the church.

The indignation of Clement XIII. had hurried him into forgetting that, if the duke of Parma was weak in himself, he was intimately connected with, and supported by, the strong. His cousin, uncle, and grandfather, prevailed upon the other Catholic states to unite with them in censuring the pope's brief, as illegal and vindictive; and the kings of France and Naples further testified their dissatisfaction by occupying those portions of the papal domains which were included within their own dominions, the former taking possession of Avignon, and the latter of Benevento. These sovereigns and Charles continued at the same time their endeavours to obtain from the Holy See the final suppression of the obnoxious Order.

The earnestness with which Charles pursued this object was increased by detecting plots in favour of the Jesuits, and by an offensive proof of their great influence over his subjects, which occurred the year after their expulsion. Upon the festival of the saint after whom he was named, it was customary for the king to present himself to the people in a balcony of the palace, and grant any petition addressed to him by the general voice. Upon St. Charles's day, of the year 1768, the assembled multitude unanimously demanded the return of the Jesuits. The request was, of course,

not granted, and the archbishop of Toledo and his grand vicar were, after due investigation, banished, as the authors of this seditious movement.

The negotiations of the Bourbon princes respecting the suppression of the Order, and the recall of the Bulls fulminated against Parma, were altogether unavailing, so long as Clement XIII.'s pontificate lasted. The death of this pope, said to have been hastened by vexation at the embarrassments of his position, opened a fairer prospect. The exertions and intrigues of France and Spain procured the election of Cardinal Ganganeli, a prelate distinguished for learning, moderation, and disinterestedness; and the new pope, who took the name of Clement XIV., did not disappoint the hopes of his friends. He acted in a manner becoming the professed and acknowledged head of Catholic Christendom.

Clement XIV. required the immediate restoration of the papal territories that had been seized, and he insisted upon being allowed time to examine into the accusations against the Jesuits; declaring that, without such reasons as would justify him in the eyes of God, he could not destroy so celebrated an Order. In other points he showed himself willing to comply with the wishes of Catholic Europe. He revoked the Bull published by his predecessor against the duke of Parma; he received an ambassador from Portugal, whence all missions had for years been prohibited; and he ceded several points of church privilege and ecclesiastical discipline, that had been found politically detrimental. Finally, in July, 1773, yielding to the urgent solicitations of the Catholic powers, he formally suppressed the Order of Jesus.

Whilst the negotiations upon this subject were in progress, Choiseul and Grimaldi were endeavouring to provoke a war with England; and, notwithstanding the pacific policy of their own sovereigns, and of the English administration, which quietly suffered France to possess herself of Corsica, by their adroit management of a dispute touching some insignificant islands in the Southern Atlantic, they had nearly succeeded. These islands, named Falkland's Islands, lie near the Straits of Magellan, and having been praised by Lord Anson as a convenient station, an English settlement had been attempted upon them as early as the year

Foreign States
A.D. 1768.

Foreign politics
from A.D.
1768—1773.

Spain
A.D. 1768.

1748, but at once relinquished, in compliance with the remonstrances of the Spanish government.

In 1764 the duke of Choiseul sent out an expedition to establish a colony upon the most easterly of these islands; and the English ministry, not choosing to let France profit by a concession made to the admitted rights of Spain, two years afterwards ordered Captain Byron to occupy the most westerly of the group. The Spanish court now made a formal complaint to Lewis XV. of the intrusion upon their Transatlantic dominions. The justice of the complaint was confessed, and the colony was surrendered to a Spanish officer. Had a similar course been adopted towards England, the result would probably have been similar. But instead of any such representations, the governor of Buenos Ayres sent an expedition sufficient to overpower a feeble settlement, and expelled the English by force.

The indignation of the British public at this insulting conduct compelled the cabinet of St. James's, in spite of its decidedly pacific policy, to demand reparation, and a positive disavowal of the governor of Buenos Ayres. Grimaldi refused everything of the kind. Hostile preparations were made in France and Spain; the English envoy was recalled from Madrid; and war seemed inevitable, when an intrigue at Versailles changed the aspect of affairs. By the influence of the royal concubine of the day, Madame du Barri, the duke of Choiseul was overthrown, and the duke d'Aiguillon appointed in his stead. Lewis XV. wrote with his own hand to Charles III., "My minister would have had war, but I will not." The inclinations of Charles concurred with those of his royal kinsman; and Grimaldi, conscious that Spain could not contend singly against England, consented to the reparation demanded. Port Egmont, the name of the settlement, was formally restored to England, and by her soon afterwards abandoned, as of little value.

Whilst Grimaldi was vainly labouring to embroil the country in war, Aranda, with more statesman-like views, and emulous of the milder glories of Pombal, was engaged in ameliorating the internal condition of Spain, and in providing the means of making war, if circumstances should render necessary that last argument of States. He reformed many financial abuses; he in-

creased the navy; he restored the discipline of the army, and introduced the new system of tactics invented by the celebrated Frederic II. of Prussia.

But the most remarkable feature of Aranda's administration was his endeavour to introduce liberal ideas into Spain, and to diminish the exorbitant authority of the church. He changed the nature of the Nuncio's tribunal, by substituting for the Auditor, who had been a mere creature of the Nuncio, six Spanish ecclesiastics, to be proposed by the king, and nominated by the pope. He limited the privilege of sanctuary, the excessive facility of which had afforded impunity to every species of crime, by restricting it to two churches in the capitals of the several provinces, and to one church in every other town. He even dared to restrain the overwhelming and always encroaching power of the Inquisition; and although the arts of that formidable body, working upon the king's timid piety, frustrated some of his schemes, he succeeded in confining the Inquisitorial jurisdiction to heresy and apostasy, and in compelling the grand inquisitor to submit his prohibitory lists of books to the council of Castile for confirmation.

Aranda further attempted to revive the long declining industry of Spain by introducing a colony of foreigners. These he drew from Germany, Switzerland, and Italy; he established them in the Sierra Morena, under the superintendence of Don Pablo Olvide, a liberal and well-informed Peruvian Creole; and those mountains, previously the terror of travellers, as the haunt of banditti and of wolves, soon displayed in the new settlement, named La Carolina, a thriving manufacturing population of six thousand souls.

But beneficial as were most of Aranda's plans, as well those which he carried into effect as those in which he was thwarted, he was, like most of the reforming ministers, his predecessors or contemporaries, too rash and sweeping in his improvements. He attempted things for which his countrymen were not prepared. He shocked the prejudices of all classes, and provoked the whole influence of the church against himself. The consequence, after some years of struggle, was his removal from the ministry, attended, however, with every mark of respect, including his appointment to the Parisian embassy. But his dismissal was followed by the

overthrow of many of his best measures, which he might probably have maintained had he been content to proceed with the deliberation essential to assuage and permanent reform, to humour prejudices which time only can eradicate, and, modifying his plans according to the temper of his countrymen, to aim rather at practicable improvement, than at theoretic perfection.

The Inquisition recovered its authority, and La Carolina was ruined. Most of the colonists were Protestants; and Olavide, yet more imprudent than his patron Aranda, not content with the extraordinary degree of tacit toleration they actually enjoyed, seems to have indulged himself in puerile insults to the bigotry, if not to the religion of the country. He was seized by the Inquisition, tried, and convicted of heresy. His sentence, however ruinous, was mild, when compared with the horrible *autos de fe* that signalised the earlier days of that tribunal. It was solemnly and publicly pronounced, with formalities, constituting what was called an *Autillo*, or little process, *de fe*, and was, deprivation of office, incapacity to hold office, or to receive any mark of royal favour hereafter, confiscation of property, banishment to a distance of thirty leagues from all royal residences, as well as from Seville, La Carolina, and his birthplace, Lima; prohibition of riding on horseback, of wearing gold, silver, or silk, and eight years' confinement in a monastery, with monastic discipline.

CHAPTER VIII.

Accession of Lewis XVI.—His pacific counsels—War with Portugal in America—Grimaldi resigns—Florida Blanca succeeds him—Final capture of Nova Colonia—Death of Joseph of Portugal—Accession of Maria—Her bigotry—She releases eight hundred political prisoners—Pombal resigns—Peace between Spain and Portugal—Inland districts given to Portugal in exchange for Nova Colonia—English North American colonies proclaim their independence—Acknowledged by France—War between France and England—Between Spain and England—Florida Blanca's negotiations—Treaty with Morocco—Neutrality of Portugal—Blockade of Gibraltar—Spain offers England her friendship as the price of Gi-

braltar—Offer refused—State of Spanish America—Rebellion of Tupac Amaru—Quelled—Some colonial grievances redressed.*

THE removal of Aranda again left Grimaldi sole minister, and he flattered himself that the accession of Lewis XVI. to the throne of France would restore his former influence in that country, by recalling his friend Choiseul to the helm of state, as the minister who had negotiated the young king's marriage with a beloved wife, Marie Antoinette of Austria. But Lewis's passion for his beautiful and fascinating queen did not influence his political principles, which were solely governed by a sincere, if not always judicious, patriotism. He considered Austria as the natural enemy of France. Choiseul, therefore, as a partizan of Austria, remained in disgrace, the veteran and long-discarded politician, Maurepas, was placed at the head of affairs, and Vergennes, a personal enemy of Choiseul, was appointed minister for foreign affairs.

Grimaldi well knew that, notwithstanding all Aranda's reforms, Spain, unsupported by France, was still no match for England: he therefore agreed to an amicable adjustment of some of the ever-recurring disputes about commercial encroachments or uninhabited islands, and confined his military enterprises to sending, in 1774, an expedition

Spain
from A.D.
1774—1776.

* The authorities principally consulted for this chapter are De Costa, Coza, Benipre, Bernardo, Mémoires de Pombal, Chalmers, Southey, Belsham, *Histoire de la Guerre de la Péninsule sous Napoléon, précédée d'un Tableau politique et militaire des Puissances Belligérantes*, par le Gen. Foy, Publié par M. le Comte de Foy, 2 Tom. 8vo. Paris, 1827. A work of great ability and information, the value of which is impaired only by the writer's professional and national prejudices. His hatred of England colours all his statements, and renders caution necessary in reading even his preliminary sketches of Spain and Portugal, which, with this allowance, supply useful information during a period, concerning which there is a dearth of history; viz. the reigns of Maria of Portugal, and Charles IV. of Spain. *Memoirs of General Miller, in the Service of the Republic of Peru*, by John Miller, 3 vols. 8vo. London, 1828. General Miller's political situation in South America affords him the means of acquiring a thorough knowledge of the past and present condition of that country, that renders his brother's book, as far as it goes, a satisfactory authority, both as to the state of the Spanish colonies towards the close of the eighteenth, and beginning of the nineteenth century, and as to the beginning of their insurrection. *Journal of a Residence in Columbia during the years 1823 and 1824*, by Capt. Charles Stuart Cochrane, R.N. 3 vols. 8vo. 1825. A work that, in the paucity of information concerning the state of the Spanish colonies during their subjection to the mother-country, affords some interesting matter.

against Algiers. It was wholly unsuccessful; and the troops that had landed were speedily compelled to re-embark, with a loss of four thousand five hundred men killed and wounded.

This failure produced a degree of popular clamour, apparently very disproportionate to its magnitude; which, combining with some other circumstances, *viz.*, a new involvement in hostilities with Portugal touching the American boundaries of the two empires, the increasing difficulty of swaying Charles's obstinate temper, the enmity of the prince of Asturias, and the terrors that had haunted Grimaldi ever since Squilaci's fall, determined the prime minister to abandon his irksome and dangerous post. The king reluctantly consented, appointed him ambassador to Rome, and by his advice named Don Joseph Moñino, afterwards created count of Florida Blanca, his successor. The new minister was the native of a small village in Murcia. He had devoted himself to the study of the law, by superior talents and knowledge had recommended himself to the patronage of Aranda, and had thus obtained the embassy to Rome, where his conduct and success had fully answered the expectations entertained of his capacity. His present nomination to the post of prime minister was wholly and solely the result of his high reputation, without any kind of cabal or personal favour.

Upon assuming the reins of government in 1775, Florida Blanca found Spain at war with Portugal in America. The governor of Buenos Ayres had renewed the accustomed attempts upon Nova Colonia. Pom-

America
from A.D.
1767—1776.

bal, at his ease at home since the final suppression of the Jesuits, had latterly turned his attention more to Brazil, whence increased wealth was flowing into Portugal, as well from the contraband trade of Nova Colonia, as from the recently discovered gold and diamond mines. He was now bent upon extending the Brazilian territories, and had retaliated the Buenos Ayres aggression, by dispatching an armament that reduced many Spanish forts. Spain and Portugal then severally called upon their allies, France and England, for succours; and those powers again endeavoured to settle the dispute by negotiation. But England was at that moment in no condition to afford her dependent ally her accustomed effective support. Since the year

1764, a spirit of discontent had been rapidly increasing in her North American colonies, provoked by an indiscreet and unjust attempt on the part of the British House of Commons to tax the colonies, although they were completely unrepresented in that assembly. Violent language and violent actions on both sides had constantly exasperated the existing irritation; and in the year 1775 hostilities began, the colonies having been declared by the mother-country in a state of rebellion. Spain took advantage of this unfortunate occupation of the English forces to pursue her object by arms. An expedition under Don Pedro Cevallos and the Marquess Casa Tilly was speedily dispatched from Cadiz; and Florida Blanca had the satisfaction of seeing his administration distinguished by the final capture of Nova Colonia, with several smaller settlements, and the island of St. Catherine, which, lying near the coast of Brazil, is, from its vicinity to the capital, Rio Janeiro, and other local advantages, considered as a place of some importance.

This was the state of affairs when, on the 4th of February, 1777, Joseph of Portugal died; and the policy of that kingdom at once changed. Queen

Portugal
from A.D.
1776—1778.

Maria, his successor, had completed her fortieth year. She inherited all the bigoted piety of the Braganza family; and the usual influence exercised over the judgment by such sentiments, was in her instance much strengthened by the deep impression which the numerous executions on the occasion of the Duke d'Aveiro's conspiracy had made upon her then youthful mind. She was attached to her maternal uncle, the king of Spain, by the ties of gratitude as well as of blood, and had been personally offended by her father's minister.

Pombal, like Aranda, a somewhat over-zealous reformer, had projected, amongst his other innovations, an alteration of the established law of succession, which should have excluded females from the Portuguese throne, but allowed them to transmit the right which they were to be debarred from exercising in person. Conformably to this scheme, he had persuaded the king to pass by his daughter Maria, and name her eldest son Joseph his heir in her stead. Whilst the necessary papers were in course of preparation, the secret was revealed to Queen Mary Anne,

who immediately applied to her brother, Charles III., for assistance in maintaining her daughter's rights, and communicated to her daughter the intention of defrauding her of the crown. The princess, when her signature was demanded, found means to delay her answer, until so forcible and menacing a remonstrance on her behalf arrived from the king of Spain, that the scheme was abandoned.

The young prince, to whom his grandfather would thus have bequeathed his kingdom, was married yet more revoltingly to all natural feeling than his mother. She, it will be remembered, was the wife of her uncle, her father's younger brother Don Pedro, who now bore the title of king, although the power remained in her hands, as queen in her own right. Their eldest son Joseph was married to his aunt, her youngest sister Donna Maria Benedicta, a princess, his senior by nearly fifteen years.

The first act of the queen upon her accession was to liberate eight hundred captives, who had been imprisoned for political offences, and kept in a seclusion so rigid and secret, that many of them were believed by their families to be dead. This work of mercy rendered Maria as popular, as, notwithstanding his really meritorious services to the state, Pombal was the reverse. In fact the great wealth he had accumulated had made him an object of universal envy, and the arbitrary violence with which he carried through all his measures, good or bad, had provoked a hatred equally universal. This last feeling will probably be thought in some degree justified, when it is stated that four thousand persons are computed to have died in prison during his administration.

The queen, notwithstanding her individual resentment, and her religious antipathy to him who had mainly contributed to overthrow the Jesuits, and who had curtailed the authority of the Inquisition, hesitated it should seem to dismiss her father's minister. But Pombal felt the irksome change in his situation, the diminution of his authority from her dislike, and within a few weeks from her accession, relieved her difficulties, by tendering his resignation. It was graciously accepted, and all his honours and rewards were confirmed to him. This forbearance did not however last long. A rigorous inquiry was

instituted into the whole course of his administration, and the sentences of the survivors amongst those condemned for the conspiracy against the late king were reversed, as illegally as they had been pronounced. Pombal was in his turn sentenced to death, and, as an act of favour, allowed to live in seclusion upon one of his estates; whilst the *Câmara* of Lisbon sought to express, either their own change of opinion respecting Pombal's merits or their deference to the royal and the popular voice, by removing his bust from the pedestal of the late king's statue, and supplying its place with the city arms. It was only in after times, when the effects of his implacability, like the envy provoked by his wealth and power, had faded from men's memories, that this able minister's merits were duly appreciated, and the title of the Great Marquess was given him.

Pombal's resignation, and the queen's affectionate sentiments towards her uncle, smoothed away all obstacles to an accommodation between Spain and Portugal. The latter country ceded that subject of never-ending dissension, Nova Colonia, together with some African settlements, receiving in exchange considerable tracts of land north and west of Brazil, and the restitution of the island of St. Catherine. The greatest commercial privileges were reciprocally secured to both nations, and a defensive alliance was concluded. These treaties Florida Blanca considered as the chief glory of his ministry, and not unjustly; for the destruction of the contraband trade of which Nova Colonia had been the focus, produced such beneficial results to Buenos Ayres, that its exports were immediately more than doubled, and the government was, thenceforward, raised to the dignity of a viceroyalty.

But if the treaties were advantageous to Spain, they were not therefore disadvantageous to Portugal; and thus far Maria's subjects had no cause either to blame her partiality to her maternal relations, or to regret the energetic Pombal. Unfortunately the successors of that able, though despotic minister, the marquess of Angeja and the viscount of Villa Nova de Cerveira, do not appear to have been animated by an equally ardent spirit of patriotism, and were more intent upon justifying their exaltation by exposing their predecessor's faults, than upon emulating his merits.

The termination of the war with Portugal left Charles and Florida Blanca at liberty to turn their attention to the contest between England and her North American colonies.

The American congress assembled at Philadelphia had, in 1776, the year subsequent to the commencement of hostilities, broken the last feeble tie of allegiance, and proclaimed the independence of the new republic of the United States. France, ever jealous of the prosperity of England, had not suffered such an opportunity of weakening her rival to pass unimproved. She did not, indeed, take an immediately avowed part in the civil war, although she, from the very beginning, supplied the insurgents underhand not only with money and arms, but likewise with officers capable of remedying their deficiency in military skill and discipline. But when, after the fatal catastrophe at Saratoga, where, in October, 1777, General Burgoyne, at the head of ten thousand men, was compelled to lay down his arms and surrender, almost at discretion, to the American General Gates, a crisis seemed at hand which must extort from the mother country such concessions as might conciliate her irritated children, and render English sovereignty compatible with American liberty, France threw off the mask. Lewis XVI. concluded a treaty of union, friendship and commerce with the United States of America, by which he acknowledged their independence, requiring in return their solemn engagement never to resume their allegiance to the British crown. This treaty was notified in March, 1778, to the cabinet of London, and of course considered as a declaration of war. A French squadron under the command of Count d'Estaing, and carrying four thousand men as auxiliaries, was immediately dispatched to America. The troops were accompanied by an envoy accredited to the new republic.

The war thus begun was not confined to North America, but raged in every quarter of the globe. In Europe, France threatened England with invasion, preparatory to which the fleets of the rival nations contended for the command of the Channel. An indecisive engagement was fought off Ushant between Keppel, with thirty-one sail of the line, and d'Orvilliers, with thirty-two, in which the French claimed the victory ;

although the result of the battle was the abandonment of their schemes of invasion. In the West Indies, the armaments of the two belligerents respectively captured each other's sugar islands ; in Africa, they reduced each other's settlements. In the East Indies alone, the fortune of war was decisively favourable to the English, who again obtained possession of Pondicherry, the last remaining French settlement.

From the moment that hostilities began between France and England, Madrid became as usual a scene of political intrigue, either country striving to secure the alliance and co-operation of Spain. It might have been supposed that a state, whose wealth and power depended mainly upon her colonies, could not have hesitated as to which side her own interest required her to embrace, in a war carried on by another mother-country against revolted colonies ; and, in accordance with this supposition, Florida Blanca solemnly assured the English ambassador, that he considered the subjugation of the revolted English colonies as not less essential to Spain than to Great Britain. But either this assurance was one of those direct falsehoods which were long esteemed allowable arts of diplomacy, or the cabals and persuasions of the French court, joined with the constant irritation arising from seeing Gibraltar in the possession of England, overpowered the judicious determination to obey the plain dictates of Spanish policy, and induced Charles and his minister to grasp at a share in the spoils of a nation believed to be upon the brink of destruction.

But as the Spanish government did not choose professedly to take part with colonies struggling for independence, it was necessary to find some colourable pretext for declaring war against England, and to effect this Charles tendered his mediation, to restore peace between France and England. Both parties declared their willingness to accept his offer, but the very first step in the negotiation showed the impossibility of success, as England required that France should withdraw her assistance from the Americans, and France refused to treat except in conjunction with the colonies, acknowledged as independent. Charles, hereupon assuming the character of umpire, proposed several different plans, all of which, virtually compre-

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hending the already rejected French conditions, were declined by England.

Whilst these negotiations were on foot, it is said that the Spanish ambassador in London was instructed to throw out a hint to the English ministry, that the cession of Gibraltar would materially change the views of the court of Madrid. This, however, is merely a rumour, and if true, certainly the court of St. James's did not esteem the neutrality or even the alliance of Spain worth the price set upon it. At all events the negotiations gave Florida Blanca time to complete his preparations for war.

Angry complaints were now made of the disrespect shown by England to Spanish mediation; the Spanish ambassador was recalled from London; and in June, 1779, war was declared by Charles III., in a manifesto containing a singular and laboured detail of the various causes of offence given by England to Spain: namely, twelve outrages upon packet-boats and merchantmen, eleven encroachments upon Spanish territory, and as many insults to the Spanish navy, as, with other smaller grievances, brought the whole amount of offences to the sum total of one hundred, all committed between the years 1776 and 1779. The manifesto further charged England with having separately offered the Americans conditions more favourable, than those she had refused to grant through the intervention of his Catholic majesty.

Florida Blanca, in preparing for war with England, had not limited his exertions to strengthening the Spanish army and navy, and providing for the justification of Spanish conduct. In conjunction with France he had negotiated in almost every part of the world, to excite enemies against England, and to conciliate friends to the Bourbon allies. He fomented the commercial jealousy of Holland, and lured her to join with them

by an offer of the privileges
hitherto enjoyed solely by
the merchants of Great
Britain. He soothed the
resentment felt by Austria, at the recent
interference of France in some German
disputes; and prevailed upon Catherine
of Russia, not only to renounce her in-
tention of assisting George III. with
her fleets, but to mediate a peace be-
tween Austria and Prussia, and thus, by
putting an end to a war in which
France was engaged as an ally, to leave

that power at liberty to turn her whole force against England. In India, he established, still in conjunction with France, a connexion with Hyder Aly, the deadly enemy of England; and in Africa he concluded a treaty of friendship with some of the Barbary powers, deemed till then the necessarily irreconcilable enemies of Spain, but whose assistance, or even neutrality, he now trusted would facilitate the recovery of Gibraltar. The recent treaties with Portugal insured the inaction, at least, of almost the only ally remaining to Great Britain.

Lord North, who was then at the head of the English ministry, appears to have been misled by his conviction that Spain could not act in such direct and manifest opposition to her own interest, as to support insurgent colonies. He had consequently made no preparations commensurate to the magnitude of the danger now threatening Great Britain; and when the united French and Spanish fleets, amounting to sixty-eight sail of the line, besides frigates and smaller vessels, approached the entrance of the Channel, towards the end of July, Admiral Hardy had only thirty-eight sail with which to oppose them, whilst the southern coast of England was nearly defenceless.

The differences of opinion which seldom fail to arise in confederations, and to render unavailing the seemingly irresistible power of their numbers, saved England, if not from subjugation, yet from the sufferings inevitably consequent upon an effective invasion. The Spaniards wished to land immediately: the French desired first to annihilate the British fleet. Thus divided and undecided, they sailed about the mouth of the Channel, alarmed Cornwall and the Scilly islands, were baffled in their operations by the skilful manœuvres of Hardy, and finally, having lost many men by sickness, put into the port of Brest, to avoid the equinoctial gales, without any other fruit of their immense numerical superiority, than the capture of the Ardent, a sixty-four gun ship, which fell into their hands by mistaking in the dark the combined for the British fleet.

The failure of this mighty armament produced serious dissensions between the cabinets of Versailles and Madrid, which were exasperated to a considerable degree of bitterness by the refusal of the former to concur in Florida Blanca's extensive schemes for the recovery of

Gibraltar, Minorca, Jamaica, and the Floridas; and the Family Compact seemed about to be dissolved. Gibraltar, the loss of which was the most sorely felt of all, was already invested by Spanish forces on the land side,

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and blockaded by sea. The garrison, cut off from all external supplies, was reduced to great distress, and hopes were conceived of its immediate inevitable surrender. But the extremity to which the place was driven was well known in England, where strenuous exertions were making to dispatch a fleet under Rodney, with all speed, to its relief. Spain, apprized of the relief preparing, sought a reconciliation with France, in order to obtain such assistance as might insure the reduction of the fortress, before the British admiral could reach his destination.

With this one request the court of Versailles readily complied, and the Family Compact regained its former strength. But the various arrangements for the junction of the French and Spanish squadrons required some time, and ere they could be completed, Rodney sailed with a far larger force than it had been supposed the English government, after so recent an alarm, would venture to detach. He captured a Spanish convoy with copious supplies of provisions and naval stores, defeated the blockading squadron under Admiral Langara, relieved Gibraltar, and reinforced the troops occupying Minorca. After this exploit Rodney steered his course for the West Indies. The Spaniards obtained some little satisfaction for their disappointments, by retaliating upon English commerce; they intercepted and took the British East and West Indian fleets, which had sailed with insufficient convoy.

In the West Indies the fortune of war was more fluctuating. The Spanish forces under Galvez, governor of Louisiana, made considerable progress in the recovery of West Florida; but the fleet, weakened by the effects of the baneful climate, was unable to attempt anything, and on the shores of the bay of Honduras, if the Spaniards destroyed a British settlement, the English more than repaid them in kind, by taking and demolishing a Spanish town with a squadron of valuable register ships in its port.

Such partial success was far from satisfying the expectations with which

the court of Madrid had entered into the war, and Charles's impatience of its continuance was heightened by renewed dissensions with his ally Lewis XVI. Florida Blanca now again flattered himself that the English government, pressed on all sides, might be willing to purchase the friendship of Spain with the cession of Gibraltar; and secret overtures were made with a view to bring about this arrangement. The proposal seems never to have been entertained by the English cabinet; but Lord George Germain, one of the ministers, individually encouraged and replied to it. An unacknowledged sort of negotiation was carried on for many months, and then broken off upon the resolution of the English government never to give up Gibraltar. The only result of the proceeding was, however, favourable to Spain. France took alarm at the possibility of a separate peace between Spain and England, and agreed to concur in the schemes, previously rejected, for the recovery of Gibraltar, Minorca, and Jamaica.

Spain was not at the moment in a condition to profit by these kindly dispositions of France. Her utmost possible exertions against foreign enemies were, during the year 1780, and the greater part of 1781, necessarily limited to maintaining the blockade of Gibraltar, and continuing those negotiations and intrigues, so artfully hostile to England, by which Count Florida Blanca represents himself as having suggested to the empress of Russia the idea of the Armed Neutrality,—the name then given to a scheme for a confederation of neutral nations, aiming to assert the dignity of their respective flags, in opposition to the maritime code of England, by protecting merchant vessels sailing under neutral colours from molestation, by maintaining the right of neutrals to carry all goods of an enemy, except arms, and what is called contraband of war, and by refusing to acknowledge the blockade of any place, the approach to which a blockading squadron should not actually obstruct.

The cause which thus confined the martial energies of Spain was a rebellion in those extensive and wealthy Transatlantic provinces, which, since the accession of the Bourbon dynasty, have offered but little subject-matter to the historian. During the reigns of Philip V. and of Ferdinand VI., the colonial empire had been tranquil and prosper-

ous. Since Charles III. had worn the crown, some disturbances had, indeed, occurred there, but hitherto they had not been of sufficient moment to require or justify interrupting, on their account, the regular narration of European events.

So far back as during the Seven Years' War, the enterprising ministers of Charles, harassed and cramped in their projects by pecuniary difficulties, had turned their thoughts to America, and convinced themselves that extreme malversation, that gross speculation and fraud alone could occasion the Spanish exchequer's drawing no larger an annual revenue from colonies so opulent, than one hundred and sixty thousand pounds, the sum actually received. Under this idea, Carrasco, Fiscal of Castile, was commissioned to devise both an improved system of colonial taxation, and means for checking the mal-practices of financial agents so far removed from ministerial control.

The plan drawn up by Carrasco was approved, its adoption was ordered, and financiers, supported by troops, were sent out to carry it into effect. But the mere attempt at innovation produced rebellion throughout the colonies, where every person possessed of authority was interested in maintaining the abuses it was desired to reform, whilst the mass of the population, who would have benefited by the change, were, from ignorance, easily deluded into a belief that the design was to burthen them with new impositions. The Spanish ministers persevered for a while; but after a short struggle the partizans of corruption triumphed. The scheme was abandoned, and everything returned to its former course.

Mexico, however, was not restored to complete tranquility, though internally pacified by this concession to rebellion and misgovernment. To the north and west of that viceroyalty the Spaniards had continued to extend their conquests along the Gulph of California, until they had at length come into collision with some tribes of warlike Indians. With these fierce champions of the independence of their country, the neighbouring Creole settlers had for years been engaged in hostilities; and about this time the *Red Warriors* (*red* is the epithet by which the natives distinguish themselves from the whites) had so decidedly gained

the advantage over the colonists, that the latter, no longer able to defend themselves, were obliged to apply to the viceroy for assistance. He sent the troops left at his disposal by the cessation of civil war to their support; but even with these reinforcements the contest lasted for some years ere peace was finally restored and friendship re-established, in 1771, between the native Indians and the intrusive Spaniards. It was during this war, that the gold mines in the provinces of Sonora and Anasco, the richest known, were discovered.

All those disorders had now for years been quelled; and the American dominions of Spain, if not rendered as valuable as they might have been, had Carrasco's plans been enforced, were deemed in a state of permanent repose, when the most alarming insurrection that had ever distracted them broke out in Peru. The immediate cause of this rebellion is a curious illustration of the uselessness of endeavouring, by legislative enactments, to prevent the recurrence of petty frauds, or, in other words, effectually to guard weakness against roguery.

It has been already said, that although the code by which Spain governed her colonies was mainly calculated to benefit the mother-country at their expense, many of the laws contained therein had been carefully, if fruitlessly, contrived for the protection of the aboriginal Indians against Creole oppression. Amongst others, in order to protect them against the exorbitance of shopkeepers, or hawkers and pedlars, a law had been passed, that in every district the *corregidor*, who was both magistrate and receiver of taxes, should supply the Indians with European goods at fixed and fair prices. So far was this law from answering the desired end, that it became to the *corregidor* a new and abundant source of profit and oppression. These magistrates, all-powerful in their own districts, bought up damaged goods for little or nothing, and compelled the Indians, subject to their authority, to purchase them at extravagant prices. As an example of this mode of extortion, it is said that a merchant, finding his warehouse overloaded with spectacles, for which there was no demand, applied to a *corregidor* for assistance, who speedily relieved his friend of the previously unsaleable article, by issuing an order that no Indian should ap-

pear at church, on certain festivals, without a pair of spectacles.

In November, 1780, an Indian, a reputed descendant from the *incas*, named by the Spaniards Joseph Gabriel Condorcanqui, and by his countrymen, Tupac-Amaru, (which in their language means 'the highly endowed,') exasperated by petty acts of oppression of the kind just described, seized upon the *corregidor* of his district, Tungasura, and, in the king's name, executed him as a public robber, for taking three times the profit allowed by law. This violent proceeding was, of course, severely condemned by the Spanish authorities; whereupon Tupac-Amaru renounced his allegiance to the king of Spain, and assumed the title of *Inca*, or *Inca Rey* (King Inca). His countrymen flocked to his standard. With an army of not less than sixty thousand men he defeated the Spaniards in a bloody battle near Cusco, and laid siege to that ancient metropolis of his ancestors.

In this siege Tupac-Amaru failed. He abandoned it, and fixed his court at Tungasura. But, however unsuccessful against fortified towns, in the field he continued for many months to gain repeated victories over the Spanish troops sent against him; and the rebellion extended to New Granada and Mexico. Tupac-Amaru is accused of having committed great cruelties; a reproach from which men whose minds have been debased by a long-continued state of slavery are rarely exempt. Spaniards and white Creoles were his first victims; but afterwards all those races in which European blood was mingled with Indian, are said to have glutted the revengeful rage of the insurgents. The Spaniards and Creoles retaliated; and one-third of the population of Peru is computed to have been destroyed during the two years this rebellion lasted. The colonies were distracted with terror. The mother-country was alarmed; but Florida Blanca made exertions proportioned to the occasion, and sent out forces that enabled the colonial governors to make head against the insurgents.

In 1781 Tupac-Amaru was defeated and taken prisoner, with his wife and younger children; when he was inhumanly tortured to death, after having been forced to witness the butchery of his family. Neither his capture, however, nor the horrors of his fate, put an immediate end to the rebellion. His adherents,

under the command of his brother and elder sons, who all took the name of Tupac-Amaru, held out during the remainder of the year. Early in January, 1782, the brother submitted, and was pardoned; and in the course of the year all the insurgents followed his example. The rebellion was so far permanently successful, that it produced the abolition of one of the evils that pressed most heavily upon the Indians, namely, the *repartimientos*, or allotment of Indians to individuals for hard labour, especially in the mines. From this time the repose of Spanish America remained long undisturbed.

CHAPTER IX.

*Surprise of Minorca—Designs upon Jamaica—Rodney's naval victory—Conquest of the Bahamas—Siege of Gibraltar—Floating batteries—Elliott repulses the assault—Blockade resumed—Relieved by Lord Howe—Negotiations—Peace of Versailles—Spain keeps Minorca and West Florida—Obtains East Florida in exchange for the Bahamas—Unsuccessful attempt upon Algiers—Peace and alliance with the Porte—and Barbary powers—Double marriage with Portugal—Death of the prince of Brazil—Spain seeks to purchase Gibraltar—Refuses to join in French intrigues—Seeks to renew the old connexion with England—Florida Blanco's reforms—He diminishes the power of the Inquisition—Endeavours to promote trade, improve the mine system, and introduce manufactures—Financial reforms—Establishment of an effective police—Cabals against Florida Blanca—Unsuccessful—Death of Charles III.**

TOWARDS the latter end of the year 1781, when the fall of the original Tupac-Amaru had relieved the anxiety with which Charles and his minister had contemplated the progress of the Peruvian rebellion, their attention was suddenly recalled to Europe by the discovery that the English cabinet had offered Minorca to Catherine of Russia as the price of her friendship. The value of the island seems to have been thus enhanced in their eyes, as the pro-

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* The authorities principally consulted for this chapter are Coxo, Da Costa, Selaham, Sempere, Bernardo, Foy.

spective difficulty of recovering it increased. The promised assistance of France was immediately claimed. Preparations for a descent upon Minorca were forthwith made with great secrecy and dispatch; the fleet being equipped, and the junction with the French effected at Cadiz, to create a belief that the expedition was destined for the West Indies or Gibraltar. The command of the allied troops was given to the French duke of Crillon. The stratagem answered its intended purpose; the island was surprised, and, with the exception of Fort St. Philip, subdued. The fort was invested, reinforcements were sent from France, and on the 16th of February, 1782, General Murray, with his small and exhausted garrison, was compelled to capitulate.

The success of the expedition against Minorca, and the suppression of the American rebellion, encouraged Charles and Florida Blanca to urge anew the prosecution of their grand design, the recovery of all that England had ever torn from Spain; and the French court now appears to have cordially co-operated in their schemes. Twenty thousand men and eleven sail of the line were assembled at St. Domingo, under Galvez, the conqueror of Florida. The French admiral de Grasse was ordered to leave the coast of North America, and Vaudreuil was dispatched from Brest to meet him. De Grasse and Vaudreuil happily effected their own junction at Martinique, where they then had thirty-six sail of the line, and a convoy of one hundred and fifty transports; and had they equally succeeded in uniting these forces with those of Galvez, Jamaica must, in all likelihood, have fallen.

But Admiral Hood had followed de Grasse from the North American station, bringing such an accession of strength to Rodney as rendered the English commander equal to the French in numbers, though far inferior in weight of metal. The vigilance, activity, and skill of Rodney enabled him, on the 12th of April, to engage the French fleet before it could join the Spanish; when he signally defeated the enemies opposed to him, taking de Grasse himself prisoner. This disaster struck the Bourbon forces with such consternation, that, although Vaudreuil reached St. Domingo with nineteen sail of the line, and he and Galvez were soon afterwards reinforced by five more, which had fled from the vic-

torious Rodney in a different direction, they abandoned all thoughts of the splendid enterprises that were meant to have blotted England from the list of powerful empires. The Spaniards took the Bahama islands, the French destroyed some insignificant settlements upon the shores of Hudson's Bay, and these were the sole results of the prodigious efforts of France and Spain.

Their disappointment in the West Indies did not damp the ardour of the Spanish king and minister for the recovery of Gibraltar. The fortress had now been blockaded three years, and had frequently been reduced to great distress; but notwithstanding the numerical superiority of the Bourbon fleets, the British admirals had always succeeded in throwing in relief; and the condition of the place at the close of the third year was infinitely better than it had been at the beginning of the siege. The idea of subduing it by famine was abandoned in despair, and preparations were made for a vigorous assault. The army that lay before Gibraltar was greatly augmented, batteries were raised, and trenches opened; but the commanding situation and impregnable works of Gibraltar seemed to render nugatory every idea of an attempt from the land side.

The project relied upon as promising indubitable success was an original and ingenious one devised by a French engineer of considerable talent and reputation, named the Chevalier d'Arçon. This was, to attack the fortress from the sea with a squadron of floating batteries, so constructed as to be at once incombustible and insubmersible. Florida Blanca was captivated with the idea, and it was put in immediate execution. Ten powerful batteries of this description, admirably constructed to resist fire, throw off shells, and quench red hot balls, were anchored at a fitting distance, under the command of d'Arçon himself. Ten ships of the line were ordered to co-operate with the batteries; the land army was increased by the arrival of French auxiliaries to forty thousand men; and the supreme direction of the whole siege was committed to Crillon, the conqueror of Minorca. Lest an English fleet should interrupt the operations contemplated, the allied fleets were ordered to cruise before the mouth of the straits, and prevent the approach of an enemy.

Not a doubt was entertained of the

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result of such vast and scientific preparations. The Spanish nobility crowded to the scene of action; the French princes repaired thither from Versailles, to witness the anticipated downfall of British pride; and Charles's first question every morning was, 'Is Gibraltar taken?'

To oppose this formidable array, General Elliot, governor of Gibraltar, had a garrison of seven thousand brave men, fortifications esteemed the masterpiece of engineering skill, and a firm resolution never to surrender. Early on the 13th of September the attack was made; and the roar of artillery is said to have exceeded anything then known. Various circumstances, however, concurred to render the combinations of the allies for the long-expected important day less perfect than had been anticipated. The trenches proved to be too distant, and rough weather checked the co-operation of the gunboats, &c. But the floating batteries seemed fully to answer the inventor's hopes. They poured a tremendous fire upon the fortress, and during many fearful hours exhibited an invulnerability to shells and red hot balls, thrown with extraordinary precision, that delighted the besiegers and alarmed the besieged.

At length, towards evening, one ball lodged in the nearest battery, and the fire resisted all endeavours to extinguish it. A wild, and it is said needless, panic seized all on board, which led to the wetting the powder, and consequent interruption of the firing. The panic spread not only to the more distant batteries, but to the land forces, and even to the commander-in-chief, who, indeed, is believed never to have approved of d'Arçon's plans. The batteries were ordered to be burnt, and the order was obeyed so precipitately, that more of the crews were saved by the intrepid generosity of their enemies than by the exertions of their own countrymen.

Upon the failure of a scheme in which disappointment had been deemed impossible, the idea of taking Gibraltar by force was given up. The noble and royal visitors left the camp; the blockade was resumed; the allied fleet, stationed to intercept the English, was increased to forty-seven sail of the line, besides several frigates, and numbers of smaller vessels; and furnaces were prepared to destroy with red hot shot any

transports or store-ships that might reach the harbour. When, in the beginning of October, Lord Howe appeared with only thirty sail, and encumbered with a large convoy, the Bourbon commanders deemed victory, and its prize, Gibraltar, their own.

A new disappointment awaited the allies from the effect of the elements, combined with the skill and daring of British sailors. A violent storm drove the vessels of the allies from their anchors, dispersed the fleet, severely damaged great numbers of the large ships, and stranded the smaller craft. To enhance the distress of the French and Spanish admirals, they saw Lord Howe, in spite of the fury of the tempest, sail in good order through the straits, and, during five days' continuance of the weather that disabled them, offer battle to the enemy who had despised him, and who now looked helplessly on whilst all his transports and store-ships, except one, making their way into the harbour, landed abundant supplies of provisions, ammunition, and men. The siege was not, indeed, raised upon this interruption of the blockade; but it was generally considered as hopeless, and continued only because Spanish pride would not confess a defeat.

This was the last event of the war.

The main contest between England and her colonies was already virtually decided by the advantages which the constantly increasing power of the Americans, vigorously assisted by France, had everywhere gained over the divided forces of Great Britain. Repeated reverses had disgusted the English nation with the war, and overthrown the minister, Lord North, who had so pertinaciously and injudiciously carried it on. The marquis of Rockingham and the whigs had succeeded to office in March of this year, 1782, and, in conformity with the principles they had ever professed, declared themselves ready to treat for peace, upon the basis of acknowledging the independence of the United States of America. But France and Spain, considering this concession of the English cabinet as a proof of utter defeat, demanded exorbitant terms; and no progress had been made in the negotiations, when, in July, Lord Rockingham's death dissolved the ministry. Lord Shelburne succeeded to the premiership; and in his administration

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another William Pitt, second son to Lord Chatham, first held office.

Lord Shelburne was unfriendly to American independence; but the popular voice was strong for peace, and, upon that point, the new cabinet adopted the policy of its predecessor. The negotiations were carried on at Paris; and the French minister, Vergennes, sought to profit by that circumstance, to gain the utmost advantages possible for France. In this crafty policy he outwitted himself; the English and American negotiators discovered his duplicity, and signed a separate treaty on the 30th of November, 1782.

This event induced Vergennes to offer more equitable terms as far as France was concerned; but the pretensions of Spain still formed a seemingly insurmountable obstacle to any arrangement.

Charles had gone to war for the express purpose of recovering all those portions of the Spanish dominions, which England had, at different times, conquered, and Jamaica was the only one of these lost possessions respecting which he was disposed to waive his claim. He insisted upon keeping Minorca, West Florida and the Bahamas, upon the restitution of Gibraltar, and East Florida, and the evacuation of all British settlements in the bay of Honduras. In exchange he offered Oran in Africa, and afterwards the valuable West Indian island of Porto Rico.

The cession to England of this island, which is rendered peculiarly important by its neighbourhood to St. Domingo, and its containing the finest harbour in that part of the world, was what Vergennes would not suffer; and indeed it seems likely that he never really desired the restitution of Gibraltar to Spain, since the constant irritation produced by England's occupation of that fortress was one of the main sources of French influence at Madrid. The demands of Spain had enabled him to extort better terms for France; and on the 20th of January, 1783, he compelled Florida Blanca to sign preliminary articles of peace, of which the conditions, if they did not quite satisfy the wishes and demands of Spain, were far more advantageous to her than those of any treaty she had concluded since the days of Philip II. Spain retained Minorca and West Florida, receiving East Florida in exchange for the Bahamas, and she very considerably narrowed the English settle-

ments upon the bay of Honduras. France retained the island of Tobago in the West Indies, and Goree upon the coast of Africa, all other conquests being mutually restored, and England relinquishing her vexatious claims relative to Dunkirk.

These terms were esteemed so disadvantageous and dishonourable to England, that they overthrew the minister who had agreed to them. Nevertheless, Mr. Fox and Lord North, who, under the name of the coalition ministry, were next raised to power, found it impossible to obtain better, and a definitive treaty of peace, with little alteration, was signed at Versailles on the 3d of September of the same year. The Bourbon courts exulted in their success, and confidently anticipated the utter ruin of England from the loss of her colonies. But England speedily recovered from the blow, whilst the embarrassments of the French finances were increased, to a degree that frightened the wisest French statesmen, by the expenses of the war. The Spanish navy was moreover nearly destroyed, and twenty millions sterling added to the public debt of Spain, which had been long accumulating, and now absorbed the far greater part of her declining revenue.

But Spain was not yet quite at peace. War, if not always actively waged, was always considered as existing, with the Mahometans; and as the immense military stores provided for the reconquest of Gibraltar could not now be so employed, it was resolved to use them against Algiers. That town was accordingly bombarded for two successive years, without other result than doing a good deal of damage, and preparation was making for a third attempt, when the interposition of the Porte, (with which Spain had in December, 1782, for the first time concluded a treaty of commerce and friendship,) and of the emperor of Morocco, brought about a peace, by which the coasts of Spain were secured from piratical incursions, and some thousands of Spaniards, who had long been pining in hopeless slavery, were restored to liberty. And thus, in June 1786, ended the constant war, in which Christian Spain had, for so many centuries, been engaged with all Mahometans.

The strict friendship subsisting between Spain and Portugal had been most beneficial to the former during

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from A.D.
1763—1786.

the late war with England. Not only had the Portuguese harbours afforded neither shelter nor assistance, as of old, to the hostile British fleets, but the Portuguese flag had been the means of safely transporting the wealth of America to Spain; and it is said that when the English ministry had projected an expedition against Peru, whilst distracted by Tupac-Amaru's revolt, its execution was prevented by a remonstrance from the court of Lisbon, representing that, in case of an invasion of the Spanish dominions, Portugal was bound by treaty to take part in the war. Charles, duly sensible of these advantages, sought to strengthen the ties of relationship and friendship by those of wedlock; and in 1785 his fourth son Don Gabriel, married the *Infanta* Marianna Victoria of Portugal, and Don John, the queen of Portugal's second son, the eldest Spanish *Infanta*, Charlotte.

This last union was the more agreeable to Charles, inasmuch as Don John had a very fair chance of eventually succeeding to the crown,

the incestuous union of his eldest brother with his aunt having proved barren, whilst the age of that princess, though it gave little prospect of an heir, was not so advanced as to offer any early prospect of her making way by death for a bride of more suitable years. But it was not the youngest of this ill-assorted pair that was destined to be the survivor. Three years after Don John's marriage, the prince of Brazil himself, whom the bigoted prejudices of the queen had not suffered to be inoculated, died of the natural small-pox, and Charles's son-in-law became prince of Brazil in his stead. Queen Maria had previously lost her uncle-husband, but he had interfered little with her government, and his death had therefore no effect upon public affairs.

The queen appears to have been really anxious to promote the prosperity of her kingdom. She made some good laws, corrected some abuses, and attempted to correct more, in which she failed by an injudicious choice of those whom she employed to carry her intentions into effect. She was especially bent upon checking the horrible frequency of assassination at Lisbon. It arose from the impunity which assassins usually managed to enjoy; and she accomplished her purpose by seizing

the perpetrator of a peculiarly atrocious murder, resisting the solicitations of the greatest personages in his favour, and publicly declaring that she would never, under any circumstances, pardon a premeditated murder.

Maria provided for the relief and employment of the poor; she abolished imprisonment for debt, and forbade the seclusion of accused persons from intercourse with their friends, for more than a limited number of days. She appointed a *Junta* of lawyers to reduce the multifarious and complicated laws of Portugal into a consistent code, that should prevent legal chicanery and arbitrary interpretations. But she named, as president of this *Junta*, the marquess of Ponte de Lima, a man utterly destitute of either legal knowledge, or the comprehensive intellect which might have supplied the deficiency; and the scheme in consequence miscarried. She equally failed in an attempt to reform the Monastic Orders, by composing the reforming *Junta* of incompetent persons, and appointing the Grand Inquisitor president.

The queen followed up her father's endeavours, both judicious and injudicious, to foster agriculture, and increase the growth of wheat, as also to promote science and literature, and to improve the course of instruction pursued in the University of Coimbra. When the peace of Versailles had relieved her from the embarrassments consequent upon her intimate connexion with two hostile belligerents, she endeavoured to strengthen the old friendship with England by concluding a commercial treaty, at the same time that she maintained her new relations of friendship and commerce with the Bourbon courts.

The latter years of Charles III.'s reign were occupied with foreign negotiations and internal regulations. The triumph of French arts and arms in wresting from England so large a portion of her colonial possessions enabled France to resume for a while her old ascendancy over the policy of Europe; and Florida Blanca again endeavoured, by means of that ascendancy, to extort from England the restitution of Gibraltar. But it was alike in vain that he threatened with French power, that he offered commercial privileges and West Indian cessions. The cabinet of St. James's was immovably determined upon retain-

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from A.D.
1779—1788.

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ing the Spanish fortress; and Florida Blanca bitterly complained of the cowardice of the British ministers, who sacrificed, as he alleged, the real interests of their country to the prejudices of the people.

But if the Spanish minister strove to effect a national object through French preponderance, he carefully avoided involving his country in the political intrigues of Vergennes. Spain took no part in those underhand cabals and manoeuvres by which the ministers of Lewis XVI. a second time afforded encouragement to the revolutionary spirit that was destined ere long to overturn their master's throne. France had acquired considerable influence in Holland by supporting the Republic against the ambitious designs of the Emperor Joseph II., who had now succeeded to his father in the Imperial dignity, and to his mother in her hereditary states. This French influence was however opposed by the prince of Orange, the Stadtholder, who avowed himself warmly attached to England. Vergennes therefore first instigated the democratic party to deprive the chief magistrate of the United Provinces of his power and office; and then aided them to assume the supreme authority.

Vergennes now deemed French ascendancy firmly established in that country; but the death of Frederic II. of Prussia, in August, 1786, changed the aspect of Dutch affairs. His nephew, Frederic William II., whose sister was princess of Orange, ascended the Prussian throne. He espoused his brother-in-law's quarrel; and, under colour of resenting an insult offered to his sister, sent an army into Holland, which reinstated the prince of Orange in the Stadtholdership. This measure was resented by France; and Charles III. warmly professed his readiness to assist Lewis XVI. in upholding the dignity of the Bourbons. But he confined his intervention to negotiation; and when England, satisfied with the restoration of the prince of Orange, declared her willingness to abstain from interference in Dutch affairs provided France would do the same, the king of Spain applauded her moderation, and remained quiet. France thus left alone, and dreading the expense of another war, reluctantly gave way, and offered no opposition to this counter-revolution in Holland.

Charles positively refused to join in

a projected quadruple alliance of Russia, Austria, France and Spain. He disapproved of the war waged by Catherine and Joseph against Turkey, severely reprobated the insidious attempt of the emperor to surprise Belgrade prior to any declaration of war, rejected the offer of a principality for one of his grandsons, formed of the provinces to be dismembered from the Turkish empire, and proposed to concur with England in excluding the Russian fleets from the Mediterranean. In fact the designs of Russia upon Greece had long excited Spanish jealousy, in addition to which, Florida Blanca was fearful of losing the commercial advantages he anticipated from the friendly relations so recently established with the Porte, and Charles was deeply wounded by the endeavours of the allies to tempt his favourite son, Ferdinand of Naples, into a confederation, of which he had himself refused to be a member, from disapprobation of its principles.

The king of Spain and his able ministers were yet further disposed to relax the intimacy of the connexion between the two Bourbon courts, by their apprehensions of the troubles which already were threatening to break out in France. The financial embarrassments of that country had begun amidst the incessant wars and lavish magnificence of Lewis XIV. Those embarrassments had prodigiously increased during the long reign of the profligate and extravagant Lewis XV.; and had finally been rendered apparently irremediable by the expenses of the late war. They could now no longer be concealed: the plans of the various ministers who, after the death of Vergennes in February 1786, rapidly succeeded each other, seemed all fraught with danger; and none more so than the proposed assembling of the long-discontinued States General of the kingdom, at a moment when, in addition to the universal discontent, ideas of liberty, acquired during the intimate alliance of France with the American republicans, and strengthened by the aid recently given to the Dutch revolutionists, were fermenting in all classes. Under these circumstances Florida Blanca avowed his dread of being involved in the troubles of France; he established a more confidential intercourse with England, than had subsisted since Ferdinand's death; and in 1788 Spain appeared to be returning to

the old maxims of foreign policy that had governed her prior to the accession of the Bourbon dynasty.

Florida Blanca's internal policy was conceived very much in the spirit of Aranda's, but he proceeded more gradually in his reforms, and in some points, succeeded better. He materially checked the power of the Inquisition, and effected a partial subordination of its authority to the royal pleasure. The influence of the spirit of the age in aiding the struggle against that once formidable tribunal, may be estimated from a comparison of the numbers of its victims, during the reigns of Charles, and of his immediate predecessors. During the forty-six years of Philip V.'s reign, the Inquisition is said to have burnt, sent to the galleys, or imprisoned for life, the incredible number of three thousand persons; during the thirteen years of Ferdinand VI.'s reign, eighty suffered; and during the twenty-nine of Charles III.'s, only sixty; about the average of one year in his father's time.

The change is prodigious, and we can scarcely wonder if such a diminution of the number of victims, indicating a proportionate reduction of Inquisitorial power, incensed the members of a tribunal, long more despotic than the sovereign, against those who thus shridged their authority. Hence the improbable accusations brought by them and their clerical adherents, against both Charles and his ministers, of having encouraged, or at least allowed, the dissemination of the principles of French philosophy in Spain. That French opinions should be altogether excluded from a country so closely connected, both physically and politically, with France was manifestly impossible. French taste had crept in with French sovereigns, and when literature at length began to revive during the reign of Charles III. its original Spanish character appeared to be altered if not destroyed thereby; but this relates chiefly to what is called *Belles Lettres*. All books were still subjected to a rigid censorship, and such as professed even what are called liberal opinions were still strictly prohibited. In fact Charles's, perhaps excessive, piety had always very much restrained the reforming zeal of both Aranda and Florida Blanca with respect to the Church, and would have rendered it impossible to extort from him a permission to pollute

his subjects' eyes with the works of the French philosophers.

The great object of Florida Blanca was to promote the internal prosperity of Spain; but he unfortunately valued manufactures far more highly than agriculture, and sought to force the progress or rather introduction of the former, by prohibiting the importation of the fruits of foreign industry. He could not be induced to conclude a commercial treaty with England, refusing to meet or purchase concession by reciprocal concession; and towards France he displayed yet greater illiberality, considering it ruinous to purchase the trifling and ornamental articles brought from that country with the gold of America.

But notwithstanding these mistaken views, he conferred various benefits upon both trade and agriculture. He lightened the *alcavala*, the tax which pressed most heavily upon both. He imposed some restrictions upon the entails of landed property, which, in Spain as in Portugal, were carried to an extent that cramped all exertion. He relaxed some of the restrictions that stunted the commerce of the colonies. By accepting and rewarding the services of learned foreigners he improved the mode of working the American mines, thus greatly increasing the profits derived by both individuals and the crown from that source of wealth; and he strove to benefit the colonies in all ways compatible with the close monopoly of the mother country.

The limitations which the peace of Versailles had imposed upon the English logwood-cutting settlements, enabled Florida Blanca, if not to annihilate, yet very much to repress the contraband trade carried on through those settlements with the Spanish colonies. He increased and encouraged the internal traffic of Spain, by improving and making roads and canals; these last, besides their utility for the transport of goods, affording considerable means of irrigation, upon which, it has been already observed, in Spain, agriculture wholly depends. Finally, by the establishment of a public bank, he endeavoured to create a secure paper currency that might relieve the great deficiency of gold and silver, and facilitate all pecuniary transactions.

Florida Blanca further introduced an effective police into Spain; and by compelling the clergy to make some

provision for the relief and the employment of the poor, he cleared the country of beggars, and checked the growth of crime. Some such compulsory distribution of charity, however liable to abuse, and in itself politically objectionable, is evidently a lesser evil than the unlimited increase of mendicity, idleness, and vice, otherwise it should seem inevitable, where the means of supporting mere animal existence are so easy as in the southern parts of Europe. Those most opposed, upon principle, to a system of poor-laws, cannot, therefore, disapprove of the modified adoption of such a system by Florida Blanca and the Queen of Portugal.

The short remainder of Charles III.'s reign was harassed by cabals, and saddened by domestic misfortune. The cabals were directed against his minister, whose measures of reform had offended many persons, especially of the higher classes. Florida Blanca was so annoyed by them, that he earnestly solicited leave to resign. But the monarch would not part with the minister who possessed his confidence. He insisted upon Florida Blanca's not deserting him in his old age; he dispersed the party who were intriguing to gain the direction of affairs, and confirmed the statesman they sought to displace in the supreme authority.

The domestic calamity that is believed to have hastened the king's end

was another consequence of the same bigotted dread of innovation which had already robbed Portugal of an heir, and but too generally characterizes the peninsula. In October Donna Maria Victoria, the wife of Don Gabriel, like her brother, not having been inoculated, was seized with the small pox in the very last stage of her pregnancy, and died, together with her child. The *infante*, whose abilities and amiable qualities were the pride and delight of his father, was too fondly attached to his consort to quit her during her illness. He also was unprotected against the infection: he took it, and followed her to the tomb in the month of November. The king's sorrow was deep, and its effects upon a frame weakened by the burthen of years are supposed to have rendered fatal a slight cold that he soon afterwards caught, and that turned to inflammation of the lungs. Charles died in December, within a month of his son, in the 73rd year of his age, and the twenty-ninth of his reign.

Charles III. was a prince of excellent disposition, of good, but uncultivated, understanding, and of austere morals. His principal defects were obstinacy of temper, and a passion for the chase, or rather, for shooting the game driven past the spot where he took his stand, which he often allowed to interfere with the high duties of his station.

BOOK IV.

CHAPTER I.

Accession of Charles IV.—He confirms Florida Blanca in his post—Adopts his views—Disputes with England settled—Nootka Sound confirmed to England—French States General—Tiers Etat force the other Orders to unite with them—National Assembly—Parties—King's vacillation—Destruction of the Bastille—Lives of the king and queen threatened—Royal family and Assembly removed to Paris—Headlong career of the Assembly—Democratic monarchy established—Ascendency of the republicans—Flight and recapture of the Royal family—Constituent assembly dissolves itself—Legislative assembly—

*France declares war against the emperor—The king of Prussia against France—Louis XVI. dethroned and imprisoned—National Convention—Ascendency of the jacobins—Dumouriez expels the invaders—French conquer the Netherlands and Savoy—The republic proclaimed—Execution of Louis XVI.**

CHARLES IV. ascended the throne at the mature age of forty. He had been latterly allowed to take a sort of limited share in the government, which at least made him acquainted with the

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* The authorities principally consulted for this chapter, are Huzand, Belsham, the Annual Register, the Life of Napoleon Buonaparte, Emperor of the French, with a preliminary view of the French

detail of the business of sovereignty, and the nation entertained great expectations from their new king. His first measures confirmed the hopes of those who confined their views to a continuation and increase of the benefits conferred during Charles III.'s reign, if neither of those who desired bolder innovation, nor of those who regretted the days of inquisitorial omnipotence. Charles IV. confirmed Florida Blanca in his post, prosecuted and punished the calumnies and intrigues of that judicious minister's enemies, and, at his suggestion, remitted considerable arrears of taxes incurred by indigence, suspended the *alcavala* upon wheat during the continuance of the high prices produced by four successive years of scarcity, and adopted the economical reforms recommended for the purpose of saving out of the annual expenditure of the country the means of liquidating the still unpaid debts of the crown.

Charles further shewed his good sense by amicably settling a dispute that had arisen with England, at the price of partially abandoning an useless extension of the monopoly claimed by Spain in America. Some English merchants engaged in supplying the Chinese market with furs, had, for the convenience of their trade, established a factory in the harbour of Nootka Sound, upon the western coast of North America, amongst the savage tribes of native hunters, and far remote from the habitations or haunts of the subjects of either Spain or the United States. But Spain asserted the whole line of the western coast to be her own; and a Spanish man-of-war was despatched from Mexico in May, 1789, against the encroachers.

There were no means at Nootka Sound of contending with a ship of the line. She seized the merchantmen found upon the station, and took possession of the factory. The ships and sailors were, however, soon afterwards liberated.

Mr. Pitt, then prime minister of England, remonstrated loudly against the transaction, and insisted upon reparation. Spain applied to France for her stipulated aid, and France then, in the first fervour of her revolution, offered succour so lavishly, that Charles conceived a greater dread of the consequences of such an influx of his ally's troops, and of their intimate association with his own subjects, than of England's obtaining a footing upon the shores of the Pacific. The negotiations that had gone on uninterruptedly during this time with the cabinet of St. James's, now assumed a more friendly complexion, and in October, 1790, the court of Madrid signed a convention, by which the possession of Nootka Sound, and the adjacent territories was confirmed to England, upon condition of her not using the settlement for purposes of trade with Mexico or Peru, or otherwise interfering with the acknowledged rights of Spain in America.

This same year the Spanish troops successfully repulsed an attempt made upon their African fortress, Oran, by the bey of Mascara, who had hoped to find the place defenceless in consequence of the injury it had suffered from an earthquake. That injury had, indeed, been severe. Three hundred soldiers of the garrison, and two thousand inhabitants, had been buried under the ruins of the buildings overthrown; but the survivors had laboured diligently to repair their damaged fortifications ere they even thought of their dwellings; and they defeated their enemies.

But from this period the history of Spain, as, indeed, that of every other country in Europe, becomes so involved with, so dependent upon, the extraordinary events then taking place in France, that a summary review of the French revolution is indispensable to the comprehension of Spanish transactions and politics.

It has been said that the excessive embarrassment of the French finances, the load of debt already incurred, and the enormous sum by which the expenditure annually exceeded the income, had so thoroughly exhausted the resources of all the scheming poli-

* Revolution, by the Author of the *Waverley Novels*, 9 vols. 8vo. London, 1827. It may, perhaps, be admitted as some proof of impartiality in this work, that it offends almost equally the admirers and the enemies of Napoleon. But if its tone and colouring be somewhat anti-Napoleonic, Sir Walter Scott has nevertheless compiled it from authentic documents, and may be relied upon for facts. The preliminary sketch of the revolution, quoted in this chapter, is, perhaps, the best part of the book. *Souvenirs sur Mirabeau, et sur les deux premières Assemblées Législatives*, par Etienne Dumont, de GENEVE. *Ouvrage posthume, publié par M. J. L. Duvet, Membre du Conseil Représentatif du Canton de Genève*, 8vo. Paris, 1833: a volume in which every statement and reflexion is stamped with the sound judgment, high feeling, and passion for liberty of the author, but which, nevertheless, corroborates many of Scott's views concerning the early period of the revolution, as does another work of which the author cannot be suspected of any predilection for legitimacy—namely, *Mémoires et Souvenirs du Comte Lamollière, d'Arde-Camp et Général Bonaparte, Conseiller d'Etat, et Directeur des Postes de l'Empire*, 2 tom. 8vo. Paris, 1831.

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from A.D.
1788—1790.

ticians to whom Lewis XVI. had successively intrusted the conduct of affairs, that the only remedy ministerial ingenuity could devise was, the assembling and consulting the long-disused States General of the kingdom. The minister upon whom the convocation of this formidable body finally devolved was Necker, a Genevese banker, who, having many years before, in consequence of his high character for skill in his own business, for financial science, and for integrity, been summoned to assist in the Treasury department of France, and afterwards dismissed by court intrigue, had been lately recalled, in obedience to the popular voice, and placed at the head of the ministry.

Necker, if not quite equal to the impending crisis, was a man of undoubted ability and upright intentions, who honestly wished to serve both the king and the people. He thought to find in the States General the means of extricating the monarch from his difficulties by a liberal grant of money, and the reform of many financial evils, and of procuring for the nation the redress of many grievances, and the abolition of many abuses. He hoped to substitute general security of life and property, together with a reasonable portion of liberty, for the terrors of the unrestricted despotism of government, and for those oppressive feudal privileges of the nobility and clergy which were still more burdensome and odious to the great mass of their inferiors. Unfortunately Necker's talents were not commensurate with his integrity, and his judgment was biassed, as well by the prejudices of the citizen of Geneva, as by the flowery declamations in praise of liberty, then fashionable in the Parisian saloons. The effect of the bias thus produced was but too apparent when the constitution of the States General came under discussion.

The States General had always consisted of deputies chosen by the nobility out of their own body to represent their Order; of deputies similarly chosen by the clergy out of their body to represent their Order; and of deputies similarly chosen out of their body to represent their Order, by the *tiers état*, or third estate, which must not be considered as analogous to the English commons. The French *tiers état* contained no descendants of nobles, no country gentlemen: all these in France formed part of the nobility. The highest classes comprised in the third estate were merchants, bankers, law-

yers, and men of letters, all of whom, especially the more wealthy or distinguished, bore, with indescribable irritation, the contumely cast upon them by law and custom, confounding them as *roturiers* (a word of contempt for the ignobly born, of which the English language affords no translation) with the lowest and most ignorant of the populace.

The clergy and nobility, being both privileged Orders, were conceived to have a common interest in opposing all reform, and Necker sought to counterbalance the preponderance their union might give them in the States General, by allowing the third estate to elect twice as many deputies as either of the others. But it is evident that so long as the three estates continued, as of old, to deliberate in separate chambers, and to vote by Orders, no increase of numbers in one estate could alter the relative weight of the three, although if united into one chamber the Order thus doubled must obtain absolute authority over the other two.

It was, however, in the old form of separate chambers, that the States General first met, and the nobility and clergy shewed every disposition to avail themselves of the advantage they enjoyed. Clinging with blind obstinacy to privileges alike repugnant to the temper of the age, and to the high station held in public esteem by the upper classes of the *tiers état*, they not only exasperated the leading deputies of that Order, but they provoked an almost universal burst of indignation against themselves, which was, perhaps, the main source of the popular party's strength. The *tiers état* were as resolutely bent upon acquiring what they deemed their natural position and importance in the state; and their encroaching temper was further assisted by the vacillating policy of Lewis XVI., who, swayed alternately by the advocates of moderate reform, or by his high-spirited queen, lost all the merit of the concessions he offered; and, sometimes by mere acts of indiscretion, sometimes by unseasonable and unavailing attempts to display his royal authority, offended the really patriotic reformers whom he should have tried to conciliate.

Under such circumstances the *tiers état* boldly insisted upon the union of the three estates into one National Assembly. They first lured the inferior clergy (who by birth belonged to their Order, and were therefore practically excluded from the higher dignities of the Church)

to join them, then induced a minority of the nobles, young men who had served in America, or who aspired to the reputation of philosophy and liberality, to follow the example of the parish priests; and, when thus strengthened in their claim to the title they assumed, of the National Assembly, they, by artifice and intimidation, ere long compelled the reluctant majority of the nobles and the prelates to submit, and actually to annihilate their own power, by merging it in that of the third, now single chamber.

The National Assembly, thus formed, is said to have contained four distinct parties, besides the adherents of despotism, who opposed even such concessions as the king himself was willing to make, but had no power to render their opposition anything more than irritating. These parties were,—first, those few sober and practical lovers of freedom, who desired to assimilate the government of France to that of England, correcting all real abuses, annulling all oppressive privileges, reforming the administration of justice, and restraining the prerogatives of the crown by the controlling power of national assemblies, invested with the right of granting or refusing supplies. The concessions offered, too late, by Lewis, would nearly have satisfied this small party, and at an earlier period might have given it the ascendancy.

The second party, headed by the marquis de la Fayette, a nobleman who had highly distinguished himself in the revolutionary war of North America, cherished bolder views. Disdaining the theoretic imperfections of a constitution, like that of England, the slow growth of centuries, they were for overthrowing all existing laws and forms, to erect a new and systematic edifice upon the unencumbered ground. This party, called afterwards the constitutionalists, (by which name we shall, for convenience, from the first distinguish them,) was the strongest in the assembly, and, it is said, throughout France.

The constitutionalists were, moreover, supported, as far as they went, by those who wished to go farther. These were, thirdly, the philosophical republicans, amongst whom were the leading men of letters; and, fourthly, the jacobins, who had not yet acquired their later horrible notoriety, and were considered merely as visionary enthusiasts. The jacobins are asserted to have been in the pay of the duke of Orleans, a profligate

prince of the blood, who desired at once to revenge some personal offence received from the queen, and to gratify his own ambition, by dethroning Lewis XVI., and taking his place, but who was himself the dupe of the jacobins. His treasures are believed to have supplied those extravagant levellers with the means of exciting and rewarding the rabble, through whose powerful and terrific agency their schemes were carried into effect.

The constitutionalists thus supported, and unhappily but too prompt in their inexperienced zeal to avail themselves of whatever assistance offered, even the worst, carried all before them. The king, taking fright at the powers assumed by the Assembly, and at the sweeping changes of the constitutionalists, dismissed Necker, and attempted to overawe the Assembly by a display of military force. But here again his usual vacillating and dilatory course more than foiled his purpose. He excited suspicion in the Assembly and public by drawing troops into the neighbourhood of Paris and Versailles; he left those troops idle there, till many of the regiments were gained over by the popular leaders; and when this vain menace had provoked, or enabled the jacobins to provoke, an insurrection, his amiable reluctance to shed blood rendered the interference of soldiers not the less matter of exasperation, that it was also matter of contempt, being totally unavailing for coercion.

The first object and result of popular insurrection was the demolition of the Bastille. This was achieved by an almost unarmed rabble on the 14th of July, 1789; and the horror associated with the name of a prison that had seen so many innocent victims of tyranny pine away their lives in hopeless woe, though its dungeons were found nearly empty, seemed, in the eyes of all, but the obstinate partizans of despotism, to sanction the unlawful means of its destruction, nay, almost to palliate the murders committed by the mob upon that occasion, when some official persons, who had incurred the especial hatred of the lower orders, were hung upon the cords stretched across the streets of Paris to suspend lamps. The king, giving way, dismissed the troops and recalled Necker; and his younger brother the count d'Artois, with some of the princes of the blood and nobles most inimical to the changes in

progress, fled from the dangers that threatened them, thus setting the example of abandoning the king to the difficulties and perils that now beset his path—perils which could only have been obviated by frankly ceding a great deal, and resolutely defending what was retained, by force, if needful.

The insurrection of the 5th of October of the same year, had for its avowed object to bring the king from Versailles to Paris. It was attended with far more numerous murders, and with the first display of those wanton atrocities which stamped a peculiar horror upon the subsequent course of the revolution. The lives of the king and queen, but more especially of the latter, were ferociously threatened; very many of the body guard were massacred, and two of their gory heads were paraded upon pikes at the head of the triumphant procession that escorted the conquered king and his family to Paris. The national assembly immediately followed the sovereign thither, and from that moment both the deputies and the monarch were, in fact, the prisoners and slaves of the jacobin faction, and their mob allies. This insurrection was imputed to the duke of Orléans, as well as the intention that it should have terminated in the death, rather than the capture, of the king and queen. That it did not do so was wholly owing to la Fayette, who, at the head of the respectable citizens of Paris, formed into a national guard, followed the insurgents to Versailles, but, unfortunately, not in time to prevent the murder of the guards.

The Assembly, urged on by the Republicans and the Jacobins—the last of whom now filled the galleries of the chamber with their rabble partizans, as auditors of the debates, which they influenced by their clamorous threats and plaudits,—the Assembly pursued its headlong innovating career with redoubled vehemence. Not only all feudal prerogatives, but all distinction of ranks was at once swept away, even the common forms of civility were proscribed in a wild attempt to establish perfect equality. All church property was seized for the use of the public, a moderate stipend being allotted to such of the clergy as took a constitutional oath, renouncing their dependence upon the See of Rome. Quantities of paper money, called *assignats*, were issued upon the security of the property thus plundered from the church; and a monarchical constitution

was finally drawn up, to the full as democratic as that of the republic of the United States of America.

By this constitution Lewis XVI., bearing the altered title of King of the French, was placed at the head of the government, with just so much authority and revenue as might irritate the frantic passions of a people recently broken loose from slavery, intoxicated with the name of liberty and insatiate of power, but without force to control, or patronage to influence. Necker, disgusted at the exaggeration of these measures, tendered his resignation, which the Assembly received coldly; and ere he could quit the country he had assisted to emancipate, he ran some risk of losing his life from the unbridled fury of the very same people who had so lately borne him in triumph to assume the office of Prime Minister.

Upon the 4th of February, 1790, Lewis went to the National Assembly, and there, in a speech which, could it have been believed sincere, would have been touching and dignified, accepted the very limited power offered him with the Crown, and declared himself the head of the revolution. A few months later, on the 14th of July, with a yet greater appearance of free-will, he took a solemn part in the somewhat theatrical festival, instituted to celebrate together the anniversary of the demolition of the bastille, and a sort of installation of the new constitutional monarchy. In seeming conformity with these flattering appearances, for some months the government of the king of the French proceeded, if not prosperously, yet quietly.

Thus far, if the altered form of the French monarchy were deemed too republican, if the overthrow of despotism had been accompanied by acts of violence and cruelty, fearfully ominous, there had been nothing in the progress of the revolution to create alarm in those unconnected with France. Lovers of liberty, all over the world, hailed with delight the emancipation of a brave and ingenious people from the thralldom of centuries. Even those who looked with alarm upon a monarchy bereft of all the safeguards and counterpoises that preserve tranquillity by preventing the too rude collision of the supposed opposite interests of king and people, trusted that the defects of so experimental a constitution might be gradually remedied, as experience should discover them, and the effervescence of men's minds subside. And such kings and states as

had suffered from the ambition of former French monarchs, did not, perhaps, view without satisfaction the diminution of the power they had felt, and still dreaded. Only the king of

Spain appears as yet to have entertained any real apprehension of the influence of revolutionary principles. Charles, guided by Florida Blanca, took measures for preventing intercourse with France so rigid, as materially to cripple and harass the trade of his own subjects. A cause of dispute had, indeed, arisen between

France and Germany. Many German princes and nobles still retained those estates and feudal privileges in Alsace, which they had possessed prior to its conquest by France, whilst that province formed part of the German empire. When the National Assembly abolished all feudal rights, the rights of the German Proprietors were, of course, abrogated with the rest. Those princes and nobles held themselves aggrieved, and required the emperor to procure them redress. But Leopold II., who, in February, 1790, succeeded to his childless brother Joseph, was a prince of cautious and conciliating disposition: and although his temperate remonstrance produced a very intemperate reply, his earnest desire to preserve peace, and his strong affection for his sister, the queen of the French, whose already precarious safety might be altogether forfeited by his offending the predominant party, appeared to offer sufficient security for the amicable adjustment of all such differences.

These fair prospects were soon overclouded. The Jacobins were daily gaining strength: la Fayette and the national guard, for a while indeed, preserved an ascendancy over the Parisian mob that kept the capital tolerably quiet. But this ascendancy was either of short duration, or had only seemed to exist whilst the passions of the populace were not violently excited. Though la Fayette saved the Castle of Vincennes (a state prison) from demolition, he could not prevent the king and his friends from being insulted upon that occasion in the Tuileries, nor could he, in the Spring of 1791, obtain permission for the royal family to remove to the country palace of St. Cloud. The mob, now, for the first time, supported by the national guard, taking the horses from the carriages in which the royal

party were seated, positively refused to suffer them to leave the Tuileries.

This proof of the actual captivity of the king alarmed Leopold for the safety of his sister and her family, and he formed, or entertained various visionary projects for their rescue. But none of these ever advanced beyond paper; and the real and fatal consequence of the king's forcible detention was, its determining Lewis himself to escape by flight from his capital, and place himself at the head of a body of troops, which their royalist commander, the Marquess of Bouillé, believed to be still faithful to their sovereign. On the 21st of June, the whole royal family made their way out of Paris. The king's brother, *Monsieur*, and his consort, effected their escape into the Netherlands; but Lewis was recognized upon the road, stopped, and with his queen, sister, and children, brought back. Lewis had left behind him a manifesto, which disclosed his preceding duplicity, by protesting against all acts done during his captivity in Paris. This whole transaction, of course, extinguished the feeble spark of loyalty that had, till then, glimmered in the bosoms of the moderate Republicans, and increased tenfold the power and influence of the Jacobins.

The Republicans now boldly avowed their opinions both within and without the Assembly; they demanded the deposition of Lewis, and the proclamation of a commonwealth: as yet, however, the constitutionalists were the stronger. The constitution was revised, and slightly altered; it was then offered anew to Lewis for acceptance or rejection; and on the 14th of September he accepted it. The National, or as it is called, by way of distinction, the Constituent Assembly then, declaring its task completed and the revolution ended, dissolved itself; but first, in proof of disinterestedness, took a step the most fatal, perhaps, of any single step taken during the whole course of the revolution. The members voted themselves ineligible as deputies to the next assembly, and incapable, for two years, of holding office. Their example was followed: la Fayette at the same time resigned the command of the national guard, and Bailly the mayoralty of Paris.

All persons who had acquired any experience, either of the conduct of state affairs, or of the management of public assemblies, or who, at the previous election, had been chosen as the

Spain
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Politics
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France
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ablest, being thus excluded, France and her King were thrown into the hands of novices, who strove, by their vehemence, to conceal their want of knowledge. Royalists, that is to say, advocates of absolute power, there were none in the new, or Legislative Assembly, for the staunch partizans of despotism had by this time almost all emigrated, and were endeavouring to prevail upon the princes of Europe to invade France, for the purpose of overthrowing the revolution, and restoring all it had destroyed. Of Constitutionals there were but few; and the two predominant parties in the assembly were the Republicans and the Jacobins. For a while, however, the king and the assembly went on together upon seemingly amicable terms. The prudence of Leopold, who still dreaded for his sister the consequences of exasperating the Republicans, is alleged to have much contributed to Lewis's second acceptance of the constitution, to have likewise repressed the machinations of the emigrants, and, aided by the determined neutrality of England, to have restrained the impatience of the king of Prussia. This last monarch, fancying the French revolution could be quelled as easily as the Dutch, was eager to undertake the chivalrous adventure of re-establishing despotism and feudal oppression.

The Republican party in the Legislative Assembly, usually known by the name of Girondists, or Brissotins, contained men of real talent and high moral character; but, bewildered by exaggerated ideas of liberty, they seem to have thought that so great an object as the establishing a republic, sanctified any measures conducive to its accomplishment. They accordingly encouraged the Jacobins, strove in all ways to bring suspicion upon the king, and for that purpose took advantage of the injudicious conduct of the emigrants and some of their German protectors, to endeavour to force on a war. La Fayette, mortified at the loss of his popularity and his consequent inability to support the constitution he loved, and saw tottering, wished for war as likely to afford to so able a general as himself the means of controlling mischievous demagogues.

The hostilities thus eagerly desired were not long delayed. The untimely death of Leopold, in March, 1792, had transferred his sceptre to the hands of his son, Francis II., and the young sovereign disclaimed to imitate his father's

temper, in replying to the insulting taunts of the leaders of the legislative body, and of the ministers, who acted at least as much under their direction as the king's. Lewis had offended the Assembly and the people, by exercising his constitutional right, of withholding his assent to two decrees of sweeping proscription, the one against the emigrants, the other against the clergy who had not taken the oath enjoined them; and under these combined circumstances he durst not resist the general cry for war. On the 20th of April, 1792, he declared war against the emperor, as King of Hungary and Bohemia; the Empire, as yet, remaining neutral.

The king of Prussia immediately joined with the emperor in the war. The king of Spain was invited to do the same, but refused, upon the plea that a war must increase the danger of Lewis's position. The Austrian and Prussian troops, accompanied by a large body of emigrants, attacked the French frontiers. La Fayette was at the head of the French army, but that army was disorganized, unprovided; and he could, of course, do nothing answering to his former reputation: his influence, consequently, diminished instead of reviving. The disasters that marked the beginning of hostilities spread a terror throughout France favourable to the views of the Republicans; and the violent denunciations of the allies and the emigrants against whoever had taken any part in the revolution, rendered it easy to affix odium and suspicion, whether justly or unjustly, upon Lewis and his Austrian queen.

Circumstances thus favouring their designs, the explosion of the 10th of August, 1792, was organized by the Jacobins; and the Girondists, who did not participate in the guilty plots that produced it, took good care to profit by the result for the establishment of their darling republic. Early on the morning of that day the Tuileries were surrounded and menaced by the lowest and most sanguinary rabble of the suburbs, aided by a band of ferocious Marseillois, brought from their native town, and supported in Paris, to aid the plots of the duke of Orleans (now called Citizen *Egalité*, or Equality), and of his Jacobin friends. The Swiss guards and a few remaining royalists, the latter nearly unarmed, prepared to defend the palace from within; and the national guards hurried thither upon the first alarm. Of these, some appeared honestly bent upon

doing their duty, defending their king, and putting down the insurrection; but the greater number shewed more disposition to join the assailants. Their commander, Mandat, a known constitutionalist, was sent for to the mayoralty to receive instructions, and assassinated upon his way; by which crime the command was transferred to the fierce Jacobin Santerre.

The amiable but unenergetic Lewis was now easily persuaded, in order to avoid the effusion of blood, to quit the palace, and seek shelter with his family in the bosom of the assembly. His benevolent purpose was not answered; for no orders having been given to the Swiss to surrender the deserted palace, they defended it, were, almost to a man, massacred, and their dead bodies were outraged and mutilated by those furies in the shape of women, who participated in every excess, every crime of those fearful days. The purpose of the Jacobins was more successful. The king was suspended from his functions, and consigned, with his family, to the prison called the Temple; and a National Convention, with powers adequate to the crisis of affairs, was ordered to be summoned. A provisional government was likewise appointed, consisting of Girondists, who now seemed triumphant; but the *commune* or municipality of Paris, the very stronghold of the Jacobins, possessed itself of the real authority; and by violent denunciations against all persons suspected of moderation, by arbitrary imprisonments, and the constant instigation of the most brutal portion of the populace to menace and violence, completely overawed the Legislative Assembly.

La Fayette, horror-stricken at a catastrophe so different from the revolution he had projected, attempted to interfere for the preservation of the king and the constitution: it was in vain. His military failure, from his want of forces and the disorganization of the few troops he had, (both occasioned by the ignorance or the arts of the Girondist ministry,) had weakened his influence at Paris, and even with his army. The intrigues of the Jacobins finally destroyed it; and when he wished to turn his arms against the contrivers and actors of the events of the 10th of August, he found himself without authority over his own army. He resolved not to share in crimes which he could not prevent, and with three friends left his

camp for the purpose of emigrating; but scarcely had they crossed the frontier, when they were seized by an Austrian out-post, and conveyed as captives to head-quarters. Notwithstanding their declarations, confirmed by their actions, that they were self-exiled in the king's cause, the emperor and the king of Prussia, as if to shew the French constitutionalists the light in which they considered them, determined to treat the fugitives as state criminals: as such they threw them into a prison where they were confined with unusual severity.

This act of injustice and cruelty confirmed the sovereignty of the Jacobins. If any of the French constitutionalists had ever been inclined to look upon the allies as friends, and deliverers from the insanely blood-thirsty faction that had now completely gained the ascendancy over the Girondists, such conduct taught them their mistake, and convinced them that the independence of their country was yet more important than its internal government. All men prepared to resist the invaders, and the *commune* of Paris, headed by Robespierre, Danlon, and Marat, took advantage of the defeat of the French army and the advance of the Prussians to fill the capital with an unreasoning terror, that enabled them to organize the horrible massacre of the 3rd, 4th, and 5th of September. Upon those days bands of hired assassins, joined by the terrified and savage populace, visited every Parisian prison, then crowded with suspected royalists and priests who had refused to take the prescribed oath, and put almost all the prisoners to death. The number of persons thus murdered is variously computed, the lowest estimate being two thousand, and the highest six thousand. The Temple was the only prison spared upon this occasion.

These very horrors, although they revolted the great body of the nation, helped to recruit the armies. The dangers of the battle-field faded before those of Jacobin proscription, and even such selfish beings as might have remained deaf to the call of patriotism, sought security amongst the ranks of their armed brethren, preferring death in defence of their native land, to death from the guillotine, or the poniard of a fellow-countryman. Thus reinforced, the Girondist, Dumouriez, who succeeded in Fayette at the head of the army, repulsed and drove the invaders out of France. He pursued them into the Netherlands,

and by the splendid victory of Jemappes, in fact, conquered that country, whilst another French general, Montesquiou, overran, and made himself master of Savoy. The philosophical spirit in which the Constituent Assembly had declared that France would never aggrandize herself by foreign conquest, had by this time evaporated. Both the conquered countries were declared French provinces, and France offered her aid to all nations who should rebel against their rulers. The French people, always peculiarly susceptible of military glory or disgrace, were intoxicated with this triumph, and all pity for the suffering constitutionalists and imprisoned royal family, was lost in intense sympathy with the victorious Republicans.

The National Convention had meanwhile succeeded to the Legislative Assembly. In this new body there were, of course, no Constitutionalists, and the Jacobins were decidedly the prevalent party, although they surpassed the Girondists rather in energy than numbers: the latter, indeed, still nominally exercised the powers of government, but dared not even attempt openly to resist the commune and its dreadful adjunct—the committee of public safety.

The first act of the Convention was to proclaim France a republic; and in this the Girondists not only concurred, but meant to have taken the lead. They were prevented by the superior activity of their antagonists, and thus forfeited the popularity they had anticipated from this proposal. Perhaps to the timidity produced by disappointment, must be ascribed the cowardly meanness with which, despite their avowed opinion that the king was not amenable to their jurisdiction, the constitution having declared his person inviolable, and his ministers alone responsible for every act of government, they, nevertheless, yielded to the Jacobins' determination of formally trying Lewis XVI. The Girondists showed equal weakness in their ineffectual endeavour to save the unfortunate prisoner's life; and on the 21st of January, 1793, Lewis XVI. lost his head by the guillotine.

CHAPTER II.

Character of the Queen of Spain—Her passion for Godoy—Cabals against Florida Blanca—His disgrace—Aranda prime minister—Favours the revolution—Is dismissed—Godoy prime minister—France declares war

against Spain, England, and Holland—Queen of Portugal's insanity—Her ministers furnish to Spain and England the contingents specified by Treaty, but profess not to be at war with France—Fall of the Girondists—Reign of Terror—Austrians and British recover the Netherlands—Invade France—French insurrections—Spanish and English fleets occupy Toulon—Spaniards invade France—French rebellions quelled—French successes against invaders—Spaniards driven out of France—French invade Spain—Overrun Catalonia, Navarre, and Biscay—Fall of Robespierre—Batarian republic—Rosas lost—Defeat at Sistiella—Peace signed at Basle—Cession of Hispaniola—Godoy prince of the Peace—Prince of Brazil assumes the government of Portugal—Studies internal prosperity—French Directory.*

THE events of the preceding year had very much altered the disposition of those powers which had yet kept aloof from the coalition against France, and more especially of Spain. Some changes had likewise taken place in the administration of the latter country, materially influencing her foreign policy, and to explain which it becomes necessary to disclose a scene of licentious turpitude, such as we have long been spared in the annals of the court of Madrid.

Louisa Maris, the queen of Charles IV., had, from the very moment of her marriage, betrayed a total disregard for the laws of conjugal fidelity, and her notorious gallantries could scarcely be checked even by the austerity of Charles III. That king, however, uniformly banished

* The authorities principally consulted for this chapter are, Bigland, Scott, Belsham, Da Costa, Semper, Bernardo, Fay, The Annual Register, *Mémoires de la Reine d'Espagne*, written by herself, and translated from the Italian, &c., London, 1814. This work is not quoted as of great value or authority, though it bears internal evidence of authenticity, but as affording some few facts, amidst the great dearth of materials respecting the reign of Charles IV. Letters from Spain by Don Leandro Doblado, &c., London, 1822. The work of a highly intelligent and well-informed, if not always unprejudiced author, (Blanco White), and full of curious matter, but only incidentally historical, *Tableau de l'Espagne Moderne*, par J. F. Bourgoing, 8 tom. 8vo. London, 1808. Bourgoing was repeatedly sent to Spain in a diplomatic capacity, by the different rulers of the French republic, and notwithstanding his anti-royal and especially anti-Bourbon feelings, his partiality for Godoy, over whom he exercised almost unbounded influence, offers the means of correcting the extravagant hatred of him that probably lends exaggeration to Spanish statements.

his daughter-in-law's lovers, as soon as the rumour of a new intrigue was brought to him, whilst the prince of Asturias remained so blind to his wife's guilt, that he frequently, though always in vain, supplicated his father to recall persons whose society was peculiarly agreeable to the princess. One of the paramours thus exiled was Lewis de Godoy, the eldest son of a noble but decayed family of Estremadura, who was serving with his brothers in the ranks of the Horse Guards, a regiment into which none but gentlemen were received, even as privates; and this young man, anxious not to lose in absence the affections of the princess, employed his brother, Don Manuel, to deliver secretly letters expressing his constant passion and his lamentations over his banishment.

Don Manuel availed himself of the opportunity his office as letter-carrier afforded him, to supplant his absent brother, and thenceforward he held the exclusive possession of Louisa Maria's heart. She introduced her new favourite to the prince of Asturias, who soon appeared to share his wife's attachment for him; and when the death of Charles III. removed the only restraint upon her conduct, the queen hoped to place Godoy at the head of the government. Charles IV. would not, however, violate the respect he owed to the memory of his father, by displacing his minister. Florida Blanca, as has been stated, retained the supreme authority, and, for a while, Godoy was obliged to rest content with inferior honours, unbounded influence over the queen, and the wealth lavished upon him, by both herself and her royal consort.

This state of affairs lasted till 1792, and during those three years Florida Blanca's caution combined with Charles's fears for Lewis the Sixteenth's safety, to preserve peace between France and Spain. But the restrictions imposed upon the intercourse between the two countries, by inconveniencing trade, had created great dissatisfaction amongst the Spaniards; and the queen and Godoy took care that not only their murmurs, but various accusations, true or false, of malversation and oppression, laid to the minister's charge, should reach the king's ear. In February, 1792, Florida Blanca, upon these imputations, was deprived of his high office, and thrown into prison. His enemies were not, however, vindictive. Although declared guilty of embezzling a considerable sum

of public money, as soon as it was thought no danger existed of his recovering the king's favour, he was released from confinement in honour of the *Infanta* Maria Louisa's marriage to Don Lewis, eldest son of the Duke of Parma, and was thenceforward permitted to reside in his native town of Murcia.

The fall of Florida Blanca did not at once make way for Godoy's exaltation to his post. The queen seems to have felt this as yet premature, and had prevailed upon Charles to dismiss one of his father's ministers, by proposing to supply his place with another, of equally high celebrity, but too far advanced in life to remain very long in her way. This was the count de Aranda, who, in his 74th year, succeeded to the vacant premiership, and as a disciple, or at least an admirer, of French philosophy, urged his royal master to pursue a more liberal course, to cultivate more zealously than heretofore, the friendship of then constitutional France. Aranda repaid the queen's patronage, by his concurrence in that showering of court favours upon Godoy, which his predecessor had offended her by opposing. The young guardsman was made a *Grande* of Spain, with the title of duke of Alcudia, derived from a princely estate belonging to the crown, and bestowed upon Don Manuel to support his high dignity.

Neither the queen nor her minion intended Aranda's appointment as anything more than a stepping-stone for the latter; and the extravagance and crimes of the faction, now predominant in France, greatly assisted their views, preventing the possible necessity of waiting till death or infirmity should remove the re-instated minister. The events of the 10th of August disgusted Charles with his French allies and their Spanish friends. The queen profited by this feeling to procure the dismissal of Aranda before the end of the year, (rather from authority, however, than office, as he remained president of the council,) and the duke of Alcudia was forthwith installed in the post of prime minister.

Still Charles did not declare war against France, although he made preparations for the probable necessity of so doing. He maintained his pacific relations with that now detested country, and seems to have expected that this perseverance in alliance should give him some influence over the French councils. He addressed an earnest re-

monstrance and entreaty to the president of the national convention on behalf of Lewis XVI., soliciting that, at least, the captive monarch's life should be spared. The Convention would not even suffer the letter to be read, and Charles resented this personal insult to himself, almost as much, perhaps, as the offence to the whole race of the Bourbons, and the blow struck, or aimed at all sovereigns in the execution of his royal kinsman.

Even this did not, however, produce an immediate declaration of war, though Charles evidently inclined to take that step; and the zeal with which Aranda opposed it in council occasioned his exile to Jaen. England also observed a sullen kind of neutrality. She had, indeed, recalled her ambassador from Paris upon the deposal of the monarch to whom he was accredited, and had professed her dissatisfaction at the decree of November, offering aid to all revolutionists. But she suffered the French ambassador, Chauvelin, to remain in London, where he carried on a sort of negotiation, from which it appears that with England, at least, the Convention really wished for peace. Upon Lewis's execution, George III. contented himself with dismissing the French diplomatist; and it was France that, exasperated by the dismissal of her ambassador, declared war on the 1st of February, 1793, against England and Holland, which last country, she chose to consider as wholly governed by the former. On the 4th of March she further declared war against Spain; justifying the act chiefly upon the ground of Charles's improper interference with her internal affairs, in his attempt to plead for the life of his relation.

Portugal had hitherto remained at peace with France, and the state of the queen seemed to preclude her taking any active part, either in politics or war. Her excessive devotion had long shown symptoms of degenerating into a religious insanity, which it had required all the good sense of her confessor to repress. This worthy ecclesiastic, Ignacio de San Caetano, who, originally a common soldier, had exchanged the musket for the breviary, and risen to the high dignity of grand-inquisitor, possessed Maria's full confidence, both as her spiritual guide, and as a man endowed with one of those energetic minds that naturally control

the weak; and whilst he lived he could soothe her agonizing belief that she was doomed to irremediable perdition in a future life, by pledging himself for the safety of her soul. Upon his death her conscience was intrusted to the less judicious management of Don José Maria de Mello, and the result was confirmed madness. The queen's condition was not, however, as yet publicly acknowledged; although the assistance of a physician, particularly distinguished for his skill in cases of mental derangement, had been solicited from the English government, she was still nominally the ruler of her kingdom; and its affairs were conducted with the weakness and dilatoriness inseparable from the actual incapacity of the sovereign.

England and Spain now called upon Portugal for the contribution of ships and troops, or of money, which she was bound by treaty to afford those powers. Both requisitions were promptly obeyed. Nine sail of the line were sent to co-operate with the British fleets; and six regiments of infantry, with artillery in proportion, under the command of general Skallater, a pupil of La Lippe's, joined the Spanish army of the Pyrenees. But Maria, or her ministers rather, professed to consider compliance with the strict letter of existing treaties, as involving no breach of neutrality. Great complaints were consequently made by the court of Lisbon, when the French captured Portuguese vessels like those of any other belligerent. It is needless to add, that those complaints were altogether disregarded.

The first consequence of these declarations of war was the invasion of Holland in February, by Dumouriez, who, elated with his Flemish triumphs, hoped that another conquest would so confirm his popularity and power, as to enable him, though he had failed in an attempt to save the king's life, at least to restore the constitution of 1791, placing the crown on the head of either the Dauphin, or the eldest son of the duke of Orleans, who was serving under him with distinction. He began his operations successfully; but a powerful Austrian army, under the Prince of Saxe Coburg, advanced to aid the Dutch, and Dumouriez was driven out of Holland. In the irritation of defeat, perhaps from fear of its results to himself, he still endeavoured to execute his plan. He failed, like la Fayette; and like him, but with better fortune, fled.

Portugal
from A.D.
1793—1795.

France
A.D. 1793.

The Jacobins took advantage of his desertion to accuse the Girondists as his accomplices, and excite the people against them. The Sections of Paris demanded their heads at the bar of the Convention; and although that body made an attempt to protect its members, it did not long contend against the frightful omnipotence of the Parisian mob. The Girondists were proscribed; about forty-two fell by the guillotine, or their own hands; the rest sought safety in concealment, or exile. The Jacobins now acquired the name as well as the reality of authority. The revolutionary tribunal was established; the government avowedly lodged in the hands of the committee of public safety; the Reign of Terror began, and France was deluged with blood.

The queen was put to death in October; the king's sister, Madame Elizabeth, in the month of May following. The poor were everywhere stirred up against the rich; unsuccessful generals expiated their defeats, successful generals often their popularity, upon the scaffold. Whoever in any way excited the jealousy or envy of any member of the ruling faction, instantly fell under the axe of the guillotine, and the same excess of terror compelled twenty millions of people to submit, in hopes thus to avoid the proscription of the clubs, then really governing France, recruited the republican armies, and impelled soldiers and officers to superhuman exertions, which were further stimulated by rewards, dispensed almost as lavishly as blood was shed.

These potent means did not immediately produce their effect, and during the year 1793, the Jacobins seemed likely to suffer from foreign enemies the punishment due to their crimes. The Austrians, joined by an English army under the duke of York, drove the French from the Netherlands, and, following them, invaded France. The Prussians and emigrants were successful upon the Rhine; and the king of Sardinia recovered part of Savoy. Rebellion raged in the interior. In La Vendée, a secluded and rustic district of the north-west, where a primitive purity of manners and a patriarchal simplicity in the connexion between the nobles and peasants, unknown elsewhere, yet remained, the whole population had risen in the cause of their king and their clergy; and many of the great commercial cities revolted against the de-

structive system of the Jacobins. Toulon proclaimed the Dauphin, as Lewis XVII., according to the constitution of 1791, and invited the united English and Spanish fleets under Lord Hood and Don Juan de Langara, to take possession of their town, port, and fortifications in his name.

Charles likewise prepared to invade France by land. A powerful Spanish army commanded by Ricardos, governor of Catalonia, and reinforced with the Portuguese auxiliaries, crossed the Pyrenees, and entered Roussillon. On the 22nd of June they took Bellegarde, one of the strongest frontier fortresses, afterwards occupying several places of less note. On the 22nd of September they defeated the French troops sent to oppose their progress, but do not appear to have derived much advantage from their victory: although they threatened Perpignan, they did not venture formally to invest it. The campaign was, however, decidedly favourable to the Spaniards, and closed, leaving them to winter in force on the French territories. The Portuguese troops displayed great gallantry in all these actions.

But it was only in this south-western portion of France that the ill-fortune of the republicans continued to the end of the year. In the course of the autumn they everywhere else recovered their losses. Jourdan, if he could not quite expel the English and Austrians from France, where they still held Valenciennes, and some other places, yet regained his footing in the Netherlands. The Prussians and emigrants were compelled to recross the Rhine. The insurrection in La Vendée was so far quelled as to render it insignificant. Lyons was taken by general Kellermann, when Couthon and Collot d'Herbois, two of the most ferocious of the Jacobins, sent to punish the rebellion, levelled the principal buildings with the dust, changed the name of the city, and guillotined the citizens, until, judges and executioners tiring of their bloody labours, Collot d'Herbois devised a more compendious proceeding, by firing grape-shot upon the destined victims who were crowded together in an open place. In a somewhat similar spirit at Nantes, Vendean prisoners were afterwards drowned by boat loads. Toulon likewise was recovered. By the bold genius of Buonaparte, then commandant of the artillery

Spain
A.D. 1793.

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employed in the siege, the republican army took a fort so essential to the defence of the town, from its commanding the roads where the English and Spanish fleets lay, that, upon its fall, the evacuation of the place was deemed necessary. Lord Hood re-embarked his troops, with as many of the inhabitants as he had room to receive—about fourteen thousand—and carrying off three ships of the line, a few frigates, and smaller vessels, all that were fit for putting to sea, or, in the pressure of the moment, could get out of the harbour, he set the rest on fire, and reluctantly left the unhappy Toulonese to their fate. The cruelties of the conquerors emulated those which they had previously committed at Lyons.

In the year 1794, whilst France seemed most completely disorganized and enfeebled by Jacobinical fury and terror, her armies, rendered well nigh innumerable by the masses of population poured into her camps, and led by generals, often of names, till then, unknown, who started up either from the ranks, or from professions and trades the least akin to arms, were almost uniformly victorious. The prodigious reinforcements sent, in the very beginning of the year, to the south-western provinces, turned the fortune of war against the Spaniards and Portuguese, who, nevertheless, struggled gallantly, and for some months maintained their footing in France.

Early in February they suffered two severe defeats near St. Jean de Luz. In April the Spaniards were similarly vanquished in Roussillon, but still occupied their principal conquests. Towards the latter end of that month, however, the brave veteran, general Dugommier, the same who, by justly appreciating Buonaparte's talents, had compelled the evacuation of Toulon, was sent to supersede the incompetent French commanders in Roussillon. The consequences were fatal to the Peninsular armies. In the beginning of May, Dugommier gained two victories over them—one near Ceret, and the other near Coullioure—in which the baggage, equipage, and artillery of the defeated armies, with about nine thousand prisoners, fell into the hands of the victors. This last victory was judged by the Convention so important, that a column was ordered to be erected upon the field of battle, in perpetual commemoration of republican triumph.

The more material fruits of these vic-

tories were, that most of the remaining Spanish conquests in Roussillon surrendered, and that Dugommier laid siege to Bellegarde, whilst he sent a corps under general Doppet to invade

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Catalonia, which reduced several places. Ricardos, whose military talents and experience had been one main cause of Spanish success, was now no more. He was succeeded by the count de la Union, a young grandee, bold, active, and enterprising, but without such commanding abilities as might have compensated his inexperience. He made a daring and vigorous effort to relieve Bellegarde, which its garrison defended with persevering gallantry. A desperate battle was fought, in the commencement of which the advantage was on the side of the Spaniards, but in the end they were defeated, with the loss of two thousand five hundred men, and compelled to retreat. Bellegarde, now hopeless of relief, capitulated on the 20th of September, after a five months' siege.

General Dugommier immediately entered Catalonia, and in the beginning of October again engaged la Union, whom he again defeated, but purchased the victory with his own life. His army followed the retreating enemy, and in the course of a few days avenged their general's death by that of the count de la Union, and three more Spanish generals, who fell in another battle fought on the 20th of the same month, when the Spaniards were once more beaten, and completely routed. The Spanish army sought shelter behind the lines, which had, during the last six months, been diligently prepared for the protection of Catalonia against an invading foe. These, though defended by forty thousand men, and fortified with eighty-three redoubts, the French, now commanded by general Perignon, next attacked with irresistible impetuosity, and carried in the space of three hours, when, without further obstacle, they advanced upon Figueras. The works of Figueras were deemed pretty nearly impregnable; it was abundantly provided, and well garrisoned. But the panic that seems to have ensued upon the count de la Union's death, and that had facilitated the forcing the lines, had extended hither, and Figueras, to the astonishment even of the besiegers, surrendered almost without resistance. Several places in the north of Catalonia followed its example.

At the western extremity of the Pyrenees the French arms were equally successful. The Spaniards, after repeated defeats in the months of July and August, were driven out of France into Spain, and Fuenterrabia, Port Passages, and St. Sebastian were taken as soon as invested. Tolosa was threatened by the army of the western, as was Barcelona by that of the eastern Pyrenees, and a Walloon regiment in the Spanish service, a description of troops highly esteemed and trusted, deserted to the enemy.

Charles and his new minister, the duke of Alcudia, were undismayed by these disasters. They endeavoured to excite the population to rise in a mass against the invaders. Their attempts were unavailing; and whilst the French complained of the stupid and superstitious insensibility of the people, whom their promises of liberty could not allure to join (fraternize, as they called it) with them, the court of Madrid complained equally of popular disaffection, as a main cause of the failure of their efforts to defend the country. The nation seems, in fact, to have taken no interest in the war. The nobles, however, and the clergy, including the orders of knighthood, and the monastic orders, were zealous in the cause, and freely offered ample contributions from their salaries, ecclesiastical revenues, commanderies, and private fortunes, to meet the exigency of the moment.

The misfortunes of the coalition on the eastern frontier of France were not calculated to encourage the Spanish court in its determination to resist. The republic had there near six hundred thousand men in arms against about three hundred thousand of the allies (for the Prussians took little share in the campaign), and this great superiority of numbers was wielded by three able generals, Jourdan, Pichegru, and Moreau. The allied troops fought bravely under the command of the duke of York, the prince of Coburg, and Clairfait, the two last of whom were good officers of the old German school. But they were totally inadequate to make head against the wild and irregular enthusiasm of the republicans. By the end of July not only were the conquests of the allies in France retaken, but their troops were driven out of the Netherlands. The duke of York, with the English and Hanoverians, retreated to

the territories of the United Provinces, which he endeavoured to defend, as did the Austrians the left bank of the Rhine. Before the end of the year the Dutch towns of Bois le Duc, Breda, Maestricht, and Nimeguen, had fallen before Pichegru, and the English prince, with the British, Hanoverian, and Dutch forces, had been compelled to retreat farther across the Waal, whilst the left bank of the Rhine was occupied by Moreau and Jourdan.

These brilliant successes of the French by land were but little compensated by their naval and colonial losses. At sea, Lord Howe, on the 1st of June, gained a splendid victory over the French fleet, taking six ships of the line, and sinking one. Lord Hood made himself master of the island of Corsica. In the East Indies, almost all the French settlements and factories, and in the West Indies, almost all their islands, had fallen into the hands of the British. Their portion of St. Domingo alone remained to them, and that was in a state of convulsion, almost as violent as the mother country's, occasioned, first, by the insurrection of the negroes, and subsequently by their sudden and unprepared emancipation, in virtue of a generous but somewhat inconsiderate decree of the National Assembly.

The interior of France, meanwhile, if it did not afford an absolutely consolatory prospect, yet gave promise of the termination of the horrible reign of terror. This hope was purchased, however, by still sharper throes. In the early part of this year that reign was at its height, and blood flowed in torrents on all sides; but jealousy and fear of each other, at length, crept in amongst the Jacobin tyrants, who held France in such strange subjection. Robespierre put his colleague, Danton, to death. Some of his subordinate colleagues, as Barras, Fouché, Collot d'Herbois, Tallien, and others, thereupon became apprehensive for themselves. These rival demagogues gradually drew over a majority of the Convention to their side, by convincing them that they lived in hourly peril of proscription by Robespierre. In the nation at large a similar conviction, combined with loathing of the scenes of blood daily witnessed, universally prevailed, except amongst the very lowest and vilest of the rabble, or in the Jacobin clubs.

On the 27th of July, Tallien accused

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Robespierre in the Convention of tyranny, of usurping the dictatorship, and moved the arrest of the dictator and his creatures. The Convention took courage. The arrest was voted by acclamation, and immediately executed. An attempt was made by the Jacobins to rescue their leader, but failed; and Robespierre, with several of his most intimate associates and agents, perished by the guillotine. Those who had triumphed over him were themselves Jacobins, but they, or at least Tallien and Barras, were weary of their sanguinary course, and now adopted more lenient measures. After a sharp contest with Collot d'Herbois, and those who had joined them against Robespierre, wholly from personal motives, they got the better. The Jacobin club was shut up, the most guilty members were punished; the Faubourg St. Antoine, the most tumultuous and seditious part of Paris, was subdued; the revolutionary tribunal put down; the prisoners, still crowding the different state prisons, were released, and the law against suspected persons was suspended.

If the terror inspired by the sweeping proscriptions and massacres of the Jacobins had originally contributed to swell the numbers of the French armies, and stimulate both officers and soldiers to exertion, that stimulus was now no longer needed. Its place was supplied by a passion for military glory, an ambition of conquest, and a wild enthusiastic zeal for the propagation of their own doctrines. In this object they were but too successful. It is almost always easy to excite the indigent against the wealthy; and those who suffer under the oppression of bad government, or even of unfortunate circumstances, are but too prone to accept, without investigation, the offer of foreign assistance, to believe in impossible promises of relief from the pressure of taxation or of want. Free and tolerant as were the constitution and government of the United Provinces, the democratic party and the lower orders generally were disposed to favour the French invaders; and even without such aid Pichegru was superior to his antagonists, both in number and in skill. After a gallant struggle, the English troops were driven out of the country, in the month of January, 1795. The prince of Orange and his family fled to England; and although Holland was not, like the Netherlands, made nominally a French province, she was so in

effect, since, under the name of the Batavian republic, she became wholly dependent upon France, at whose disposal all Dutch resources, in wealth, fleets, and colonies were placed.

The fate of Spain was somewhat different. The strong town of Rosas, in Catalonia, fell on Spain
A.D. 1795. the 5th of January; after which four months passed in seeming inactivity, the French preparing for their advance upon Madrid, and the Spanish court making every exertion to strengthen and reinforce the army, whilst it still vainly endeavoured to rouse the nation to resistance. Upon the 5th of May the Spanish army, thus arduously recruited, was completely routed by the French near Sistella, and with it the last hopes of Charles and Godoy fell.

Peace was now the only chance of escaping entire subjugation. The disposition of the persons in power at Paris was accordingly sounded through the American ambassador, and they were found willing to diminish the number of their enemies. Don Domingo de Yriarte, the Spanish minister at Warsaw, whose mission to Poland had ceased upon the Russians taking possession of that capital, and the final partition of the kingdom between Russia, Austria, and Prussia, was then ordered to repair to Basle, and open a negotiation with Barthélemy, the French envoy to Switzerland.

Barthélemy had recently concluded, at Basle, a treaty of peace with the king of Prussia, the first European sovereign who acknowledged the French republic, induced so to do partly by despair of success against the arms of France, and partly by his desire to be at liberty to turn his whole force against Poland, and secure a share of that unfortunate state, doomed by the weakness of its government, an elective monarchy, to be a prey to its powerful neighbours. The negotiations between the able French diplomatist and Yriarte were only delayed by the difficulty of communicating with Spain, and thence of Yriarte's receiving his full powers. At length, leave being given for Spanish couriers to pass through France, the requisite powers reached Basle; and on the 22nd of July a treaty was signed, by which France agreed to evacuate her conquests in Catalonia and Biscay; and Spain, in return, ceded to France the large, but long-neglected, and scarce half-cultivated portion of the island of St. Domingo that still belonged to her. Spain further pro-

mised to use her utmost efforts to detach Portugal likewise from the coalition.

The conditions of this treaty were so much more favourable than Charles had expected, that in his joy he rewarded the duke of Alcudia with the title of Prince of the Peace, by which he has ever since been known; an honour the more remarkable, because, contrary to the usual practice of the continent, in Spain as in England, the title of prince had, till then, been confined to the royal family. Yriarte's recompense was his nomination as ambassador to France, which his premature death prevented his enjoying. From this period the whole system of Spanish policy was changed, and rendered so entirely subservient to the views of France, that Godoy has been accused by his countrymen of corruption; and there is certainly nothing in his character or principles that renders it likely he should have scorned a bribe. It is needless, nevertheless, to recur to such a suspicion for the explanation of his conduct. Spain made peace because she could not resist France; and the same weakness would induce her to submit to the dictation of her powerful ally. Charles seems to have followed, unresistingly, the impulses of his queen and favourite; and the latter, a man altogether inadequate to the high office to which he had been so absurdly and criminally raised, was, in all probability, unconsciously intrahled by the adroit diplomatists whom France, whatever were the variations of her government, sent to Madrid.

The peace of Basle was followed by the conclusion of a treaty with the United States of North America, by which the Prince of the Peace agreed to open the navigation of the Mississippi to the American republic, and, as far as the United States were concerned, to render New Orleans a free port; measures equally beneficial to both parties, since, whilst it gave the western states of America facilities for exporting their produce, it raised New Orleans, the capital of Louisiana, to considerable commercial importance, and brought thither a great influx of wealth and population.

At this period the mental disorder of the queen of Portugal was pronounced by her medical attendants to be incurable. It was, in consequence, so far publicly acknowledged, that her eldest surviving son, Don John, as-

sumed the government, without, however, being named regent, but carrying it on temporarily in his mother's name. He adhered to her policy, resisted the persuasions of the Spanish court to forsake the alliance of England for that of France, and devoted his attention to those internal improvements which, since her derangement, had been neglected. Unfortunately he fully inherited her bigotry.

In France the convulsions and horrors of the revolution seemed really to be over. The revolutionary government had given place to a regular republican constitution, consisting of a Legislative Assembly, divided into two Chambers, the Council of Ancients, and the Council of Five Hundred, and of an Executive Directory of five persons, a scheme which, whatever were its faults, gave promise of a responsible government, that would observe the ordinary forms and laws of internal administration and of external intercourse. The tumultuary populace of Paris had been put down by the troops of the line under the conduct of Buonaparte, whom either Barras or Carnot recommended, at the critical moment, for the politically dangerous office of commanding the soldiers against the insurgent rabble. And some pledge had been given of the improved temper of the rulers of France, by the exchange of the young princess, now the sole survivor of Lewis XVI.'s family (the Dauphin had died in prison from the ill treatment of his Jacobin gaolers), for some members of the Convention whom Dumouriez had, at the moment of quitting the service of the republic, delivered into the hands of the Austrians.

CHAPTER III.

Spain declares war against England—Prince of Brazil perseveres in his neutrality—Buonaparte's first Italian campaign—His victories and conquests—Cisalpine republic—Treaty of Campo Formio—Naval battle off Cape St. Vincent—Loss of Trinidad—Negotiations at Lisle—Portugal negotiates with France—Negotiations at Lisle broken off—Prince of Brazil refuses to ratify the treaty his ambassador had concluded—The ambassador thrown into prison by the French directory—Loss of Miworca—Buonaparte's Egyptian expedition—

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French proclaim the Roman republic—Subdue Switzerland—Expel the kings of Sardinia and Naples from Italy—Parthenopean republic—New coalition against France—Its success—Buonaparte returns from Egypt—Buonaparte First Consul—War between Spain and Russia—Prince of Brazil Regent of Portugal.*

UNDER the administration of some of the patriotic statesmen who flourished during the reigns of the predecessors of Charles IV., the tranquil neutrality which Spain had thus easily, if somewhat disgracefully, acquired, would have been diligently preserved, and devoted to internal improvement. To this last ob-

ject, indeed, the Prince of the Peace was not indifferent; he strove to encourage

arts and industry, and especially sought to recover the breed of fine horses for which Andalusia had formerly been renowned, and which, having been long neglected in the prevalent passion for mules, had degenerated. He even attempted to oppose the immense power and ever accumulating wealth of the Spanish clergy.

But the arts of French diplomacy overbore Godoy's steadiness in preferring the real interests of Spain to hopes of sharing in the military fame and the territorial aggrandizement of France. On the 19th of August, 1796, a treaty of alliance, offensive and defensive, was signed between France and Spain, by which it was stipulated that either Power, if engaged in a separate war, should be entitled to claim from the other fifteen ships of the line, and twenty-four thousand soldiers, to be kept up to that amount, making good all losses; and that if the two countries should be jointly engaged in war, all the forces of both should act in common. It was further distinctly stated in the treaty, that these stipulations referred especially to England, inasmuch as Spain had no cause of quarrel with any other enemy of France. Two months after the signature of a treaty so incompatible with any views of real neutrality, the Spanish court declared war against England, and justified the act in a manifesto filled with the most frivolous complaints of the conduct of the British cabinet during the time Spain and Eng-

land had carried on the war against France conjointly, added to the usual accusations of contraband trade, and infringement upon colonial rights.

Spain still failed in her endeavours to detach Portugal from the coalition, and to exclude English goods, which were clandestinely introduced through the long frontier line of Portugal. The prince of Brazil, who found this new branch of illicit traffic very advantageous to his subjects, sought further to promote their commerce by declaring Lisbon a free port, and engaging that merchandise there deposited should be respected in case of war with the country to which it belonged.

This year was memorable for the first appearance (at least in a situation calculated to display his genius) of the most extraordinary phenomenon of the French revolution, *viz.*

Napoleon Buonaparte. On the 9th of March, 1796, Buonaparte married Josephine Beauharnais, the widow of an ex-noble, afterwards a republican general, and one of the victims of the Jacobins. The lady was accused of being too intimate with the director Barras; she certainly lived in great friendship both with him, and the very influential Madame Tallien; and through the one or the other of these potent friends she brought her husband the supreme command of the army of Italy, as her portion. Within a very few days after their union Buonaparte left her to assume that command.

The army of Italy had been driven by the Austrians out of the country from which it was named, and into the Alps. There it remained, opposed to superior numbers of Austrians, Sardinians, and Neapolitans, under generals of deserved reputation. In this situation Buonaparte found it, nearly disorganized and destitute of everything. He stimulated his soldiers to exertion, by observing to them that plenty awaited them in Italy. He determined to pass the Alps rather by turning than crossing them—that is to say, to keep as nearly as possible upon the sea-shore at their western extremity, and enter Italy by the neutral Genoese territories. The plan succeeded, and its success was owing as much to the mode of execution as to the conception. It was here the young general first tried and developed the principles upon which all his splendid sub-

* The authorities principally consulted for this chapter are, Bigland, Scott, De Costa, Foy, Delsham, Bouging, Annual Register.

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sequent victories were gained. These principles were, to sacrifice every minor consideration to one leading object, and to bear down opposition by a decided superiority of numbers. Even when his army was most inferior in that very respect to the enemy's, he effected this purpose, by concentrating his whole force upon one single point at a time, and thus beating, in detail, a far more powerful adversary.

Upon the present occasion Beaulieu, the commander opposed to him, in order to leave no pass unguarded, occupied three strong posts, but so far distant from each other as to require much time for concentrating the troops upon any one. Of this position Buonaparte took advantage. On the 12th of April he defeated the centre division of Austrians, under d'Argenteau, at Monte Notte, and thus completely cut off Colli and his Sardinians from Beaulieu, who had stationed his division of the army so as to cover Genoa. Then, leaving a corps to hold Beaulieu in check, Buonaparte turned his whole strength against Colli, whom he again and again defeated, and drove before him nearly to Turin; when the king of Sardinia, seeing himself upon the brink of actual ruin, was glad to purchase peace by the surrender of the strong fortresses, usually called the Keys of the Alps, and to the possession of which he owed all his political weight in Europe.

The war with the king of Sardinia thus concluded, Buonaparte turned against the Austrians. By misleading Beaulieu as to his intentions, he effected the passage of the Po at Placentia without opposition, defeated the advanced guard of the Imperialists at Fombio, and crossed the Adda at Lodi, under so heavy a fire of the Austrian artillery, that the passage of the bridge of Lodi is esteemed one of the most daring feats, not only of this campaign, but of Buonaparte's life. The triumphs of this young and eccentric general had now filled his enemies with apprehension. The Austrians retired before him; he took possession of Milan; and the petty sovereigns of Italy began to purchase peace by entire submission, and the surrender of the pictures and statues that had long drawn visitors to their capitals, for the ornament of the Museum at Paris.

The Bourbon duke of Parma was one of the first who thus bowed to the French republic; his kinsman, the

king of Naples, followed his example in submission, and the distance of Naples from the scene of action secured Ferdinand IV. from present spoliation. But the Pope lay nearer. Parts of his territories were occupied, and he likewise was compelled to purchase peace by surrendering the treasures of art, that now stood Rome instead of her former power and fame.

Beaulieu was succeeded by Wurmser, with a fresh army, who, like his predecessor, occupying too extended a line, was, like him, beaten in detail by Buonaparte, as was again his successor, Alvinzi. A new and certainly more able antagonist was then sent against the French conqueror, in the person of the Archduke Charles. But the prince was unable to cope with his republican opponent. He was deceived by Buonaparte's stratagems, alarmed by operations upon his flank, defeated in various engagements, and was finally compelled to retreat from the Tyrol, and limit his hopes to the protection of his brother's capital, Vienna.

This state of affairs produced the preliminary treaty of Leoben, signed by Buonaparte and the Austrian plenipotentiaries on the 18th of April, 1797, and the subsequent definitive treaty of Campo Formio, by which Austria ceded the Netherlands to France, and the Milanese to the new Cisalpine republic, formed of all the conquered or revolutionized Italian states, receiving in exchange Venice (which Buonaparte had seized upon an accusation of favouring Austria) with all the Venetian territories, except the Illyrian provinces and the Seven Islands: these were retained by France.

But all this prosperity was for France, not for her allies. Seldom, indeed, has Spain found her account in deviating from her old maxim, of peace with England; and the present war with that country, so idly undertaken if she had power to avoid it, was not destined to be one of the rare exceptions. Since the commencement of hostilities the Spanish fleets had, like the French, been blockaded in port by British squadrons. Early in February, 1797, however, the Spanish Admiral, Don Joseph de Córdova, at the head of twenty-seven sail of the line, made his way out of Carthagena harbour, and passed the Straits of Gibraltar in search of the British fleet, which, relying upon his

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great superiority of force, he hoped to annihilate.

On the morning of the 14th Córdova came in sight of the enemy he sought. Sir John Jervis, the English admiral, had only fifteen sail of the line, but resolved, nevertheless, to give battle, and endeavoured to compensate his great disparity of numbers by a manœuvre somewhat analogous to those by which Buonaparte gained his victories on land. He bore down with his whole force upon the Spaniards before their line was formed, cut off one large division of their fleet, and thus engaging upon less unequal terms, defeated Córdova, took four large ships, and drove the rest into the port of Cadiz. He was ably assisted in this bold attack by commodore Nelson.

In Cadiz, Jervis (created Lord St. Vincent, in honour of his victory) blockaded the Spanish fleet, still far more numerous than his own, and, whilst he lay off the harbour, greatly harassed the coasting trade of Spain. He likewise bombarded the town, but though he thus did a good deal of damage, produced no material result. Lord St. Vincent thought to follow up his advantage in another direction, by sending Nelson with a squadron to seize, if possible, both the town of Santa Cruz, in the island of Teneriffe, and a valuable register ship then lying in the port of that island.

The attack was made with the daring intrepidity that characterized all Nelson's actions; but the admiral had been led to form the scheme by false information as to the strength of the place. The attempt failed, and cost as many lives as the preceding battle. Nelson lost his arm. The Spaniards defended the fort with great gallantry, and when the English abandoned their enterprise, displayed towards them all the kindness and courtesy that used to soften and embellish the hostility of civilized nations, before the French revolution exasperated the minds of men, and breathed a spirit of envenomed bitterness alike into its champions and its antagonists.

In the West Indies, also, the Spaniards suffered for incurring the enmity of England. An expedition under admiral Harvey and general Sir Ralph Abercrombie sailed from Martinique to attack the island of Trinidad, the chief importance of which lay in its situation near the main land, but which the court of Madrid had latterly made some

exertion to colonize and bring into cultivation. The commandant made none to defend it. Four sail of the line were voluntarily burnt to prevent their falling into the hands of the English, and the governor capitulated the next day (the 18th of February), surrendering the island, and agreeing that the garrison should be considered as prisoners of war. Encouraged by their success, Abercrombie and Harvey next attempted the stronger island of Porto Rico, but failed, with considerable loss.

In the summer of this year the English cabinet made a third attempt to negotiate with the French directory. The first two had broken off upon the question of the Austrian Netherlands, of which England required the restoration to the emperor, in exchange for her restitution of all her own conquests in the East and West Indies. In the month of June, 1797, Lord Malmesbury, who had conducted the second negotiation, was sent to Lisle, where he met two French diplomatists; and, notwithstanding considerable irritation on both sides, produced by the directory's demanding, as preliminaries, concessions which should naturally have formed points for discussion, amidst the other conditions of the treaty, the negotiation at first proceeded with some prospect of a happy result.

The commerce of Portugal had suffered much from French privateers since the peace of Basle had opened the Spanish ports to such vessels. The prince of Brazil's cabinet was neither united in its views, nor composed of able men. The duke of Lafœns was a partizan of France. Most of his colleagues adhered to the English alliance, and Don John himself was confirmed in his horror of the French revolution by his confessor, and by Pino Manique, minister of police, who, to strengthen his own influence, incessantly terrified his master with real or pretended conspiracies. But still the duke of Lafœns, an illegitimate descendant of Pedro II., was supported against this overwhelming superiority of the Anti-Gallican party, by the prince's natural desire to live in friendship with his father-in-law, Charles IV. An opportunity now seemed to offer for combining this object with fidelity to England, and the prince despatched Don Antonio de Araujo de Azevedo to Paris to nego-

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tiate a separate peace. No difficulties whatever existed that could embarrass this negotiation; and on the 10th of August a treaty was signed, by which Portugal stipulated for the most perfect neutrality, in case the war should continue between France and England, even for permission to continue that preference to England in commercial questions to which she was bound by existing treaties; and the directory, it is said, stipulated for a large sum of money, to be appropriated to their private use. Two months were allowed for the ratification of this treaty.

But all prospect of peace, if any had really opened, was overclouded by a change which, on the 4th of September,

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occurred in the French government. The disposition to treat which the directory had discovered, had probably been, in a great measure, produced by the royalist influence, infused into their own body as well as into the legislature, at the late elections, and by the consequent alarm of the republican majority of the directory for their own safety. Assisted by Augereau, whom Buonaparte had sent from Italy to their support, and by Hoche, the directory, on the 4th of September, got the better of their opponents. About seventy persons, including the director, Barthélemy, and the presidents of both councils, Willot and Pichegru, were transported, as royalists, to the unhealthy swamps of Cayenne, in South America, whither a party of the terrorist Jacobins had been previously exiled.

Republican supremacy thus re-established at Paris, the triumphant directors recalled from Lisle the commissioners who had been negotiating with at least a show of friendliness, substituting in their place two new plenipotentiaries, who immediately set on foot a captious inquiry into the extent of lord Malmesbury's powers—that is to say, whether he had power to restore all English conquests whatsoever, including those from Spain and Holland. It should be stated that the Spice islands, and almost all the Dutch possessions in the east, were already comprehended under this description. The British ambassador objected (perhaps with needless pertinacity) to questions which, he observed, were at least unnecessary, after he had stated generally that he had full powers, and an answer to which might, in some measure, betray the

nature of his instructions with respect to concession. Upon this dispute the negotiation was broken off, and lord Malmesbury quitted Lisle upon the 18th of September.

In consequence of this rupture the prince of Brazil hesitated to ratify his own treaty with the French government, whereupon the directory at once declared the treaty null and void, and ordered the Portuguese ambassador out of France. He delayed his departure beyond the day specified, and was, in consequence, seized, and thrown into prison—a breach of the customs of civilized nations, even supposing that by his delay he had forfeited his legal title to the character of ambassador, which was certainly not calculated to conciliate Portugal. Hostilities were renewed, or rather continued; but France had now no enemy save Great Britain and Portugal, and as the two mighty antagonists carried on their operations at that time chiefly upon different elements, whilst Portugal barely acted as an auxiliary, the war seemed to languish, although France made two attempts to invade Ireland (or rather to profit by the rebellion there raging), both of which were easily defeated.

In the month of November general Stuart attacked Minorca, and after a short resistance, the governor, Quesada, surrendered the island, upon condition of being sent with his garrison to the nearest Spanish port. This was pretty much the whole Spanish share in the war this year, beyond the usual contribution of troops to the French armies; for the demand of a passage for French troops through Spain to invade Portugal, which created as much alarm in the country to be traversed, as in that menaced, appears to have been] merely a stratagem to conceal the real destination of the armament assembling at Toulon.

The terror excited by this demand in Portugal was however great.

The prince of Brazil applied to England for assistance, and Sir Charles Stewart, with a body of eight or ten thousand men, chiefly emigrants, and other foreigners in English pay, was immediately dispatched to the Tagus. Pinto, secretary of state for foreign affairs, to whose department all military matters belonged, had, from the moment the negotiations at Paris were broken off,

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exerted himself to recruit, reorganize, and discipline the native army, inviting foreign veterans, the prince of Waldeck and count Golz in succession, to take the command. About forty thousand men were now in arms, and Don John, himself, who had till then seldom been publicly seen except in religious ceremonies, appeared frequently in uniform, and reviewed the troops in person. The efficacy of these exertions was not put to the test. Buonaparte sailed for Egypt with the Toulon armament, and the fears of Portugal subsided. Part of the auxiliaries went forward to assist in besieging Malta, which Buonaparte had taken in his way to Egypt by treachery in the garrison; and a squadron of Portuguese ships cruising in the Mediterranean, joined in blockading the island.

But whilst Buonaparte sought in Egypt, a province belonging to an old and unoffending ally of France, Turkey, the means of

penetrating to India, in order to attack the British empire in the east, the directory did not permit the continent of Europe to enjoy the peace which many of its sovereigns had so dearly purchased. Advantage was taken of a popular commotion at Rome, in which the French general Duphot was accidentally slain, to overthrow the Papal government; and on the 15th of February, 1798, the restoration of the ancient Roman republic was solemnly proclaimed by the French general Berthier. The Pope, Pius VI., left Rome, and retired to a Carthusian monastery near Florence.

The Swiss confederation, which had boasted their republican freedom, when every other nation in Europe was subjected, in some form or other, to arbitrary power, was the next object of French ambition. Switzerland was invaded upon some frivolous pretext of breach of neutrality, and after a strenuous resistance, compelled to abandon the various constitutions to which the different Cantons were passionately attached, to receive the French model of a republic, one and indivisible, and, under the name of an ally, to become a vassal of France.

Towards the end of the year the directory found some cause of quarrel with the King of Sardinia, and gladly accepted the King of Naples' declaration of war. In the very beginning of 1799 the former was compelled to surrender

the whole of Piedmont to the French, and retire with his family and court to Sardinia. About the same time, the Neapolitans having been repeatedly defeated with considerable loss, the King of Naples fled with his family to Sicily. Naples was taken by storm, after a stout resistance from the rabble, called *Lazzaroni*; and on the 25th of January, 1799, the kingdom of Naples was transformed into the Parthenopean republic.*

The Courts of Naples and Turin had been principally encouraged to plunge into a war, that had terminated so fatally for them, by the splendid victory which Admiral Nelson had gained, on the 1st of August, 1798, at Aboukir, over the French fleet, taking or destroying all but two ships of the line, and two frigates. This victory, by depriving the army of Egypt of its means of communication with France, appeared to render the conquest of that distant country, which Buonaparte had by this time completed, of little moment in European politics, and incited other more formidable potentates to seek to profit by the absence of the best army and best general of the republic. Paul, Emperor of Russia, declared war against France, and sent his northern troops, under his mother Catherine's favoured General, Suwarrow, to free Switzerland and Italy from French thralldom. The German States, assembled in Congress at Rastadt, were then labouring to settle the complicated affairs of the German empire, conformably to the treaty of Campo Formio, which, being concluded with the emperor separately, did not bind them. Indignant at the exorbitant demands of the French directory, they now dissolved the Congress, and gladly joined with Francis II. in renewing the war.

The moment was judiciously chosen for commencing hostilities, and the new coalition seemed likely to set bounds to the restless and ever-growing ambition of the French republic. Suwarrow fully maintained upon this occasion the high reputation he had formerly acquired in his Turkish campaigns. Notwithstanding the utmost exertions of the ablest republican generals, he drove the French troops out of the whole north of Italy, and began the deliverance of Switzerland. The Archduke Charles, whose genius seemed subdued only by Buonaparte's, cleared the right bank of the Rhine from all invaders. Insurrections, provoked by the oppression and rapacity

of the directory, broke out in the Netherlands; and Holland was notoriously dissatisfied both with the government imposed upon her, and with the interruption of her trade. A combined English and Russian army landed in Holland; where, upon their first appearance, the Dutch admiral, compelled by his sailors, surrendered the Dutch fleet to the British admiral, Lord Duncan.

The royalists throughout the new Parthenopean State rose against the Republicans, as soon as the French reverses in Lombardy obliged the real governor of the republic, the skilful French general, Macdonald, to lead his troops northwards, to the assistance of his countrymen; and the king, returning from Sicily, resumed his authority. But his triumph was for ever disgraced by the inhumanity with which, in violation of a capitulation signed by Commodore Foote, the English officer commanding in the Bay of Naples, to whom the city had surrendered for Ferdinand IV., the king revenged his expulsion upon such Neapolitans as had joined the French. The infamy of this conduct is rendered more painful in the eyes not only of Britons, but of all who feel the interest of men in the high character of those whose great qualities reflect lustre upon their species, by Nelson's having sanctioned this violation of a British officer's plighted word.

The fall of the Parthenopean was soon followed by that of the Roman republic. Rome itself was still garrisoned by French troops; but the provinces were full of insurrections in favour of their old ecclesiastical rulers. An English squadron, under Commodore Trowbridge, blockaded Civita Vecchia at the mouth of the Tiber. Trowbridge summoned the city; and, on the 27th of September, Rome surrendered to the arms of Great Britain.

Whilst the coalition was thus wresting some of her conquests from France, and the French nation, exasperated at such reverses, and at the government to whose imbecility they attributed them, appeared ripe for a new revolution, Buonaparte was battling in Africa and Asia. Having, as it seemed, firmly established his sovereignty over Egypt, he quitted it to invade Syria. Here, too, for a while victory attended him; but he was foiled before Acre by the co-operation of Sir Sidney Smith with the Turks, and compelled to raise the siege of that town. Immediately abandoning his

Syrian enterprise, he returned to Egypt; but not with any purpose of remaining there. Egypt was subdued, but the extensive and splendid schemes its conqueror had contemplated as the fruits of its acquisition had vanished upon his failure in Syria, and the state of France invited his return. On the 23rd of August he embarked on board a French frigate, avoided the English squadrons by following a circuitous route, and other manœuvres, and landed in France on the 9th of October.

At the very moment of Buonaparte's arrival, and before he had avowedly taken any part in public affairs, the fortune of war became rather more favourable to France. In Holland, the duke of York, after some success, encountered such vigorous opposition, that he was compelled, not only to abandon his enterprise, but to evacuate the country by convention; and Massena, by a series of brilliant manœuvres defeating the Austrians and Russians, regained possession of Switzerland. But this was not sufficient to reconcile the French nation to their government, and Buonaparte, the most successful of their generals, who now appeared amongst them resplendent with the conquest of Egypt, found no difficulty in overturning the directory, and the constitution of which that body formed part. On the 9th of November this was effected by the aid of the military, and on the following day Buonaparte, under the title of First Consul, assumed the executive authority.

With the military transactions of this year Spain had no concern, although a diplomatic intercourse with Russia, begun Spain
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1798—1799. by an exhortation from Paul to Charles to unite with the sovereigns confederated against France, ended in a formal declaration of war by the Russian Czar against the Spanish king. A Spanish fleet again escaped from Carthage, under Admiral Mazarredo, and more fortunate than its predecessor, effected a junction with the French under Brueys, at a moment when the English force in the Mediterranean did not exceed sixteen ships. But the only advantage derived by the united fleets from the immense superiority in numbers they had thus gained, and which created an alarm in England productive of unexampled exertions in the various dock-yards to reinforce the admirals on their several stations, was, together and

unmolested, to reach Brest, whence Brueys had sallied, availing himself of a fog to elude Lord Brikport's vigilance. For this success, if it deserves the name, Spain paid dearly in her merchant ships, which were everywhere captured by British cruisers, as were the few armed vessels necessarily sent to sea singly, or in small detachments.

The attempts to revolutionize Spain, which had been formerly instigated or encouraged by the French directory, were now abandoned, and every effort was made to captivate the good will of the Court of Madrid. The hostile designs which, since the rupture of the negotiation for peace, had been entertained at Paris against Portugal, are said to have been laid aside at the intercession of Charles, who naturally wished to preserve the future inheritance of his daughter's husband and children.

In point of fact his son-in-law was already in possession of the Portuguese sceptre, and in the month of July had even assumed the title of regent, in consideration of the queen's state of confirmed and hopeless insanity. In name only did this measure produce any change. The Prince-regent continued to govern, as he had long done, though with somewhat more of authority, perhaps, than when he was only Prince of Brazil. His endeavours to prepare for the threatened French invasion, by increasing and disciplining his army and navy, have been already described. They were continued, but with how little success will be too plainly seen, when the day of real trial shall come to be related. With respect to the internal improvement of the country, he is said to have done something towards facilitating communication, by making roads and canals; and he established a Public Library and Cabinet of Natural History; but he counteracted any effect which these establishments might have wrought in enlightening the Portuguese, by transferring the duties of the Board of Censure to the Inquisition.

CHAPTER IV.

Buonaparte's second expedition to Italy—Battle of Marengo—Battle of Hohenlinden—Treaty of Luneville—Spain cedes Louisiana to France—Buonaparte gives the Kingdom of Etruria to the Prince of Parma in

lieu of his heritage—Spain declares war against Portugal—Invasion of Portugal—Treaty of Badajoz—Not allowed by Buonaparte—Treaty of Madrid—Portuguese Guiana ceded to France—Olivenza to Spain—Peace of Amiens—England restores Minorca—Keeps Trinidad—Portugal recovers part of Portuguese Guiana—State of Spain—Godoy's absolute power—Saavedra and Jovellanos Ministers—Saavedra resigns—Jovellanos disgraced and imprisoned—Marriage of the Prince of Asturias—Extension of French power—Rupture of the peace of Amiens—Spain and Portugal neutral—Bickerings between Spain and England—Portugal purchases the continuance of her neutrality and commerce with England.*

DURING the year 1800, Spain and Portugal had little to do but to observe the change in the fortunes of France and her enemies, resulting from the return of Buonaparte, and his exaltation to the head of the government. Those were great. By dexterously taking advantage of the irritation which the reverses of the Russian and Austrian armies in Switzerland had excited in the capricious temper of Paul, the First Consul managed not only to detach the Czar from this coalition, but to inspire him with a fervent devotion to himself.

Being thus freed from the most formidable of his continental antagonists, Buonaparte took the field in person, crossed the Alps, traversing the Great St. Bernard by ways till then deemed hardly passable for single foot travellers, but over which he actually transported his whole army, even artillery, and, by the splendid victory of Marengo, recovering at once all losses in Italy, re-established his Cisalpine republic. By the powerful reinforcements he sent to Moreau, he enabled that skilful general to gain, if not equal, yet great advan-

* The authorities principally consulted for this chapter are, Scott, Bigland, Beisham, Foy, Bourgoing, Sempère, Bernardo, Bianco White, the Queen of Etruria, Annual Register, Memoirs of Ferdinand VII., king of Spain, by Don * * *, Advocate of the Spanish Tribunal, translated from the original Spanish MS., by Michael Quin, Esq., London, 1824. The authority of this anonymous memoir rests of course entirely upon the translator's word; but as Mr. Quin has been much in Spain, and the tenor of the narrative agrees with other documents, it may, with some allowance for prejudice, be trusted.

tages in Germany, and by the victory of Hohenlinden, on the 3rd of December, to determine the Court of Vienna upon making every sacrifice requisite for the attainment of peace.

A treaty was accordingly negotiated at Luneville, and signed on the 9th of February, 1801, the conditions of which proved more lenient than might have been anticipated. In most respects it confirmed the previous treaty of Campo Formio. The whole left bank of the Rhine was ceded to France, and it was agreed that the princes of the empire, whom this cession despoiled of their patrimony, should be indemnified from the territories of the three Ecclesiastical electorates, which were to be secularized, or, in other words, struck out of the German federation. The emperor had neither right nor power thus to dispose of electorates, and he avowed his inability to do so. But Buonaparte's will was a stronger law than the Golden Bull of the empire. Francis yielded, and the Diet of the Empire, under similar constraint, ratified his illegal act. In this humiliating treaty, Francis was likewise compelled to surrender his brother's grand-duchy of Tuscany, and take a compensation for him out of the condemned electorates. The freedom and independence of the new Batavian, Helvetic, Cisalpine, and Ligurian republics (the last being Genoa) was recognized and confirmed by this treaty.

The grand-duchy of Tuscany thus acquired was destined in its turn to compensate two other spoiliations. The first consul had already, in a secret treaty, extorted from his ally Charles IV. the cession of Louisiana; and he now

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required from Charles's kinsman, the duke of Parma, the reversion of his duchy at his death to the French republic. In return, he bestowed Tuscany, under the title of the Kingdom of Etruria, upon the duke's eldest son, Lewis, prince of Parma, who, it will be remembered, had married a Spanish *Infanta*. In April, 1801, the king and queen of Etruria left Madrid, where they had resided since their marriage, to take possession of their newly assigned dominions. They were directed by Godoy to pass through Paris; and thus two Bourbon princes were the first of the many sovereigns who, during Buonaparte's reign, were required to present their personal homage at the Tuileries.

But Tuscany seems to have been judged more than compensation for Parma and Louisiana; and Charles was expected to pay a yet higher price for the kingdom bestowed upon one daughter and son-in-law, by assisting to despoil another daughter and son-in-law of their patrimony. Affection for the princess of Brazil and her children had urged the king of Spain to make unusual exertions for the sake of warding off from Portugal the effects of French enmity; and his troops, his fleets, and his American gold had been found so useful, that he had enjoyed sufficient influence to render his mediation effectual with the directory. But the peace of Luneville rendered the friendship of Spain less important; and Buonaparte's hatred of England was far more implacable than that of his directorial predecessors. The first consul could not forgive Portugal's fidelity to her old ally; and now insisted upon Charles's declaring war against his son-in-law. A convention was concluded between Charles and Buonaparte, by which the seaports, fortresses, and one quarter of the territories of Portugal were to be occupied by French and Spanish troops, until peace should be made with England. The obstinate refusal of the Court of Lisbon to comply with the solicitations of the Court of Madrid, detach itself from England, and accept the alliance of France, was the ground of hostility alleged in the Spanish manifesto.

This declaration was answered by a counter-declaration from the prince of Brazil; but for a while both parties seemed to rest content with this paper war; and there can be no doubt but that during their constrained hostilities, a perfectly good understanding existed between the unwilling belligerents. The first consul was not to be thus deceived, and he informed his ally that if Spain were not prepared to invade Portugal, French troops should be sent to her assistance. To avoid receiving such aid, if possible, the prince of the Peace took the field at the head of between thirty and forty thousand men, and entered the Portuguese province of Alemtejo. The prince of Brazil thereupon summoned the whole population of Portugal to arm in defence of the country, and in person led an army against the invaders, but offered scarcely any opposition to their progress. In

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little more than a fortnight the Spaniards reduced several fortified towns, and drove the Portuguese beyond the Tagus.

It should be observed, that, upon the first declaration of war, the English ministry offered to send additional troops to Portugal, provided an experienced officer, recommended by them, were substituted for the duke de Lafoens, who, at the age of eighty-two, acted as Portuguese commander-in-chief, and was totally incapacitated by the infirmities of declining life, for the activity and energetic exertion required upon an emergency, even had his known predilection for France not exposed him to suspicion. To this condition the Prince-regent, not anticipating much mischief, probably, from his father-in-law's enmity, objected, unless the army to be sent should amount to twenty-five thousand men. The Cabinet of St. James's had not yet learned to attempt military expeditions upon an effective scale, and refused to risk such a body of troops. England afforded her faithful ally little succour, therefore, beyond a subsidy of 300,000*l.*, and her permission and advice to make peace upon the best terms obtainable. The forces that had been destined for the defence of Portugal were despatched upon an enterprise yet more vitally important to Great Britain, *viz.* the recovery of Egypt for the Porte out of the hands of the French; and although Lafoens actually was displaced in the course of this short campaign, no second change was made in the destination of the English army.

The plan of operations laid down by the first consul had been, that Spain should invade the southern, and France the northern provinces of Portugal; and a French army was now advancing to execute its allotted task. This was what Charles and John almost equally dreaded; and trusting they must now have done enough to persuade Buonaparte that they had been in earnest, they hastened to sign a treaty of peace at Badajoz, upon the 6th of June, by which Portugal ceded the frontier town, fortress, and district of Olivenza to Spain, and consented to shut her ports against England. This treaty was immediately notified to the first consul; but was proposed to be kept secret, until the regent's eldest son, the duke of Beira, could be sent with a body of French troops to Brazil, to protect that colony against English invasion.

The treaty of Badajoz contained no

stipulation for the intrusting the sea-ports and fortresses of Portugal to French garrisons; a measure represented by Buonaparte as indispensable to the coercion of England for the common good. On account of this omission he rejected it, and ordered his troops into Portugal. On the 28th of June, his brother-in-law, General Leclerc, having traversed Spain, crossed the frontiers at the head of thirty thousand men, and laid siege to Almeida; St. Cyr followed him with another corps. This was an invasion of a different character from the last, and the regent made more vigorous efforts for defence. He now earnestly solicited the help of England, and her troops took possession of the island of Madeira to hold for him. But his best resource was another treaty of peace, negotiated at Madrid between France and Portugal by the French and Portuguese ambassadors to Spain, the consul's brother, Lucien Buonaparte, and Cipriano Ribeiro Freire. By this treaty, Don John submitted to pay a million sterling to France, and to surrender a considerable district in the north of Brazil, the province called Portuguese Guiana, as far as the mouth of the Amazona, in order to give extent and compactness to French Guiana or Cayenne. No mention was made of the fortresses which had been the pretext for this last French invasion.

Such a temporary occupation of Portugal's strongholds by French troops had ceased to be an object, by the occurrence of the event upon which it was to terminate. This was the general pacification of Europe. One of Buonaparte's first measures, upon seizing the reins of Foreign States A.D. 1801—1802. government, had been to make advances towards a negotiation with England. That he was sincere in those advances there can be little doubt; but as little that he neither would have concluded an equitable peace, nor wished one that should be lasting. By treaty only could he hope to recover those French colonies which the naval superiority of Great Britain had wrested from the republic; and a peace fraught with the advantages of conquest, whilst it cast as much additional splendour upon his name as new victories, would have given him time to consolidate and increase his recently acquired power. The English ministry refused even to enter into negotiation; Buonaparte gained all the credit of an

honest wish for the restoration of an equitable peace, and gathered new laurels in the prosecution of a war, by which he recovered all that the directory had lost of the republic's previous continental conquests.

Since the treaty of Luneville he had, at the request of Paul, granted peace to the king of the Two Sicilies, upon condition of that monarch's ceding the isle of Elba to France, and closing his ports against English trade. He had restored Rome and the Church patrimony to the Pope, and was at peace with all Europe except England. Circumstances had occurred since January, 1800, which removed some of the obstacles to a treaty with this country. Mr. Pitt, the great and steady antagonist of the French revolution, had resigned office upon a question of domestic policy, and his successors were not pledged like him to inveterate hostility against all the changes that revolution had brought forth in France.

The English nation had grown weary of the war, and clamorous for peace; and the expulsion of the French troops from Malta and Egypt obviated one main difficulty, since it was certain that neither could the first consul ever have consented to give back conquests so connected with his own fame, nor England have suffered them to remain in the hands of France. Malta, after a two years' blockade, had surrendered in September, 1800; and the victory of Alexandria, which Sir Ralph Abercrombie, on the 21st of March, 1801, purchased with his life, had compelled the French to evacuate Egypt by capitulation.

England having thus nothing to ask of France in exchange for the numberless colonies, in conquering which she had lavished the blood that would have been more usefully and honourably shed in co-operating with her always vanquished continental allies, or with the unfortunate Vendéens, the only difficulty that impeded the negotiation related to the disposal of Malta, which the knights of St. John were no longer able to defend, and which neither France nor England would allow the other to retain. It was at length agreed to restore it to the Order of St. John under the guarantee of some third power to be named in the definitive treaty.

That point being settled, preliminaries were signed on the 1st of October, 1801, by which England restored every con-

quest except the islands of Trinidad and Ceylon. The only changes or additions made to these articles by the definitive treaty, signed at Amiens on the 27th of March following, related to Malta, Spain, and Portugal. It was determined that neither French nor Englishmen should be knights of St. John; the king of Naples was the potentate selected to give security, without risk of subjugation, to the island, by sending thither a body of his troops; and the independence of the Order, and their residence, was to be guaranteed by France, England, Russia, Austria, Spain, and Prussia. The cession of Portuguese Guiana to France was to be narrowed by about fifty miles, the river Arowari being substituted to the Amazons as the boundary between the French and Portuguese colonies. But the cession of Olivenza to Spain, stipulated by the treaty of Badajoz, was renewed and confirmed. The republic of the Seven Ionian Islands was recognized as an independent state.

By the treaties of Amiens and Luneville, the king of Spain recovered Minorca, and saw the Parma branch of his family raised from the dual to the royal rank, whilst the future heritage of his eldest daughter's children, Portugal, was redeemed from impending subjugation at the price of some little spoliation, in which he himself shared. But the greatest advantage the restoration of peace afforded him, was the cessation of the enormous drain upon his resources, naval, military, and above all, financial, which had lately reduced his dominions to a state of lamentable exhaustion. The expenditure during the war had amounted to four times the revenue; and only a long period of peace, together with the most judicious system of economy and fiscal regulation, could have reinstated Spain in anything like prosperity. Of this there could be no hope, under the sway of Charles IV., or rather of his favourite Godoy.

The king's attachment to his wife's paramour bore almost as much the character of passion as the queen's. Godoy's influence over the former was not to be shaken by representations of his incapacity, or by court cabal; and over the queen it remained undiminished either by jealousy or infidelity on either side, to the end of her life. To her jealousy he owed so alliance with the royal family. He had formed a criminal con-

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nexion with a young lady of noble birth; and the queen, to prevent his marrying her rival, persuaded the king to give him a princess for his wife. For this purpose an illegal marriage, contracted by the king's uncle, Don Lewis, a cardinal and archbishop of Toledo, with a lady of the name of Vallabriga, was sanctioned, and its issue, a son and two daughters, were recognized as *Infantes* of Spain. The son succeeded his father as archbishop of Toledo, and was made a cardinal; and the eldest daughter was bestowed, as an *Infanta*, upon the Prince of the Peace.

So splendid a marriage had no more effect than his intrigue with the queen in restraining Godoy's libertinism. It equalled his rapacity; and the latter vice being almost glutted by the profusion of the royal pair, his favour was most surely propitiated by those who had a handsome sister, wife, or daughter, to sacrifice to his appetite. The queen, finding it impossible to rid herself of these innumerable rivals, sought consolation in emulating his inconstancy. But her transient fancies were as unavailing as the cabals of those who sought to take advantage either of them, or of her majesty's momentary fits of jealous resentment, to weaken Godoy's hold upon her heart; it never required more than a word from him to overthrow his rivals, and entangle his political opponents in their own snares.

Scenes of licentiousness such as it has unfortunately been requisite to depict, could not be daily exhibited at court, without producing the most noxious effect upon all who came within the poisonous sphere of their influence. The higher orders were well nigh demoralized, and a shameless system of corruption pervaded every branch of the administration, from the highest to the lowest throughout Spain; evils compared with which the good really done by the prince of the Peace was but as dust in the balance.

When his connexion by marriage with the royal family raised him above any ministerial office, leaving him merely a sort of viceroy over the whole Spanish monarchy, Godoy introduced some able men in his stead, such as Saavedra and Gaspar Melchior de Jovellanos, though the kingdom was not long permitted to reap the benefit of their talents. Illness afforded Saavedra a fair pretext for resigning an office, which his difference

in opinion from Godoy would scarcely have suffered him to retain, and would certainly have prevented his exercising according to his judgment and conscience. Jovellanos incurred the hatred of the queen, by opposing her constant interference in public affairs; that of Godoy, by joining in a plot for the abridgment, if not overthrow of his power; he was in consequence not only dismissed, but rigorously immured in a Carthusian monastery in Majorca.

The prince of the Peace affected, in compliance with the fashion of the day, to be a patron of the arts, of learning, and of modern improvements. He commanded Pestalozzi's new system of education to be adopted in Spain; he recommended the general practice of vaccination, and despatched vessels to all the colonies for the purpose of introducing that preventive against the ravages of a fatal disease, said to have been unknown in America until carried thither by the Europeans; and he encouraged to the utmost of his power the patriotic or economical societies established under the name of Friends of the Country, in order to promote agriculture, by diffusing the knowledge of improved methods of tillage amongst the farmers, and assisting with small loans such as were cramped in their operations by indigence. The first of these societies had been founded by some public spirited individuals in Biscay as early as the year 1775; and under Godoy's administration, they had increased, in 1804, to the number of sixty-three.

These merits were, however, as has been said, nothing to counterbalance the evils under which Spain laboured, and most of which were ascribed to the profligate corruption of the court. The yellow fever, which in the years 1800 and 1801 ravaged, and partially desolated the south of Spain by the misery it occasioned, increased the prevailing dissatisfaction; and the detestation of Godoy was excessive and universal.

By no one was the extent of his power more bitterly felt, or his person more abhorred than by Ferdinand, prince of Asturias. The education of this prince had been purposely intrusted by the favourite to incapable persons; the queen hated and persecuted a son upon whom she, perhaps, looked as a future rival for power; and the heir of the Crown was totally without interest or influence in his father's court. As

he advanced to manhood, the adversaries of Godoy gathered around him, and Don John Escóiquiz, canon of Toledo, the only man of any ability who had been placed about him, became the head of a sort of party in favour of the prince of Asturias. In 1802 all these persons, and indeed the country at large, looked impatiently to Ferdinand's approaching marriage with Maria Antonia, daughter of the king of Naples, as the era of some effective change in the court, and consequently in the government.

The princess of Asturias is said to have been endowed with superior powers of mind, which had been cultivated by a far better education than continental princesses usually enjoy. It was certain that she had received that most valuable of all educations, experience of the vicissitudes of human life, during the reverses her parents had suffered in their wars with France. Upon her, therefore, all eyes were fixed, as destined to work the alterations desired; but the virtues and talents of Maria Antonia were altogether unavailing against the arts of her mother-in-law, and the influence of Godoy. She remained as insignificant as her husband; and the utmost result of her efforts was limited to exciting in him a stronger disgust to his situation, and a more vehement desire to emancipate himself from the favourite's control.

Meanwhile the peace that had momentarily tranquilized Europe, was evidently upon the point of ceasing. Even whilst the negotiations for the treaty of Amiens were pending, Buonaparte had prodigiously increased his power, by compelling the Cisalpine republic, with which Piedmont, and prospectively Parma, Placentia, and Guastalla, were incorporated, to elect him its President; and by the recovery, as it was then confidently believed, of the island of St. Domingo, and the complete subjugation of the revolted Negroes; the English ministry having, in proof of their friendly disposition, allowed him to despatch to the West Indies one of the armaments so long blockaded in French ports.

Since the signature of the definitive treaty, the ambitious views of the first consul, and his determination to sink Great Britain to the rank of a subordinate power, had been yet more apparent. He had again overthrown the ancient federal constitution of Switzerland, which the hardy mountaineers had, in virtue

of the treaty of Luneville, endeavoured to re-establish, and, assuming the title of Grand Mediator of the Helvetic republic, had reduced the long free republics of the Alps to complete dependence upon himself; whilst the interposition of the English ministry in behalf of a country, once deemed the very stronghold of liberty, had been noticed only by a contemptuous remark, in the French official newspaper (the *Moniteur*), that England could not be suffered to interfere in the affairs of the continent. The German indemnities had been arranged by French dictation, so as to enlarge and strengthen every state hostile to the emperor, whilst scarcely the shadow of a compensation was granted to himself or the grand-duke of Tuscany; and the election of Buonaparte, as First Consul for life, insured the continuance of this vast power in the hands that rendered it formidable.

Towards England a bitterly inimical spirit was betrayed, by the enforcement of absurd laws, passed against English merchandise during the most extravagant fury of the Jacobins, (even to confiscating the knives and forks on board merchant vessels,) by the refusal of redress to aggrieved individuals, by the delayed execution of all favourable stipulations, and by the sending naval or military men as consuls to all English sea-ports, with instructions to procure correct plans of the harbours, works, &c. at their respective posts; whilst the nature of the mission upon which he despatched general Sebastiani to Egypt and Syria plainly indicated that Buonaparte had not abandoned his former designs upon, and through those countries.

He had moreover by various acts rendered nugatory the arrangements touching Malta. By seizing upon all the possessions and revenues of the knights of St. John in France, and inducing Charles IV. to do the same in Spain, he had completely annihilated those resources which might have enabled the Order to exercise the rights and duties of sovereignty. By the direct subjection to himself of the greatly enlarged Cisalpine, now called, the Italian republic, as if to indicate its future extension over the whole peninsula, he had so thoroughly destroyed the very appearance of the independence of Naples, that to have garrisoned the island with Neapolitan troops would in fact have been to sur-

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render it to France. In consequence of these encroachments, and other suspicious symptoms, the English cabinet delayed the stipulated evacuation of Malta, and sought to retain it in compensation of the recent acquisitions of France.

A burst of passion on the first consul's part against Lord Whitworth, the English ambassador, on the 13th of March, 1803, astonished the diplomacy of Europe. It was intended, probably, to compel submission by intimidation, as there seems reason to believe that such ebullitions of temper were often premeditated. Upon the occasion in question the effect was to hasten the rupture; the negotiations were, indeed, continued a few weeks longer, but evidently without a hope of adjustment. On the 12th of May Lord Whitworth left Paris, and on the 18th, the king of England declared war against France.

The war thus begun between France and England did not appear immediately destined to embroil the whole continent. The British Cabinet in the first instance proposed that Holland, Spain, and Portugal should be allowed to observe a strict neutrality. The first consul positively rejected this proposition with respect to Holland, upon whose fleets and sailors he relied for assistance in putting down that constant object of his envy and hostility, the naval supremacy of Great Britain, and for co-operation in his schemes of invasion. But he readily admitted it with regard to Spain and Portugal; and the English ministers, induced either by a desire to relieve themselves from the burden of defending a somewhat helpless ally, or by fears of the commercial inconvenience and clamour that might follow the loss of the Spanish market, assented to this modification of their proposition.

These forbearing statesmen did not even make the abandonment or suspension of Spain's engagement to furnish a certain amount of naval and military succours to France, a condition of their assent; but contented themselves with requiring that the succours afforded should be strictly limited to the terms of the treaty of St. Ildefonso, and that in every other point the Spanish government should display perfect impartiality, especially not suffering French troops to enter Spain. This strange concession is said to have been made partly in consequence of the earnest desire which the prince of the Peace had expressed, perhaps

truly, to disentangle himself from his engagements with the first consul, and free his country from the control of France.

Buonaparte's concurrence in the arrangement proceeded from his feeling, for the moment, more need of Spain's American gold (the influx of which was checked by war with England) than of her ships and troops; and he accordingly very soon required money in lieu of the stipulated auxiliaries. To this alteration the English ministry likewise assented, provided the sums transmitted to France should not exceed the estimated expense of the men and ships for which they were substituted. Such a provision of course led to ever-renewing disputes between the English envoy, Mr. Frere, and the prince of the Peace, who haughtily refused either to state the precise sums transmitted to Paris, or to show the convention by which the substitution of money for other succours was regulated.

Portugal, as has been said, was likewise permitted to remain neutral, but she was compelled to purchase that permission by heavy sacrifices of both her wealth and her dignity. The first consul presently required that the Portuguese ports should be closed against English commerce; and his ambassador, general Lasnes, originally a private soldier, and who retained in his new station the rough manners of his early condition, rendered the demand more offensive by his mode of enforcing it. The regent of Portugal refused to take a step so hostile to Great Britain, and the French ambassador as positively refused to hold any further intercourse with his minister, Don John d'Almeida, formerly ambassador in England, and now considered the head of the English party.

The prince yielded to the overbearing diplomatist, and dismissed Almeida, whereupon Don Rodrigo de Souza, who had, in effect, if not in name, been prime minister, resigned. Lasnes and his master seem to have been propitiated by this humiliating concession; a compromise was effected; and Portugal was suffered to continue her commerce with England, upon condition of paying the first consul 40,000*l.* sterling monthly, so long as the war should last, with a private understanding that further occasional pecuniary requisitions were not to be resisted.

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CHAPTER V.

Military operations of France and England—France sells Louisiana to the United States—Godoy overawed by Buonaparte—Exceeds the stipulated limits in the money sent to France—English seize the Spanish treasure-ships—Spain declares war against England—French Ambassador's favour with the Prince of Brazil—Buonaparte Emperor—Seizure and execution of the Duke of Enghien—War between France and Russia—Nelson pursues the French and Spanish fleets to the West Indies—And back—The united fleets defeated by Calder—Reinforced—Battle of Trafalgar—Austria declares war—Mack capitulates at Ulm—Battle of Austerlitz—Peace of Presburg—King of the Sicilies expelled from Italy—Joseph Buonaparte King of Naples—Lewis Buonaparte of Holland—Principalities allotted to Napoleon's sisters—Confederation of the Rhine.

IN consequence of the various negotiations and arrangements narrated in the last chapter, France took the field in 1803 with the Batavian and Helvetic republics for her only allies; and England altogether without any. Buonaparte had always boasted that Great Britain could not stand against him single-handed, and it almost seemed as though her government had wished to make his words good. Upon the restoration of peace they had hastened to relieve the finances by reducing the army and navy, and the country had in consequence seldom been so ill-prepared for war.

The military operations of the year were confined, on the part of France, to the subjugation of Hanover, the occupation of the Neapolitan and Roman ports on the Adriatic (which the first consul professed to hold as pledges for the evacuation of Malta by the English), and some violations of the neutrality of the Hanse towns, tending to the extortion of loans;—the unprecedented seizure and detention of peaceable English travellers cannot be called a military operation or measure—on that of England, to the West Indian conquest of

the French islands, St. Lucie and Tobago, and of the Dutch settlements, Berbice and Demerara. The pecuniary contributions drawn by Buonaparte from Spain and Portugal, or wrung from the Hanse towns, together with the produce of the sale of Louisiana to the United States of North America, were applied to the building and equipping the gun-boats with which he proposed to invade England.

In the course of this year the tyranny of the French governor, and other persons in authority in St. Domingo, provoked another rebellion of the negroes, who, assisted by the baneful climate, so reduced the French army sent thither to subdue them, that the remainder was glad to escape by surrendering to a British squadron. That wealthiest of the French West Indian colonies was thus finally lost to the mother country.

The following year put an end to the neutrality of Spain. At first it appeared as though she would once more take part against France, for the court of Madrid vehemently objected to the sale of Louisiana to the United States, as contrary to the secret conditions upon which that province had been ceded to France. But the Prince of the Peace was overawed or bribed by Buonaparte. He contented himself with objecting, and immediately returned to his former subserviency.

Mr. Frere now saw reason to believe that the pecuniary contributions to France had amounted to 3,000,000*l.* sterling, a sum out of all proportion to the naval and military services stipulated by the treaty of St. Ildefonso. He was informed by the British admirals cruising off the Spanish coast, that an armament was fitting out at Ferrol, and that indications of activity appeared in other ports, whilst French soldiers and sailors were permitted to pass through Spain to recruit a French fleet lying in a Spanish harbour. These two last subjects of complaint were of a kind which, it had always been stated to the Spanish Government, would be considered by England as direct acts of hostility, and, as such, must at once put an end to the neutrality of Spain. The Spanish secretary of state endeavoured to justify the armament at Ferrol, upon the ground of an insurrection in Biscay, to quell which it was intended.

This statement was considered by

* The authorities principally consulted for this chapter are, Hingard, Scott, Foy, Quin, Bourgoing, Annual Register.

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Mr. Frere as a mere evasion, inasmuch as small and unarmed vessels would have sufficed to convey troops to Biscay. Upon this, and the other points, a tone of great acrimony began to reign in the correspondence between the Spanish minister and the English envoy, with whom the Prince of the Peace would no longer hold any intercourse, and suspicions were entertained, apparently by no means unfounded, that the cabinet of Madrid, in obedience to that of the Tuileries, only waited for the safe arrival of the American treasure-ships to declare war against England. The result of these suspicions was, that the British ministry determined upon the very extraordinary step of ordering, without any previous declaration of war, the seizure of four Spanish frigates, then bringing home freights of the precious metals, and other valuable merchandise. These ships were not, it is averred, to be captured as prizes, but in order to be held as security for the future more impartial neutrality of Spain. This measure, more in accordance with Buonaparte's treatment of neutrals than with the principles of international law, which England professed to defend, was executed as feebly, as it was, perhaps, unwarrantably conceived.

Captain Moore was detached, as upon a service wherein no difficulty was anticipated, with four frigates only; and, that being the precise amount of the Spanish force he was ordered to seize, the Spanish commander, Admiral Bustamante, judged submission derogatory to his character. On the 5th of October an engagement ensued, that ended by the blowing up of one of the Spanish vessels,—on board of which were several passengers of high rank,—and the surrender of the others. This attack and capture during the nominal continuance of peace enraged the Spanish nation beyond all further show of neutrality, and afforded too fair a colour to French declamation against England's naval tyranny.

On the 12th of December the court of Madrid declared war against England in a virulent manifesto; and the Prince of the Peace, now created generalissimo of his Catholic majesty's forces (a title devised to give him the supreme command), published an address, calling upon every individual Spaniard to assist in avenging the insults of the tyrants of the sea.

Spain, since the restoration of peace, and the cessation of the yellow fever, had enjoyed some little portion of prosperity. Unpopular as was Godoy, his administration was, as yet, quietly endured by a people now accustomed to bear with despotism, and who patiently looked to the accession of Ferdinand as the era of the favourite's overthrow, and of the punishment of all the oppressions and extortions practised by himself and his creatures. An attempt at conspiracy by Ferdinand's partisans had been detected ere it was mature, and severely punished. The prince of Asturias was, in consequence, placed under restrictions that made him a state prisoner. The internal tranquillity of the country had remained untroubled, except by the insurrection in Biscay already mentioned. This had broken out on account of a new tax, imposed, as the Biscayans asserted, illegally. The disturbance was allayed without the employment of troops or ships (a proof of the falsehood of the allegation touching the Ferrol armament), by the court giving way, as it always did, to the resistance of those untamed mountaineers. The trade of Spain with the colonies had prodigiously augmented since the slight relaxations introduced, not into her monopoly, but into her harassing mode of exercising that monopoly, and the condition of the colonies, as well as the produce of their mines, had proportionably improved.

Portugal was still permitted to enjoy her disgracefully purchased neutrality, and the only alteration apparent in that country was in her ministry. Pinto was dead. Don Diego de Noronha, count of Villaverde, a nobleman universally despised for his dissolute life, was appointed prime minister, and exercised over the prince-regent an ascendancy, such as none of his predecessors had boasted. Don Lewis de Vasconcellos e Souza and Don Antonio de Araujo de Azevedo had respectively succeeded to Don Rodrigo de Souza and Don John de Almeida, but were wholly subordinate to Villaverde, whose influence could only be balanced by that of Lasnes; the French ambassador, to the astonishment of the whole court, after giving so much seemingly unpardonable offence, having, by some unexplained means, acquired the especial affection and favour of the prince he had so grossly insulted.

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The war produced no event this year beyond the capture of Surinam by an English expedition, and the defeat of a French fleet by the English East India merchantmen; but various political occurrences foreboded more active hostilities. In England the Addington ministry was overthrown, and Mr. Pitt once more placed at the head of affairs.

In France Buonaparte accomplished the transmutation of his office of consul of a republic into the dignity of emperor; still, indeed, affecting to preserve the name of a republic, and those democratic forms by which he at once deluded the French people into believing themselves free, because they seemed to be equal, and exempted himself from the control of any body of nobles, whose wealth, power, and hereditary influence could have given weight to their occasional resistance to the sovereign's will. The emperor of the French, thus untrammelled by conflicting authorities, easily rendered his power absolute, and the French throne seemed permanently assured to his family.

Napoleon loudly menaced England with subjugation, and urged on his preparations for invasion with his accustomed energy. But his violations of the neutrality of different states of the empire in the forcible seizure of a Bourbon prince, the duke d'Enghien, and of the British envoy, Sir George Rumbold, on German neutral ground, together with the unprecedented trial and execution of the former, were again rousing the sovereigns of Europe against French ambition.

Austria and the insulted empire, indeed, looked on in awe-stricken silence, whilst Prussia still hoped to augment the benefits she had already derived from her professed attachment to France, and had not yet learned that rivalry with Austria ought no longer to be the ruling principle of her policy. In the north the case was different. The court of Denmark had previously made an attempt to protect the neutrality of Hamburg, which, being unsupported, failed. The king of Sweden was ambitious of repeating the lucky part which his illustrious predecessor, Gustavus Adolphus, had played in Europe, without perceiving that the changes produced by the subsequent lapse of years were such as must have rendered even the talents of that great king nearly unavailing with

such feeble means as those of Sweden; and Alexander, who had succeeded Paul on the throne of Russia, felt, like a young high-spirited monarch, as well the flagitious murder of a prince of an old royal line, as the infraction of treaties which Russia had guaranteed, in the violation of the neutrality of the states of the empire, and in the occupation of the Neapolitan sea-ports.

The czar exhorted the Emperor Francis and the Imperial Diet to resent the violation of the German territory. And though the Germans still held back, a correspondence took place between the courts of St. Petersburg and the Tuileries, which ended by the Russian envoy demanding his passports, and quitting France. A close alliance was immediately concluded between England and Russia, of which the professed objects were to procure the evacuation of Italy, Hanover, and the north of Germany by the French, and to establish the real independence of the Batavian and Helvetic republics.

The year 1805 was rich in memorable battles by sea and land. Napoleon's object in requiring Spain to renounce her neutrality, and take an active part in the war, had been to assemble such a fleet as should, by its numbers, overpower, at least temporarily, Great Britain's, and thus obtain the command of the channel, in order to transport across it the army encamped at Boulogne, and bearing the name of the army of England. But the French, Spanish, and Dutch squadrons were all blockaded in different ports by English ships, and one difficulty attending the execution of the emperor's scheme was the effecting their junction.

The first squadron that eluded the vigilance of the blockading force was that from Rochefort, which made its way to the West Indies, spread great alarm throughout the English islands, and committed some ravages. But it was repulsed in every serious attempt; and, upon learning that Admiral Cochrane had been sent out with reinforcements, the French commander hastened back to Rochefort, content to have evaded the fleets of England.

Admiral Villeneuve's escape with twelve sail of the line and a large body of troops from Toulon, and from the watchfulness of lord Nelson, threatened more formidable consequences. Nelson, con-

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ceiving the French object to be Egypt, traversed the Mediterranean in search of his enemy, whilst Villeneuve passed the Straits of Gibraltar unmolested; by his superior numbers obliged Admiral Orde, who commanded the small squadron blockading Cadiz, to retreat; and, augmenting his own fleet by six Spanish ships from that port, under Admiral Gravina, proceeded to the West Indies. This was in the beginning of April, and it was the middle of the month before Nelson was apprized of Villeneuve's having even quitted the Mediterranean. He followed, took in water and other necessities at Tetuan, and having obtained information, from which he rightly judged the West Indies to be Villeneuve's destination, pursued him thither with a force of only ten sail.

On his arrival Nelson found that his powerful adversaries had made no use of the three weeks they had gained upon him, owing, it is conceived, to some disagreement betwixt the French and Spanish commanders touching the employment of their forces. In the West Indies Nelson was joined by Admiral Cochrane with two ships, and sought his foes to give battle. But either their trip across the Atlantic was intended only to draw the British to a distance from home, or we must conclude that Nelson's very name filled Gravina and Villeneuve with terror; for, as though they deemed their eighteen ships no match for his twelve, they returned with all speed to Europe, whither he again pursued, and, in point of fact, preceded them, despatching sloops, moreover, to the different stations of British squadrons, to give notice of the allied fleet's supposed movements.

Villeneuve and Gravina did not, like the Rochefort squadron, make a friendly port unmolested. On the 22nd of July, three days after lord Nelson had reached Gibraltar, they were met by sir Robert Calder off Cape Finsterre. The allied fleet now consisted of twenty sail of the line, three large fifty-gun ships, and five frigates; the English, of fifteen sail of the line and two frigates. The engagement was short, but sharp. Calder defeated his enemies, and took two ships of the line. He was, nevertheless, severely censured for not gaining a more decided victory, and for suffering the remainder of the combined squadrons, still very superior to himself in number, to reach Ferrol in safety.

At Ferrol Villeneuve and Gravina obtained reinforcements that raised their numbers to twenty-seven sail of the line and eight smaller vessels; but from the length of time required to refit the ships that had been nearly disabled in the action with Calder, they could not prosecute their voyage to Cadiz until late in August. This delay afforded time to collect such a British force in that quarter as enabled lord Nelson to confront the formidable numbers of the French and Spaniards.

On the 21st of October, off Trafalgar, Villeneuve and Gravina, with thirty-three sail of the line and seven frigates, encountered Nelson, who had lured them out of Cadiz, by persuading them that his force amounted only to twenty-one sail of the line. They found him with twenty-seven and three frigates. It was too late to retreat, and they engaged. The battle was one of the hardest contested and most decisive ever fought at sea. Lord Nelson fell, but survived long enough to know that the victory was gained; and Collingwood, who succeeded to the command, took nineteen sail of the line. The remainder fled; and one division of the fugitives falling in with Admiral Strachan, was captured by him. This splendid victory seems to have nearly annihilated the fleets of France and Spain, and to have completely repressed Napoleon's schemes for obtaining any naval superiority over, or equality with, Great Britain. From that time he appears to have really abandoned the idea of invading England, how much soever he still threatened.

The maritime triumphs of the latter country were fearfully balanced by the reverses of her continental allies. In the course of this year the French emperor had converted the Ligurian republic into a province of France, and the Italian republic into the kingdom of Italy, of which he assumed the crown. These fresh usurpations, joined to the exhortations of the courts of London and St. Petersburg, and to the apparent strength of a coalition supported by the innumerable armies of Russia, encouraged the Emperor Francis again to try the chance of war. Unfortunately, when he did take this resolution, he put it into execution with a rashness proportionate to his previous hesitation. Instead of pro-

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fracturing the angry correspondence between Paris and Vienna, upon the subject of the infraction of the treaty of Luneville by the late measures, until the Russian forces, then making southwards, should be within reach of co-operating with him, Francis sent his armies into Bavaria in the month of September, insisted upon the elector's joining the confederation against France, and, when that prince entreated permission to remain neutral, drove him by violence into an alliance with Napoleon. The Austrians thereupon occupied his electorate, whence they advanced into Swabia to meet the French.

The campaign that ensued was, perhaps, the most brilliant Napoleon ever made. With incredible rapidity the army of England (its name now changed into the great army) was transported to Germany, and reinforced by all the troops occupying Hanover, Holland, &c., the march of these last divisions being facilitated, or at least hastened, by violating the neutral territories of Prussia. On the 29th of September Napoleon was on the German bank of the Rhine at the head of one hundred and forty thousand men. After various engagements, which must be called small in comparison with the mighty battles that habitually decided Buonaparte's campaigns, the emperor surrounded the Austrian commander-in-chief, General Mack, in Ulm, where he had taken post with thirty thousand men. On the 19th of October Mack capitulated, surrendering that well-fortified town, and constituting its immense garrison prisoners of war.

The Austrian forces, which, from the first, had been too much dispersed, were now more so than before. The Archduke Charles was at the head of an army in Italy; the Archduke John with a corps in the Tyrol. The Archduke Ferdinand had retreated, with the cavalry of Mack's army, into Bohemia, and Napoleon advanced upon Vienna. An attempt to defend the capital could only have occasioned its destruction: Francis withdrew into Moravia, and the French took possession of Vienna on the 13th of November.

The czar, with the first division of his hosts, now reached Moravia, where the remainder of Mack's army had collected about the person of their emperor. Other forces were preparing to co-operate with them. The Archduke Charles, who had been defeated by

Massena, hearing of his brother's disasters, made no further effort to maintain the north of Italy; but, retreating into the hereditary states, marched towards Hungary, joined by Archduke John, who had been similarly defeated by Ney.

Regardless of the approach of the brothers with numbers still considerable, Napoleon advanced against the Russians, and on the 2nd of December the celebrated battle of Austerlitz finally decided the war, as far, at least, as Austria was concerned. The victory of the French was complete. Alexander agreed to evacuate Germany, and the Austrian and Prussian portions of Poland, upon condition of his homeward march being unmolested. Francis signed at Presburg, on the 26th of December, the most humiliating and ruinous treaty of peace ever concluded by an emperor of Germany, or, according to his prouder designation, an emperor of the Holy Roman empire. He ceded his Venetian dominions to the kingdom of Italy, which he acknowledged as then constituted. He ceded the Tyrol and Vorarlberg, almost the oldest possessions of his family, to Bavaria; some detached Swabian towns to Wirtemberg; and he acknowledged the royal dignity conferred by Napoleon upon the electors of Bavaria and Wirtemberg. By these cessions Austria gave up two millions and a half of subjects, and twenty thousand square miles of territory.

An attempt made by the allies to operate a diversion in the north of Germany, proved, partly from Francis's precipitation, too late to be of any use; and an Anglo-Russian armament, sent to clear the Neapolitan territories of French intruders, served only, after the disasters of Ulm and Austerlitz, as a pretext for the second expulsion of Ferdinand IV. from his Italian dominions. In compliance with the verbal convention, in virtue of which the Russians, after the battle of Austerlitz, retreated quietly into Poland, Alexander recalled his troops from the south of Italy. The English, deserted by them, were too weak to defend the kingdom against the advancing French army, and withdrew into Sicily, in order at least to secure that island from subjugation. Ferdinand immediately quitted Naples with his queen, and followed his allies to Sicily, after appointing his eldest son, the duke of Calabria, regent.

The duke made a fruitless attempt to

negotiate with the invaders before he left the capital, and on equally fruitless attempt afterwards to resist them in arms. On the 9th of March, 1806, he was defeated, and his whole army dispersed; upon which he abandoned the contest, and rejoined his father. On the 30th of the same month Napoleon proclaimed his brother, Joseph Buonaparte, king of Naples, and it was only the active intervention of England that prevented his adding the insular to the continental half of the kingdom. The efforts made by Sir John Stuart, in obedience to the wishes of the court of Palermo, to recover the Neapolitan provinces, were wholly unavailing, except as they were the occasion of the glorious battle of Maida, in which four thousand eight hundred English put to flight upwards of seven thousand French troops.

This was not the only sovereignty bestowed, at the beginning of the year 1806, by the French emperor, upon his own family. He made his younger brother, Louis, king of Holland; he bestowed Lucca, as a principality, upon his eldest sister, Eliza, Madame Bacciocchi; and Guastalla, in the same form, upon his youngest sister, Pauline, the widow of General Leclerc, and now remarried to Prince Borghese. His second sister, Caroline, he provided for by creating her husband, Joachim Murat, grand-duke of Berg.

The duchy required for Murat, Napoleon obtained from Bavaria, in exchange for the Prussian provinces of Bareith and Anspach, ceded, by the king of Prussia in exchange for the electorate of Hanover, by a treaty concluded at Vienna immediately after the battle of Austerlitz; when Frederic William was not only at peace with the legitimate elector of Hanover, George III. of England, but had recently entered into close alliance with him and Alexander, who were at that very time expecting the King of Prussia to join the coalition against France, as, indeed, he had intended to do but for his friends' defeat. Frederick William even took advantage of the confidence which the czar and the king of Sweden reposed in his professions, to facilitate his occupation of Hanover, which they were led to believe a friendly act towards the lawful sovereign.

Napoleon procured additional illustration for his family and connexions, by marrying Josephine's son, Eugene Beauharnais, whom he had appointed viceroy of Italy, to a Bavarian princess; and

Stephanie Beauharnais, the niece of her first husband, to the hereditary prince of Baden.

The emperor next compelled or induced a number of German princes to sever themselves from the empire, and form the Confederation of the Rhine, recognizing him as their head and protector. That accomplished, he declared the old federal empire dissolved, and required Francis to renounce the title he bore as its federal head. Francis, unable to resist, complied, changing his title to emperor of Austria; as such, but as a younger emperor than himself, Napoleon Buonaparte acknowledged him. He further revived the order of nobility in France; permitted the returned emigrants to resume their titles; created his generals and ministers princes, dukes, counts, &c.,—taking their titles, for the most part, from places without the French empire, where he also gave them estates, which, as held by them, became French.

CHAPTER VI.

Negotiations between France and England—Napoleon threatens Portugal—Prince-regent of Portugal hypochondriac—Court cabals—Regent recovers—Charles IV. alarmed at Napoleon's measures—Secret negotiations between Spain, Portugal, and Russia—War between France and Prussia—Rupture of negotiations between France and England—English surprise Buenos Ayres—Spaniards recover the town—Godoy betrays hostility towards Napoleon—Battle of Jena—Godoy endeavours to deny his hostile demonstrations—New honours bestowed on Godoy—Napoleon's winter campaign in Poland—Peace of Tilsit—English repulsed at Buenos Ayres.*

WHILST a soldier of fortune was thus transforming the face of Europe, a political alteration in the councils of England offered him the opportunity of confirming, perhaps finally, his conquests and usurpations. The death of Mr. Pitt, who, worn out with the fatigues and anxieties of office, appears not to have had strength remaining to endure the disappointment of his cherished plans and

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* The authorities principally consulted for this chapter are, Foy, Scott, Digland, Quin, Annual Register.

hopes in the catastrophe of the late campaign, transferred the administration of the country to the Honourable Charles James Fox. This able statesman had always been the advocate of peace; and negotiations were, very soon after his accession to power, opened between the cabinets of St. James's and the Tuileries. They did not proceed smoothly or promisingly.

Napoleon proposed taking the treaty of Amiens as a basis, which Mr. Fox at once rejected, inasmuch as the disputes that had arisen upon that treaty proved its vagueness. The basis of the *uti possidetis*, or all parties retaining what they actually possess, was at length agreed upon, with the single exception of Hanover, the restitution of which was deemed by Mr. Fox indispensable to the honour of England, and was apparently agreed to by the French emperor as a personal compliment to the king of England. The next difficulty regarded Russia: Napoleon wished to conclude a separate peace with England, and Fox refused to treat without his allies. This obstacle was removed by the Russian ambassador, d'Oubril, who entered into a separate negotiation for his court, which he brought to a conclusion on the 20th of July, by acceding to the French plan of abandoning every question not directly affecting Russian interests.

But now the French negotiators changed their tone, and demanded the cession of Sicily to King Joseph, proposing to indemnify the king of Sicily at the expense of Spain, by giving him the Balearic isles as a kingdom. Mr. Fox is said to have been convinced by this demand that no fair peace could be made with Napoleon. He nevertheless did not forego the attempt to procure so great a blessing for the world; but, continuing the negotiation, endeavoured, as one of the last acts of his administration and life, to give it a more regular form.

The first overtures had been made through a correspondence betwixt himself and Talleyrand, the French minister for foreign affairs, originating in Mr. Fox's communication of a proposal made him for assassinating Napoleon. The negotiation was continued through Lord Yarmouth, one of the travellers detained at the breaking out of the war, and released at Mr. Fox's especial request; and now Fox's friend, the earl of Lauderdale, was sent ambassador to Paris. Mr. Fox's illness and death produced no change in the views of the

English cabinet. He was succeeded by his colleague Lord Howick, afterwards Earl Grey, the negotiation was continued in the same spirit, and Alexander's refusal to ratify d'Oubril's separate treaty, seemed likely again to moderate Napoleon's demands. But Sicily still remained an insuperable difficulty, respecting which neither party would give way.

The emperor sought to subdue the firmness of the English ministers by threatening the conquest of Portugal, which had long incurred his especial ill will, and was now more than usual incapable of resistance. The prince-regent's submission to the threats of Laanes, and subsequently the influence of that ambassador, and of the contemptible Villaverde, had robbed his counsils of his ablest, boldest, and honestest statesmen; and Araujo, whose principles were esteemed doubtful, was now the only man in office who enjoyed any character for talent. The prince himself had, in the course of the preceding year, sunk into a sort of melancholy, that appeared to forebode the approach of hereditary insanity. He had given up his favourite amusement, the chase, suppressed his regular levees, secluded himself altogether from the public, and latterly had been inaccessible even to his ministers.

The court became a scene of cabals relating to the expected change in the regency, which all those who were discontented with the late conduct of affairs, or with their own exclusion from power, wished to transfer to the prince's consort. Of these partisans of the Spanish *infanta*, princess of Brazil, Don Pedro d'Almeida, marquess of Alorne, was the chief. In the contest of individual, or at least party concerns, the general interests and government of the country were neglected; and the army, especially, was suffered to fall back into its worst state. Indeed, from the time Portugal had consented to pay tribute to France, other means of defence seem to have been thought altogether superfluous.

In the spring of 1806, however, Don John had gradually recovered. He was now again in his usual state of health, mental and corporeal; and being informed of the political intrigues that had been carried on during his illness, he banished the marquess of Alorne and many others of the party from court. Villaverde even issued orders for a judicial investigation of their conduct, which was dropped upon his death.

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The danger now impending over Portugal from France was immediately imparted by the English cabinet to the court of Lisbon. Lord St. Vincent was ordered to anchor within the Tagus, with six ships, the utmost number allowed by treaty to remain stationary there at a time. An army was assembled at Plymouth, ready to be sent off at a moment's warning, but was kept waiting until the necessity should become more imminent, lest the presence of British troops in Portugal should serve as a pretext for the threatened invasion; and Lord Rosslyn, the officer appointed to command them, was despatched in a fast-sailing vessel to join Lord St. Vincent, that they might together concert the measures to be adopted, should the invasion actually take place.

Lord Rosslyn's instructions were to offer the whole force of England to assist in the defence of Portugal, if she were able and willing to resist; or a British fleet to transport the royal family to Brazil if resistance were deemed hopeless. But should he find prince and country ready to submit to the conqueror, he and the admiral were then to give notice that they would not suffer the Portuguese ships and sailors to augment the naval resources of England's enemy. The regent expressed the warmest gratitude for the friendly solicitude of England; and his cabinet, however feeble, appeared well disposed to profit by her offers. All eyes remained fixed upon the French army assembling at Bayonne.

A negotiation was at this time set on foot for detaching Spain from France;

and the court of Madrid showed itself well disposed to concur in the requisite arrangements. Napoleon's yoke pressed too heavily to be ever voluntarily borne; and although Charles IV. had, in the first instance, joyfully hailed the accession to power of an individual able to control and terminate the revolution, all such kindly disposition had been forcibly crushed by the barbarous and illegal execution of a prince of his own Bourbon blood. To this feeling of resentment was added fear, nearly equal to that inspired by the revolution itself, when the conqueror of Europe began to dethrone sovereigns, and to distribute crowns amongst his own kindred.

The fears thus excited were speedily discovered by the French diplomatists;

and an attempt was made to remove them by assurances that the French emperor, whatever might be his repugnance to the Bourbon race, would never injure his faithful ally, Charles IV. These assurances did not indeed extend to his probable successor, Ferdinand; but although the heir of the Spanish monarchy was less an object of jealousy since the death of his ambitious and clever princess, Maria Antonia, who was very generally believed to have been poisoned by the queen, he still was not beloved by his father, and was detested as he was feared by his mother and her favourite. His interests were therefore little considered; and as Napoleon promised, in case of the worst, to provide amply for the queen and the prince of the Peace, the apprehensions of the court of Madrid were temporarily allayed.

But Charles, notwithstanding his fears of Napoleon, had still delayed to acknowledge the usurper of half his brother Ferdinand's kingdom; and when he understood that, in his negotiation with England, the emperor insisted upon Sicily likewise for Joseph, and proposed to dismember Spain of Minorca, Majorca, and Iviza, by way of compensation to the despoiled king of Naples, Charles's indignation burst forth, and Godoy's imperfectly appeased fears revived. A plan of future operations was concerted between the prince of the Peace in person, and the Russian and Portuguese ambassadors, the secret of which was carefully kept even from the Spanish ministers. It was arranged that Spain and Portugal should arm under colour of hostilities against each other; and that, at the moment when Russia should take the field, their united armies, supported by the fleets of England, should invade the south of France.

Meanwhile the present danger threatening Portugal was averted, or rather delayed, and the Spanish schemes baffled, by circumstances in the north, which must now be related.

The negotiations were still in progress at Paris, though they daily offered less prospect of a happy result; and Napoleon's proposals, as they became known, gave as much offence in Germany as in Spain. When the king of Prussia heard that the electorate of Hanover, which he considered as permanently united to Prussia, and for which he had actually bartered three small detached provinces, might,

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as the price of peace, be restored to the king of England, his indignation at what he deemed robbery, added to various minor causes of dissatisfaction, was so violent, that he at once resolved upon war. He made overtures for an alliance to the czar, and to the very monarch to whom he must as a preliminary resign the electorate, the possible loss of which so incensed him: and without waiting for the necessarily slow advance of the expected Russian auxiliaries, he so plainly discovered his temper and his purpose, that Napoleon sent his troops forward into Germany, called upon the Confederation of the Rhine for the stipulated contingents, and set out on the 24th of September to put himself at the head of his army, leaving Lord Lauderdale still at Paris.

The negotiations did not continue many days longer. The French minister positively refused to admit the *uti possidetis* principle with respect to Sicily, or to accede to the Russian demand of evacuating the Illyrian provinces. The new war with Prussia was deemed no token of an honest desire for peace; and on the 6th of October Lord Lauderdale finally quitted Paris.

The war with Prussia diverted the French emperor's attention from Portugal. The troops marching upon Bayonne were recalled, and the invasion was at least postponed. English assistance was therefore, for the present, judged unnecessary. Lord Rosslyn returned to England, the troops were otherwise employed, and Lord St. Vincent resumed his ordinary station off the mouth of the Tagus. But the court of Lisbon was convinced by this menace of the folly of relying upon its pecuniary sacrifices for safety from Napoleon's insatiate ambition; and strove to prepare, as far as might be, for a struggle which it was evident could only be considered as deferred. Some reforms were introduced into the financial department, and endeavours were made to replace the army in the condition from which it had been suffered to decline.

The negotiations with the court of Madrid, respecting future combined operations against France, went on, meanwhile, with redoubled ardour. Spain bitterly felt the consequences of war with England in the loss of her fleets, and the consequent interruption to her intercourse with her colonies.

Their tribute in gold and silver was indeed mostly brought home under the Portuguese neutral flag; and the English cabinet, from deference to the jealous apprehensions of the emperor of Russia, had abandoned the idea of American conquest. But still the intercourse, particularly with regard to the conveyance of troops, was inconveniently harassed by English cruizers; and the plans for either subjugating different colonies, or exciting them to assert their independence, which had once been entertained, led, perhaps, to the unauthorized expedition undertaken by Sir Home Popham against the river de la Plata, with the forces that had just taken, and were destined to garrison, the Cape of Good Hope.

On the 27th of June that officer surprised and seized Buenos Ayres. The enterprise was in every way rash and ill-advised. He had not troops sufficient to maintain his conquest, and it was recovered by the Spaniards as soon as, having shaken off their first stupor of confusion, they could collect their numbers. But the English, if driven out of Buenos Ayres, were not expelled from the country. The troops remained in possession of Maldonado, a small fortress lower down the river; and upon the river itself the British flag still floated in triumph. The momentary capture of the colonial capital, together with the continued occupation of an important position, and the command of the river, alarmed the Spanish government for its transatlantic empire. Similar anxiety was created by the Spanish exile, General Miranda's attempt to create a revolt in the Caracas, which appears to have failed only from want of external assistance.

Spain had clearly good reason to shrink from the nominal friendship of France, and from the enmity of England; but Godoy, in his endeavours to replace his country in her natural connexion, showed more than ever his utter unfitness for the post to which, in such difficult times, he had so unworthily risen. Sympathizing in the anger and terror awakened in Charles's mind by the words Napoleon had uttered whilst stepping into his carriage to set off for the Prussian frontiers,—‘If Charles IV. will not acknowledge my brother as king of the Two Sicilies, his successor shall;’ and elated with the tidings of the new German war, Godoy

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lost sight of the secrecy and caution in which his hostile designs had hitherto been wrapped. Without waiting for the proposed co-operation of either England or Russia, he flung aside the mask. He did not, indeed, announce that France was the enemy with whom he contemplated a war, but he published a proclamation, in which he summoned the nation to arms; appealed to the patriotism of the people, and declared that the poor would be called upon for their personal service, the rich for their money; and that nothing should be neglected in order to enter gloriously upon the career about to be run. A decree for a levy of sixty thousand men was at the same time sent to the governors of all the different provinces, together with a circular letter in the spirit of the proclamation.

This proclamation was dated the 5th of October, 1806; and on the 14th of the same month Napoleon, in the terrible battle of Jena, so completely routed, dispersed, and destroyed the Prussian army, which lost twenty thousand men killed or wounded, and from thirty to forty thousand prisoners, that the fate of the kingdom of Prussia was at once decided. The king fled to Königsberg at the eastern extremity of his dominions; the strongest fortresses were surrendered as soon as invested; the French took possession of Berlin; and Buonaparte there paused to consider what use he should make of his conquests. In the palace of the Prussian sovereigns at Berlin, Napoleon read the imprudent manifesto of the prince of the Peace; and if the destiny of the Bourbon kings of Spain had been previously doubtful, it was thenceforward sealed.

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The mere issuing of the proclamation had terrified Portugal into making every demonstration that could exonerate her from suspicion of participation in a step so uselessly offensive to a potent foe. The news of the battle of Jena struck the prince of the Peace and has infuriated

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sovereigns with affright proportionate to their recent presumption; and they strove to obviate the effects of their imprudence by various means, which, contradicting each other, proved the bad faith against the French emperor which they endeavoured to deny. The French and Spanish newspapers were filled with paragraphs, in some of which the manifesto was alleged to be a forgery by the enemies of the prince of

the Peace; whilst in others it was avowed as directed against either England or the emperor of Morocco. The decree for levying troops was immediately revoked, and a second circular ordered the governors to disregard the former. Godoy did not, however, rely upon the effects of these artifices. He is believed to have lavished his ill-gotten treasures upon the agents of French diplomacy, and to have purchased at a high price the good offices of the grand duke and duchess of Berg, whilst he sent a private envoy of his own, distinct from the king's, Don Eugenio Izquierdo, to Berlin, humbly to confess and implore forgiveness for the heinous fault of taking any step of the least moment without the permission of Napoleon.

The French emperor was now master of the greater part of the Prussian monarchy; but the king had not submitted. The broken remnants of his army were collecting round him at Königsberg, and the countless hosts of Russia were advancing to his support. Napoleon felt that this was not the season for engaging in a new war, and he suffered the hostile demonstration of the court of Madrid to pass unnoticed. But he sought yet further to weaken Spain by requiring that sixteen thousand of her best troops, under her best general, the marquis de la Romana, should be sent into Prussia as reinforcements of the northern army; and he similarly drew off the Spanish troops hitherto stationed in Etruria, for the protection of that kingdom. It was at this period that the famous Berlin decree was published, declaring the British islands in a state of blockade; and Spain was of course required fully to concur in the execution of this fantastic measure.

Charles IV., overjoyed at his seeming escape from certain destruction, strove to express his gratitude to Godoy, to whose address he ascribed his supposed safety, by new honours and rewards. The favourite was appointed high admiral, when scarce a ship remained, with immense emoluments; he received the title of most serene highness, never before borne in Spain but by the two Don Johns, the illegitimate sons of Charles V. and of Philip IV.; and he was named protector of commerce and the colonies. Adorned with these new dignities, Godoy made a sort of triumphal entry into Madrid that offended the people, and both alarmed and irritated the prince of Asturias; but to their son's feelings neither king nor queen paid any regard.

They endeavoured to conciliate Napoleon by strict obedience to his will. Orders were given for the burning of all English manufactures, conformably to the injunctions of the Berlin decree; Joseph Buonaparte was acknowledged as king of the Two Sicilies, and Ferdinand IV.'s name inserted in the Court Almanach merely as a prince of the blood, the eldest of the king's brothers; and king, queen, and favourite remained satisfied that they had fully appeased and satisfied the master of the continent.

Napoleon meanwhile leaving Spain and Portugal for future leisure, was occupied with an enemy more formidable than any of those

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hitherto vanquished, and almost new to him. He had advanced through Prussian Poland into the kingdom of Prussia, the eastern portion of the monarchy, whence the whole takes its name. There he encountered both the Russian army, and a climate to which his own soldiers were unaccustomed. A battle was fought at Pultusk on the 26th of December, in which a Russian army, under general Bennisen, decidedly gained the advantage, although the incapacity or disease of the commander-in-chief, Kamenskoi, prevented its being duly followed up; and the French emperor finding his troops unable to bear the severity of the weather, suspended his operations, and went into winter quarters.

The chief command of the Russians was about this time transferred from Kamenskoi to Bennisen, and this general, clearly perceiving that if Napoleon's troops, accustomed to milder climates, needed repose and shelter during the winter months, that was precisely the season when his hardy Russians possessed some superiority over them, attacked, and forced them again into the field. Many slight skirmishes and some pitched battles were fought, in which, as both parties claimed the victory, and no important consequence adjudged it to either, we may fairly conclude that the success was nearly balanced, and a tremendous loss of human life the chief result. Certainly the emperor of the French had never before encountered such obstinate resistance; his troops had never before suffered so severely. But at length the fall of Dantzic and Königsberg, whence the king and queen of Prussia fled to Memel, attested that the advantage remained

with the French. Alexander, alarmed or discouraged, agreed to meet Napoleon at Tilsit, in order to arrange the pacification of the continent in a personal interview.

Upon this occasion Napoleon exerted all those powers of fascination with which he was eminently gifted; and he appears to have succeeded in either captivating the fancy of the northern potentate, and gaining his personal friendship, or seducing him to divide the world with his late enemy. The two emperors had nothing to demand of each other, and it was at the expense of their feebler allies that they settled their disputes.

On the 7th of July a treaty was signed at Tilsit, by which Alexander ratified all Napoleon's changes of European sovereignties; Prussia was reduced to the rank of an inferior power, her Polish provinces being allotted, the larger part to Saxony, as the duchy of Warsaw, the smaller to Russia,—Alexander thus profiting by the spoils of his ally; whilst Hanover, and the remainder of the Prussian provinces on the Rhine, formed the groundwork of the kingdom of Westphalia, created for Jerome, the youngest of the Buonapartes. Dantzic, and other sea-ports of distant neutral or friendly powers, were to be occupied by France until the conclusion of a maritime peace; and to bring about this desirable event, Alexander offered his mediation, which was accepted by Napoleon.

These were the public articles of the treaty of Tilsit; but it was afterwards ascertained that, by consenting to Alexander's despoiling his own ally, Sweden, of Finland, and hereafter conquering Napoleon's ally, Turkey, when Egypt was to be allotted to France, Buonaparte bribed the czar to promise that, in case of peace not being concluded with England through his mediation, he would join in what the French emperor termed his continental system—namely, the exclusion of English commerce and manufactures. Napoleon, at the same time, obtained his new friend's assent to his own designs upon the western Peninsula.

The lavish price at which he purchased Alexander's concurrence in these projects (for Finland and Turkey were evidently more essential as well as more easy acquisitions to Russia than Spain to France) has been variously ascribed to either his passionate desire of injuring

England, or his wish to prepare the way for his marriage with a grand-duchess. It does not appear that any overture towards such a marriage was made, but the French emperor, convinced that the czar was inalienably his friend, returned to Paris towards the end of July, and devoted his meditations to the punishment of Charles IV., and the subjugation of Spain and Portugal.

Whilst Buonaparte was triumphing over the north of Europe, the conquest of Buenos Ayres had intoxicated the British public with dreams of American wealth, which, combining with the disappointment of all hopes of peace, seem to have determined the ministry no longer to abstain from a field so inviting as South America. Sir Home Popham was indeed recalled, tried, and reprimanded, for withdrawing the forces appointed to defend the Cape of Good Hope, in order to make an unauthorized attack upon Buenos Ayres. But his successor, sir C. Stirling, took out sir S. Auchmuty,

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with a considerable body of troops, to maintain the place, the re-capture of which was not yet known in England. Sir Samuel judged the possession of Monte Video, on the northern bank of the river, indispensable to the operations of an invading army. With four thousand men he besieged that fortress, and, after a gallant defence, having made a practicable breach, took it by storm on the 2nd of February, 1807.

He found the province extremely impatient of the tyranny of the mother-country, and bent upon establishing an independent republic, like the North Americans; but in his opinion the inhabitants were totally unfit to govern themselves. He thought, however, they would, if persuaded that independence was unattainable, prefer the English to the Spanish government, provided they were assured they should not be restored to Spain at the conclusion of peace. These views were not destined to be acted upon. Prior to their communication to the British cabinet General Whitelock had been sent out with reinforcements, and he superseded Auchmuty on the 11th of May.

The new commander, who, unfortunately, possessed neither experience nor talent adequate to his situation, proceeded, at the head of about eight thousand men, to attempt recovering Buenos Ayres. He had taken no steps to gain

over the inhabitants of town or province, and the attack is universally allowed to have been most injudiciously arranged. The assault took place on the 5th of July. Notwithstanding the undaunted courage of the troops it completely failed, and General Whitelocke entered into a convention with the commandant, General Liniers, a French officer in the Spanish service, for evacuating Monte Video, and the river de la Plata itself, upon the liberation of the British prisoners taken by the Spaniards.

By this time another change had occurred in the English cabinet, from which might Foreign States
A.D. 1807. have been anticipated a more vigorous prosecution of the war against the Spanish colonies. Those ministers who had shown a desire for peace, had, in the month of March, quitted office, in consequence of a difference of opinion with the king upon the same question of domestic policy that had formerly driven Mr. Pitt from the cabinet, and were succeeded by lord Hawkesbury, Mr. Canning, and their friends,—all professedly disciples of Mr. Pitt, at least in his foreign policy. The attention of the new ministers was, however, in the first instance, drawn from American expeditions, and directed to the north of Europe, where they endeavoured, by the seizure of the Danish fleet, to diminish the evils likely to ensue from the confederation there forming against England, under the dictation of Napoleon. And soon afterwards the measures pursued by that restless conqueror put an end to the war between England and Spain.

CHAPTER VII.

Prince-regent of Portugal required to join in the continental system—Offers to join in part—French and Spanish ambassadors recalled from Lisbon, and Portuguese ambassadors dismissed from Paris and Madrid—Regent submits implicitly—Treaty of Fontainebleau for the division of Portugal—Junot invades Portugal—Royal family fly to Brazil—Junot occupies Lisbon—Spanish troops occupy northern and southern provinces—Maria Louisa and her son expelled from Etruria—Dissensions in the Spanish royal family—Prince of Asturias privately appeals to Na-

Napoleon—Is accused of conspiracy, and imprisoned—Makes ample confession, betraying his friends—Is reconciled to king and queen—Junot disrobes the council of regency, declaring Portugal annexed to the French empire—Seizure of Spanish citadels by French troops—Tumults at Madrid and Aranjuez—Godoy deprived of all his offices—Charles IV. abdicates.*

ONE of the first steps taken by Napoleon, after his return to Paris, in execution of his designs upon the Peninsula was, in the month of August, to order the French and Spanish ambassadors conjointly, to declare to the

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prince-regent of Portugal, that he must concur in the continental system, *viz.* shut his ports against English commerce, confiscate all English property, and imprison all English subjects to be found within his dominions, or they were instructed immediately to leave Lisbon.

The prince and his ministers dared not openly resist the French emperor's will, even whilst the wiser part of the cabinet were convinced that the very existence of the country depended upon British commerce. In this extremity, and relying upon the friendly forbearance of England, they strove to pursue a middle course. Don John professed his readiness to exclude British ships of all descriptions from his ports, but declared that his religious principles would not allow him to seize the subjects and property of a friendly state in the midst of peace, and that prudence forbade his offending England until a Portuguese squadron, then at sea, should have re-

turned safely home. He was, however, well aware that the utmost he could hope from this answer was, to gain time; and notice was forthwith given to the British residents, that they would do well to dispose of their property, and leave the country.

Napoleon punished this imperfect obedience, by seizing all Portuguese vessels in ports under his control, and ordering the French and Spanish legations to leave Lisbon. The Portuguese ambassadors were, at the same time, dismissed from Paris and Madrid. A French army was, by this time, assembled near the foot of the Pyrenees, bearing the singular title of army of observation of the Gironde; and General Junot, who had succeeded Lasnes, as ambassador to Portugal, but had long since left his diplomatic duties to a *chargé d'affaires*, in order to pursue his more congenial military avocations, was appointed to its command.

The Portuguese ambassador at Paris, Don Lourenço de Lima, and the cabinet of Lisbon, were alike terrified by these demonstrations, but did not quite despair of averting their country's fate by prompt and entire submission, aided by the paternal intercession of Spain. The prince-regent, on the 8th of November, signed an order to seize such British subjects and property as still, notwithstanding his warning, remained in Portugal, and despatched the marquess of Marialva, as ambassador extraordinary, to bear the tidings of his implicit obedience to Napoleon. Don John had been informed that the king of England, in consideration of his distressed condition, would tolerate the closing of the Portuguese ports, but that any further hostile steps would be deemed a declaration of war. Viscount Strangford, the English envoy, therefore, upon the issuing of this order, withdrew from Lisbon, and went on board sir Sidney Smith's squadron, which had just arrived off the mouth of the Tagus, and now blockaded it.

There is little likelihood that earlier submission could have prevented the invasion and projected subjugation of Portugal, which had been decided from the moment when her ships assisted those of England to blockade Malta, and delayed only till opportunity should favour. Her hesitation at once to obey the imperious mandate afforded, however, a sort of pretence for hostility which Napoleon eagerly seized, and

* The authorities principally consulted for this chapter are, *Foy*, *Scott*, *Bignard*, *Quin*, *Bianco White*, *Bempsey*, *Bernardo*, *Queen of Etruria*, *Annam Register*. History of the Peninsular War, by *Robert Southey*, 3 vols. 4to. London, 1823—1825. History of the War in the Peninsula and the South of France, from the year 1807 to the year 1814, by *W. F. F. Napier*, C.B. Lieut.-Col. half-pay, 48rd regiment, 3 vols. 8vo. London, 1828, &c. These two histories, compared with each other and with *Foy's*, may be held to afford a satisfactory account of the transactions in the Peninsula, the political prejudices of Southey, and his enthusiasm for the Spaniards, offering a counterpoise to Napier's professional prejudices, and excessive admiration of Napoleon, whom he seems, somewhat oddly, to consider as the friend of liberty. Observations on some passages in Lieut.-Col. Napier's History of the Peninsular War, by *Percy*, Viscount Strangford, 8vo. London, 1828. Though the point in dispute between Lord Strangford and Col. Napier scarcely regards this history, the English envoy's little pamphlet has been considered as the best authority concerning the intentions of the court of Lisbon.

submission, at all events, came too late. Neither could Spain's mediation be hoped.

The fears or the ambition of Godoy had prevailed over the parental feelings of the now nearly imbecile Charles IV., and Spain was endeavouring to share in the spoil, not to protect the victim. A treaty, the shameless iniquity of which can be paralleled only by the treaties between Austria, Russia, and Prussia for the partition of Poland, had been signed at Fontainebleau, on the 27th of October, by Marshal Duroc, for the French Emperor, and by Izquierdo, Godoy's agent, a man without any acknowledged diplomatic character, for Charles IV. It had been negotiated so secretly, that it is averred to have been concealed from both Prince Mazerano, the Spanish ambassador, and from the ministers of either sovereign.

By this treaty Charles surrendered to Napoleon his infant grandson's kingdom of Etruria (King Lewis I. had been dead some years), over which he had no right whatever, and harnained to receive for him in its stead the small northern provinces of Portugal *Entre Minho e Douro* and *Tras os Montes*, under the name of the kingdom of Northern Lusitania, which kingdom the young monarch was to hold in vassalage of the crown of Spain. The much larger southern provinces, Alentejo and Algarve were to constitute the principality of the Algarves, for Godoy, under a similar tenure. And the middle provinces were to be occupied by Napoleon until a general peace, when, in exchange for Gibraltar, Trinidad, and any other Spanish possession conquered by England, they might be restored to the family of Braganza, upon like terms of dependence. The Portuguese colonies were to be equally divided between France and Spain. In execution of this nefarious treaty, ten thousand Spanish troops were to seize upon the northern, and six thousand upon the southern state. The army of the Gironde (now called the army of Portugal) was to march upon the central provinces, in conjunction with eleven thousand Spaniards; and another French army of forty thousand men was to be assembled in all haste in the district whence the present army of Portugal was to march, in case England should send succours to her ancient ally, otherwise, the first army only was to cross the Pyrenees.

Neither Napoleon nor Godoy had waited for the actual signature of this treaty to commence their operations for carrying it into effect, so impatient were both to secure their prey. On the 18th of October, Junot, in obedience to his master's orders, crossed the Pyrenees, and, being kindly received by the Spaniards, began his march towards the Portuguese frontiers, whilst the Spanish troops were equally put in motion towards their respective destinations. Those intended to co-operate with Junot awaited him at Alcantara, under General Caraffa; General Taranco concentrated at Tuy those destined to invade Northern Lusitania, and Don Francisco Solano, marquess of Socorro, captain-general of Andalusia, assembled at Badajoz the corps that was to occupy the principality of his patron, Godoy.

Neither the helpless court of Lisbon, nor even Napoleon, seem to have been aware of the facilities afforded by nature for the defence of Portugal. The former, in their fond trust to preserve peace by implicit though late obedience, had neglected to take any measures for profiting by their almost pathless mountains, and impassable roads; and Napoleon, who expected Nature herself to bend to his will, had ordered Junot to press forward, without losing a single day under pretence of providing for the subsistence of the troops. His maxim was, that an army of twenty thousand men can always provide for itself.

The object of so much haste was, to secure the persons of the royal family, whose removal to Brazil had not only been talked of from the beginning of these hostile discussions, but was now in preparation, and matter of public notoriety, although the prince, whose previous determination had been shaken by the French party in the cabinet, hesitated as to the necessity of so painful a sacrifice. The reckless haste enjoined by the emperor, and which cost almost as many lives as a pitched battle, was very near attaining its end. Junot joined Caraffa at Alcantara on the 17th of November, and thence issued a proclamation, telling the Portuguese he came to deliver them from the intolerable tyranny of England, and required that his army should be received as friends. On the 19th he passed the frontiers, whilst the court of Lisbon was still awaiting, with some anxiety but

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little apprehension of immediate danger, the result of the prince-regent's adhesion to the emperor's continental system.

For five days the French army pressed on, over rugged, barren, and nearly trackless mountains, amidst an almost incessant rain, and crossing rivers swollen to torrents, always without bridges, and frequently without boats. They brought no provisions, and suffered severely from extreme want, whilst the necessary search after food well nigh disorganized the army, and completely exasperated the peasantry. Their advance through what Junot affected to consider as a friendly country, was marked with havoc, desolation, burning villages, and all the horrors that usually attend hostile invasion. They reached Abrantes, little more than ninety miles from Lisbon, on the 24th, and the prince-regent was still ignorant of an enemy's intrusion into his dominions.

The secrecy with which the treaty of Fontainebleau had been negotiated had not prevented its transpiring. The British government obtained information of its tenor, and lost no time in transmitting that information to lord Strangford. On the same day that Junot reached Abrantes the envoy, from on board the English fleet, solicited an audience of the prince-regent, to communicate the intelligence just received. But the tidings of the advance of the French troops, combined, perhaps, with the announcement in the *Moniteur*, that the house of Braganza had ceased to reign, had put an end to all further doubt or deliberation. Even the French party could no longer urge the prince to rely upon Napoleon's clemency, and Don John determined upon embarking for Brazil, with the haste now necessary, preferring, as he expressed himself to lord Strangford, the noble enmity of England to the false and insidious friendship of France.

The resolution to abandon the contest being adopted, the prince and his ministers took every measure requisite to prevent a useless effusion of blood. A regency, consisting of five persons, the marquess of Abrantes being president, was appointed to conduct the government, and negotiate with Junot. On the 26th a proclamation was put forth, explaining to the people that, as Napoleon's enmity was rather to the sovereign than the nation, the prince-regent, in order to avert the calamities

of war from his faithful subjects, would transfer the seat of government to Brazil, till the existing troubles should subside, and strictly charging the Portuguese, more especially the Lisbonians, to receive the French as friends.

On the 27th the whole royal family proceeded to Belem, to embark for flight, on the spot whence, about three centuries back, Vasco de Gama had sailed upon his glorious enterprise. It was a melancholy procession, consisting of the old insane queen, who had not been seen for sixteen years, and who appeared to have just recovered reason sufficient to feel the humiliation of the step she was compelled to take, of her sisters, of the princess of Brazil with her children, and of the prince himself. They were accompanied by all the ministers, and great numbers of nobles.

During that day, and the following, adverse and tempestuous winds detained the fugitives within the river. And the rapid advance of Junot, with the five or six thousand men whom he had been able to collect at Abrantes out of his fine army, excited the more terror, from the circumstance of a Russian squadron, under Admiral Siniavin, having entered the Tagus so nearly at the time that Junot crossed the frontier, as to create apprehensions of a projected co-operation. Accident alone had, however, brought Siniavin to the scene of action, and he remained an apparently unconcerned spectator of the course of events.

The swollen state of the river Zézere had impeded Junot's progress, by rendering it indispensable to repair the bridge, and this circumstance alone saved the royal fugitives. On the morning of the 29th the wind abated, and changed to a favourable point. The ships set sail and crossed the bar, almost as the French advanced guard was entering Lisbon. Sir Sidney Smith escorted the royal family, with four men-of-war, safely to Rio Janeiro, the capital of Brazil, leaving the remainder of his squadron to blockade the mouth of the Tagus.

The inhabitants of Lisbon and the British admiral had wished to defend the city, but the prince-regent and his ministers, deeply impressed with the impossibility of permanent resistance, had expressly forbidden the attempt. Sir Sidney, on sailing with the queen and her family, had left orders conformable to the wishes of the prince, and the

regency followed their instructions. The people were without leaders, and their dissatisfaction evaporated in murmurs. Junot took possession of the city with barely an escort of weary grenadiers, and was received with respect. His army followed, arriving in straggling detachments, and order and discipline were gradually restored. The treaty of Fontainebleau remained a secret; no change was made in the regency beyond adding to its numbers, with the title of imperial commissary, one M. Hermann, a Frenchman, belonging to the legation which had supplied the place of the absent ambassador Junot; and for a while Lisbon was tranquil. The Spanish divisions under Taranco and Solano as quietly occupied the provinces allotted them.

The Portuguese were indeed rather stunned and bewildered than really subdued; but the only time that their dissatisfaction appeared during the first few months of their subjugation, was on the 13th of December, when upon occasion of a grand review of the French troops, the arms of Portugal were taken down from the old Moorish fort, and those of France hoisted in their stead. The populace was deeply agitated. On all sides cries of 'Portugal for ever!' and 'Death to the French!' resounded. But the military array of the conquerors was formidable; and Junot, having assembled all the men of distinction in Lisbon to dinner, kept them as hostages for their countrymen. The people were therefore still without leaders, and their rage produced only tumults, easily quelled by the French soldiers, and the loss of some few lives.

The first steps towards the execution of the treaty of Fontainebleau being thus taken, the prince of the Peace became impatient for its publication, and his own installation in his allotted dominions. But it is very doubtful whether Napoleon ever meant that treaty for more than a means of facilitating his ulterior designs; if he did, his purpose was now changed, and he no longer intended to admit of any partnership in his new acquisition. But even whilst he was negotiating the treaty with Godoy, his ambassador, Beauharnais, was artfully fomenting the dissensions existing in the Spanish royal family.

By the overbearing favourite a second marriage had been arranged for the prince of Asturias, which could hardly

be called derogatory, since the selected bride was his own cousin, the youngest daughter of the *Infante* Don Lewis, but was, nevertheless, peculiarly repugnant to him, inasmuch as she was likewise sister-in-law to the detested prince of the Peace. He had given his consent, but, as was generally known, contrary to his inclination; and Beauharnais suggested either to him, or to his advisers, the idea of releasing himself, at least from ties so irksome, perhaps from the state of thralldom in which he was held, by the potent interference of the French emperor, who was conceived to be personally irritated against Godoy, by his hostile demonstrations of the preceding year. Ferdinand caught at the idea, and on the 11th of October secretly addressed a letter to Napoleon, in which he solicited both his paternal protection against the wicked favourite who deceived the king and queen, and the high honour of an alliance with the imperial house of France, by marriage with some princess of the Napoleon dynasty.

Of this letter the French emperor took no notice whatever, and soon after the signature of the treaty of Fontainebleau, he set off for Italy, with a degree of pompous preparation that attracted all eyes thither. Yet he did nothing correspondent to those preparations, or even for which it seemed worth while to have taken the journey; the chief transaction being the seizure of the kingdom of Etruria, for which assuredly his personal intervention was unnecessary.

The queen-regent Maria Louisa's administration had been prosperous from the moment she had obtained the substitution of Spanish for the French troops that occupied all the strongholds of Etruria, when she and King Lewis took possession of the kingdom. The subsequent withdrawal of the Spanish troops had not disturbed the public tranquillity; and the queen and people appeared satisfied with each other. Maria Louisa was therefore overwhelmed with surprise and affliction when, on the 23rd of November, she was abruptly informed that her father had surrendered her son's dominions to France; nor was her grief much lessened by the further intelligence that his loss was to be compensated with a portion of her sister's realm. But even had she still had the six thousand Spanish troops at her command, resistance would have been manifestly idle. As it was, her discretion was

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spared the trial, for she was wholly defenceless. With an aching heart she took leave of her son's subjects, and returned with him and a daughter to Madrid, to await the issue of the treaty that had despoiled them.

She found the dissensions in her father's court more violent than ever. Whether Napoleon caused any communication concerning Ferdinand's letter to be made to Godoy is as uncertain as whether Ferdinand was or was not engaged in a conspiracy against either his father or the prince of the Peace; but it should seem, that Beauharnais blew the flames of discord, and if a plot there were, he was probably its instigator. What is known upon the subject may be told in few words.

On the 29th of October Godoy informed Charles that he had discovered a conspiracy of the prince of Asturias and his friends to seize the crown, putting the king and queen to death. The old king, horror-stricken at the tale of guilt, placed himself at the head of his guards, and proceeded to his son's apartments, where he disarmed Ferdinand, seized his papers, and constituted him a close prisoner. On the 30th, a proclamation announced to the nation the atrocious designs imputed to the prince against his parents; and Charles wrote to Napoleon a similar statement, to which he added, that in consequence of Ferdinand's crimes, a younger son would be substituted in his place as heir to the monarchy.

On the 31st all the councils of state were assembled to investigate the affair, and Ferdinand's papers were laid before them. The tenor of the papers is not well ascertained; nor does it much signify, considering that they had been two days in the custody of his enemy, Godoy. They do not, however, appear to have contained anything very criminal; for the person of highest official dignity present, the president of the council of Castile, openly took the part of the accused prince. Public opinion declared loudly in his favour, and Godoy shrank from following up the course upon which he had entered. He only affected to persevere so far, that he ordered a solemn thanksgiving throughout Spain, on the 3rd of November, for the king's deliverance from a cruel plot; and then assumed the character of a mediator.

On the 5th the prince of the Peace pre-

vailed upon the weak Ferdinand to write letters of contrition to his parents, and to denounce his accomplices, whether merely in his letter to Napoleon, or in any really criminal design, is equally unknown. These professions of penitence, and the accompanying disclosures produced a second proclamation, announcing that Charles, at the queen's entreaty, had pardoned his son. Ferdinand was released, and apparently reconciled to his parents; whilst numbers of his friends and adherents were arrested.

The French emperor answered the king of Spain's letter from Italy, whither he seems to have gone chiefly to be out of the way of inconvenient references. He disclaimed any intercourse with the prince of Asturias, and professed great indignation at his ambassador's being suspected of complicity in any plot; still greater at the name of any princess of his dynasty being in any way implicated. To Ferdinand he likewise wrote, acknowledging the receipt of his letter, but expressing himself so vaguely as to keep alive his hopes of imperial protection, without giving him positive encouragement. The letter to Charles produced an immediate request on the part of the receiver, that Napoleon would honour him by bestowing upon his son and heir a princess of the imperial house of France. To this request the emperor assented; and it was understood, that a daughter of his eldest brother Lucien was destined to be the future queen of Spain.

Such was the state of affairs in the Peninsula at the opening of the year 1808, a year fated to behold the commencement of that awful series of events which terminated in sending the master of three-fourths of Europe to pine in sickness and in sorrow amidst the rocks of St. Helena. This series began with the preparations for the most flagrantly iniquitous of Napoleon's many acts of usurpation and spoliation. He had now reaped all the advantages which the often-named, nefarious treaty of Fontainebleau was calculated to afford him. He was master of Etruria and Portugal; and the subjugation of the latter country had stripped Spain of nearly all the troops that his previous requisitions had left her; whilst her northern provinces were full of French troops, poured into them processedly on their way to Portugal, but in utter disregard of the stipulation prohibiting a second French army from crossing the Pyrenees, unless

Portugal should be actually invaded by England. Nothing was wanting to lay the whole Peninsula at Napoleon's feet, except the seizure of the Spanish fortresses; and this the emperor ordered the commanders of the second army of observation of the Gironde to effect, either by force or fraud. At the same time discarding all further semblance of respect for the treaty of Fontainebleau, he directed Junot, whom he created duke of Abrantes, to assume the government of Portugal in his name, as imperial lieutenant.

The latter order was first obeyed. On the 1st of February, 1808, the new duke of Abrantes went in state to the palace of the Inquisition, where the regency held its sittings, and announced to the deputies of the prince of Brazil that their functions had ceased, the emperor of France having graciously devolved upon him the task of providing for the happiness of Portugal. The regency was accordingly dissolved. A proclamation informed the people that, the prince-regent having forfeited all title to their allegiance by his flight to Brazil, the house of Braganza had ceased to reign; and the felicity of Portugal was insured by her transference to the sceptre of the omnipotent Napoleon, who had appointed Junot to administer the government as his imperial viceregent. In proof of this fortunate incorporation, the Portuguese arms were everywhere taken down and destroyed, and the French set up in their stead; all the offices of government were conferred upon Frenchmen; a heavy contribution was levied; and the remains of the Portuguese army, which Junot had previously reduced as much as possible, were sent into France, under the Marquess of Alorne, a nobleman who conceived he had hereditary cause of resentment against the reigning sovereigns of Portugal, in addition to the personal offence given him by his banishment from court on account of his intrigues on behalf of the princess of Brazil: Alorne attached himself, heart and soul, to the conqueror.

Godoy now plainly saw that he had been deluded with a phantom of sovereignty, and that Napoleon, whatever he might have pledged his word to do, had no intention of bestowing any part of Portugal upon either the despoiled king of Etruria or himself. Enraged at his disappointment, and alarmed at the

increasing numbers of the French forces in Spain, he recalled the Spanish troops from Portugal; but Solano's division only had the power of obeying; the rest were forcibly detained by Junot. Had they all returned, they could have done little to oppose the progress of the French.

A third army had now crossed the Eastern Pyrenees, and entered Catalonia, which could not even profess to be on its way to Portugal. The court of Madrid, without means of resistance, and bewildered with terror, endeavoured to propitiate Napoleon by ordering his legions to be received into all the strongest towns of Catalonia, Navarre, and Biscay. They thus placed them in the very positions that would have rendered them complete masters of the country, had they equally been in possession of the citadels as of the towns. But these citadels were still in the hands of native troops, whom the imperial leaders were ordered to expel.

This could not be well done by force, whilst friendship even nominally subsisted between the two nations; stratagem was therefore employed. At St. Sebastian and at Figueras, a very simple one, which might be termed a downright falsehood, answered the purpose. The French generals quartered in the towns, asked leave to secure their refractory conscripts in the citadels. The court had ordered that all wishes of the emperor's officers should be complied with, and the governors would not therefore refuse. The supposed refractory conscripts were the best men that could be selected, and their numbers were gradually augmented till they could overpower the garrison, and admit their comrades.

The governor of Pamplona refused a similar request, but he permitted sixty men to enter the citadel daily, unarmed, there to receive rations for their respective divisions. General Duhesme had chosen his own quarters close to the citadel, and one night he secretly filled his house with armed grenadiers. The next morning sixty picked men, with arms concealed under their cloaks, went too early for their rations; and under colour of waiting for their quarter-master, loitered about; some sauntered into the Spanish guard-house, whilst others, by a sportive scuffle on the bridge, prevented its being raised, and drew the attention of the Spaniards. At a signal the arms of the Spaniards were seized, the gre-

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nadiers ambushed in Duhesme's quarters rushed forward, the bridge and gate were secured, and the other French troops hurrying to join their comrades, the citadel was won.

At Barcelona a review was held, under the works of the citadel. The garrison assembled to look on. The French general Lecchi, an Italian by birth, rode on to the drawbridge with his staff, professedly to pay a farewell visit to the Spanish commander; and while the garrison watched some battalions that were manœuvring, others stole to the drawbridge, and held it until their companions could join them.

All this was achieved in the course of February; and the French were masters of the north of Spain, as also of the road to Madrid. The grand-duke of Berg next appeared on the scene, with the title of the emperor's lieutenant in Spain, and took the command of the armies; and thenceforward the treaty of Fontainebleau was no longer mentioned. Negotiations however still went on; Napoleon still professed friendship for Charles IV., and proposed to give him Portugal in exchange for the Spanish provinces north of the Ebro; thus to avoid any necessity for the passage of French troops through Spanish territories. The French emperor likewise talked of visiting Madrid, in order to settle the affairs of the Peninsula in a personal interview with his good ally.

Godoy was now thoroughly frightened for the fate of the kingdom, and yet more for his own. The king and queen shared in his terrors, and it was resolved to follow the example of the Portuguese royal family, and emigrate to America. This was in all likelihood the very step to which Napoleon, who saw how well it had answered his purpose at Lisbon, wished to drive them. The requisite preparations for removing were made with the utmost secrecy and despatch, but the design was nevertheless discovered or betrayed. It was understood that the council and Ferdinand had severally remonstrated with great vehemence against it; and the inhabitants of Madrid and of Aranjuez, where the court was then making its spring residence, angry at the proposed desertion, exasperated at Godoy, to whose influence they ascribed it, and probably excited by the partizans of the prince of

Asturias, rose in tumultuary insurrection on the 17th of March. But the fury of the people was directed wholly against Godoy. His mansion—both at Madrid and Aranjuez were broken into; they were plundered, and he saved his life only by concealment. But the rich booty was scrupulously burnt; the splendid insignia of his orders were preserved, with all their jewels, and delivered up to the king; and the princess of the Peace and her daughter were escorted, unharmed, to the palace. The troops made common cause with the mob; and although, on the morning of the 18th, the interposition of Ferdinand restored the appearance of tranquillity, the agitation of the people continued.

The king now sought to allay the popular feelings, which he despaired of subduing, by announcing that he had dismissed the prince of the Peace from his offices of generalissimo and high admiral, allowing him to depart from court. This step was too obviously dictated by the desire of rescuing the favourite from the effects of public hatred, to give the expected satisfaction. Next day Godoy was found in his hiding-place, and it was with difficulty that Ferdinand, obeying his father's express injunctions, could rescue him alive from the populace, for the avowed purpose of committing him to prison, there to be tried by course of law.

It is scarcely possible so far to develop recent political intrigues as to ascertain what share the son really had in these machinations against his father; but his innocence is more improbable than on the former occasion; and the disorders ended exactly as he might have dictated, had he been their regulator. On the morning of the 20th, Charles IV., wearied by the struggles of the last few days,—disappointed that the sacrifice of his favourite had failed to appease the insurgents,—heart-sick and broken-spirited at the loss of the idol of his affections, of the counsellor upon whose advice he implicitly relied,—bewildered by the arts and the urgency of his son's partizans, and terrified by the rapid advance of the French upon Madrid,—publicly abdicated, and declared the prince of Asturias king of Spain. This step produced the desired effect, and the whole nation seemed delirious with joy.

CHAPTER VIII.

Ferdinand's accession—Not recognized by the French Ambassador—Savary persuades Ferdinand to meet Napoleon on his way to Madrid—Lures him on to Bayonne—Ferdinand required to abdicate—Refuses—Napoleon sends for Charles IV., Louisa Maria, and Godoy to Bayonne—Charles abdicates in favour of Napoleon—Extorts Ferdinand's resignation of the crown to himself—Tumult at Madrid—Sanguinary executions—Madrid submits—Risings in the provinces—Juntas established—Risings in Portugal—Juntas established—Napoleon proclaims Joseph Buonaparte king of Spain—Spanish Notables assembled at Bayonne—Joseph enters Spain—Battle of Rio Seco—Joseph enters Madrid—Battle of Baylen—Joseph evacuates Madrid—Siege of Saragossa—Raised.*

FERDINAND VII., notwithstanding the neglect of his solicitations for Napoleon's protection, seems to have felt no mistrust of the emperor's good will towards himself. His first act of sovereignty bespoke his full confidence; it was stopping the homeward march of Solano and his troops, sending them back to their Portuguese quarters, and placing them altogether at Junot's disposal.

Ferdinand next settled his administration; he retained several of his father's ministers, especially Cevallos, although allied by marriage to Godoy; but he likewise raised the chief of those who had been imprisoned as his accomplices in the conspiracy of the preceding October, to high posts. Of these he appointed Azanza to the financial, and O'Farrel to the war department, and gave the command of the Spanish guards to the duke del Infantado. He released Jovellanos from prison; confiscated the property of the prince of the Peace, without awaiting his trial; repealed some vexatious taxes; ordered the wolves and foxes, preserved to indulge his father's passion for the chase, to be destroyed; and abolished some police regulations, peculiarly obnoxious to the

people, as thwarting their old habits and prejudices.

The nation was delighted with their new monarch; but their exultation, and Ferdinand's joy in his accession, and trust in the supposed favour of Napoleon, were alike short-lived. The French ambassador who had been so deeply in his counsels, offered no congratulations upon their success. Murat, to whom Ferdinand amicably and respectfully notified his accession, gave no answer, except announcing the emperor's approach; and the new king hardly knew what to expect.

In fact Napoleon himself seems to have been momentarily perplexed by the tumults at Aranjuez, and the old king's abdication. He had hoped probably to find the kingdom deserted by its rulers, and open to the first occupant. He paused upon his journey to await what should next occur; whilst Murat, under pretence of besieging Gibraltar, pressed forward with such celerity, that on the 23rd of March, before the new king had yet had time to visit his capital, the grand-duke of Berg, after reviewing his troops under the walls of Madrid, entered the town, and established himself in the magnificent palace of the prince of the Peace. The French soldiers were generally received as friends, a strong belief prevailing that Napoleon's enmity was personal to Godoy. This hope was somewhat damped the next day, when upon Ferdinand's arrival, Murat paid him neither military nor personal honours, alleging the necessity of learning Napoleon's decision upon the late transactions, ere the prince of Asturias could be acknowledged as king of Spain.

With a French army in Madrid, Ferdinand saw that the stability of his throne depended upon his recognition by the emperor of France. He therefore addressed a justificatory account of the recent events to Napoleon, and renewed his solicitations for the hand of an imperial princess. Evidently Napoleon never meant to acknowledge Ferdinand as king; but it was essential to his schemes, since he could not frighten the whole Spanish royal family away, to get them all into his own hands; and Charles's vacillating conduct afforded him the means of so doing. Charles wrote to the French emperor, protesting against his abdication as forced. The old queen, and her daughter the queen of Etruria, wrote to Murat, begging him to save the life of his and their friend,

* The authorities principally consulted for this chapter, are, Southey, Napier, Scott, Foy, Bernardo, Bland, Blanco White, Quin, Queen of Etruria, Annual Register.

the prince of the Peace, and declared that they wished only for compellence in some safe asylum, where they and he might all spend the remainder of their lives together. Mural promised his support to the two queens, and his protection to Godoy.

Napoleon required more information to enable him to judge between contradictory statements. Again he delayed his journey, and dispatched his aide-de-camp Savary to Madrid. The professed object of Savary's mission was, however, to inquire whether Ferdinand designed to pursue his father's line of policy, and adhere to the French continental system; in which case Savary said the emperor would at once recognize him. Ferdinand gladly agreed; when the military envoy told him that the emperor was already in Spain, on his way to Madrid, and that it would be but a proper mark of respect if he should go forward to meet him. Anxious to propitiate him upon whose protection he depended, and fearful that this arbiter of his fate might adopt the cause of the abdicated king, Ferdinand immediately sent forward his brother, the *Infante* Charles; and on the 11th of April, after appointing his uncle, the *Infante* Antonio, president of a council of regency during his absence, he left Madrid in person, and set out upon his inauspicious journey.

As far as Vitoria, Ferdinand was lured on by Savary with the hourly expectation of meeting his imperial visitor, and being at once recognized as king. At Vitoria he paused, having professed his determination not to pass the frontier. But there he received a letter from Napoleon, written in vague terms, mixing praise and blame, and promising to recognize him if he could prove his father's abdication to have been voluntary; Savary, who had gone forward to Bayonne and returned, assured him that he would be recognized in the very first interview; and a letter from Prince Charles, who is said to have penetrated Napoleon's intentions, warning him not to proceed, was intercepted. The populace attempted to prevent Ferdinand's departure by force; and some discarded statesmen waited upon him to advise against it; but he was now resolved, and on the 19th of April prosecuted his journey. Indeed, it may be doubted whether at Vitoria, or even at Madrid, Ferdinand really had a choice of going or staying. In both places he was com-

pletely in the power of the French troops; but Napoleon wished to accomplish the transference of the Spanish crown to his brother's head quietly, if not with some show of legality, and the forcible abduction of Ferdinand must have produced tumult and bloodshed.

Upon his arrival at Bayonne, Ferdinand was courteously received, and invited to dine

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with the emperor. But no sooner had he returned home to the house allotted him, than he was informed by Savary of Napoleon's determination that the Bourbons should cease to reign in Spain, and required to make a formal cession of the Spanish monarchy. He was promised in exchange the kingdom of Etruria, so lately torn from his nephew, and the hand of one of the emperor's nieces. If he did not immediately comply, he was assured that the desired cession would be obtained from his father, and he should then receive no compensation.

Ferdinand resisted, and his chief counsellors, Escoiquiz, Cevallos, and Labrador were successively employed to treat with Napoleon or his ministers, and endeavour to change the emperor's decision. Some days were consumed in these negotiations; and the provinces north of the Ebro, or one of the American colonies, were vainly proffered. Ferdinand declared he would return to his own kingdom, but found that both his brother and himself were prisoners. The emperor had anticipated less difficulty in extorting the desired cession from Ferdinand, and now ordered Mural to send the old king and queen to Bayonne, together with Godoy.

Upon their arrival at Bayonne, Napoleon immediately released Godoy and reinstated him as minister to Charles IV. The particulars of the negotiation with the infatuated king and queen and their contemptible favourite are not known; but it appears that they were found much more tractable than Ferdinand, whose conduct upon this trying occasion gave birth to hopes which have since been grievously disappointed. On the 4th of May, Charles, without adverting to his abdication, addressed an edict to the council of Castile, nominating Prince Murat lieutenant-general of the kingdom, directing his orders to be obeyed as emanating from the king in person, and dilating on the power and goodness of his great ally, the emperor Napoleon. On the 6th, Godoy and Duroc concluded

and signed a convention, by which Charles ceded Spain and the Indies to Napoleon, who in return settled upon him a handsome pecuniary allowance for himself, his queen, and their children, together with the castle of Chambord and its estates, and gave him the use, for his own life, of the palace, park, and forest of Compiègne. The following day Ferdinand (who had addressed several firm but respectful remonstrances to his father, and offered to restore the crown to the old king before the *Cortes* assembled in Spain) was summoned to an interview with his parents, in the presence of Napoleon. The circumstances of this interview are too revolting for detail. The old king overwhelmed Ferdinand with virulent reproaches; the queen is even said to have so completely and inconceivably lost sight of all womanly feelings as to have actually told her son, in hearing of her husband, that he had no right to the throne, being the offspring of her guilt. The young king was overpowered with the scene, and resigned his crown unconditionally to his father:—he was of course not aware of Charles's having already given it away.

A further renunciation, in the names of himself, his brothers and uncle, of all rights, in favour of Napoleon, was required of him; and, after four days' struggle, the unhappy prince signed it on the 10th. Ferdinand, his brother, and his uncle were then transferred to Valençay, in France, where they were kept as state prisoners. It is observable, that the claims of the princesses are not even alluded to. Napoleon was so partial to the Salic law, which he everywhere established, that he acted as though it had been acknowledged in Spain, where the national laws and customs were most adverse to such an exclusion of females; and its modified introduction by the Bourbons confirmed the rights of daughters upon the extinction of male heirs.

Whilst this scene of perhaps unexampled perfidy and violence was acting at Bayonne, great changes were taking place at Madrid. In various parts of

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the good understanding between the natives and the French troops, whom the former at first believed to have come only to free the country from Godoy, had been interrupted by the overbearing temper of the soldiery, and the innate pride of Spaniards. But nowhere had the

disposition of the people so much altered as at Madrid. In addition to the general causes of dissatisfaction, Murat's deportment towards Ferdinand and the old sovereigns, as Charles and Louisa Maria were called, had both given offence and provoked suspicions. These were increased by Ferdinand's detention at Bayonne, even whilst its cause was unknown; the sending Godoy, whose execution they were impatiently anticipating, out of the country, exasperated the whole population; and the appointment of a French governor of the city, and of French patrols, galled the pride of Castilians.

Of the whole royal family there now remained in the capital only Don Antonio, the regent, Don Francisco, Ferdinand's youngest brother, and the queen of Etruria with her children. Napoleon chose to have these likewise within his grasp; and ordered the grand-duke to send Don Francisco, the queen of Etruria, and her children to Bayonne. It is said that the council of regency earnestly advised their leaving Madrid by night, to avoid irritating the people; but that Murat, whose instructions were to intimidate the capital and the country, and who was consequently watching for an explosion to punish, fixed upon nine o'clock in the morning as the time, in expectation of the tumult that actually ensued. In the morning of the 2nd of May preparations were accordingly made for their departure; and at this sight the long-gathering storm of Castilian fury burst forth.

An attempt on the part of the people forcibly to prevent the departure of some of the royal carriages, from which they seem to have desisted on being assured that Don Antonio at least would still remain amongst them, gave rise to the first collision between the foreign troops and the people. How the strange and desperate encounter began, between twenty-five thousand well appointed French soldiers (for so many were quartered in and near Madrid) and a populace, armed only with such weapons as they could find, is not quite certain; but the assembled crowd is said to have been inflamed to madness by the sudden appearance of a French officer amongst them, and to have immediately fallen upon him. Three thousand Spanish troops were shut up in their barracks waiting for orders, and took no part in the conflict, except at the arsenal, where two officers and

twenty men, with a single gun, long resisted the attempts of the French to secure that important post.

The mob, it is said, massacred many French soldiers, who were surprised scattered about the city, ere the troops were prepared for action; and this is the chief ground on which Murat is acquitted of having wished for or foreseen the tumult. When the troops were ready, and the artillery swept the principal streets and squares, whilst the infantry poured volleys into the cross streets, the scene necessarily changed, and by noon the populace was routed and dispersed. The victors pursued the vanquished into their houses, and continued the slaughter for hours. Tranquillity being at length restored, an amnesty was published at the prayer of the council of regency; but Murat (who either thought enough had not been done for his object, or resented the loss of some hundreds of French soldiers), excepted from its benefit all men found bearing arms; and as the clasp knives worn by all Spanish peasants and arizans were held to come under this description, great numbers were sentenced to death by a military tribunal, and shot in the course of the night. The sum total of Spaniards who fell in this massacre is not accurately known, and has been variously estimated from three hundred to nearly three thousand, according to the views of the computers.

The first effect of the scene of blood just described, was to intimidate the inhabitants of Madrid, and more especially the higher orders, who indeed throughout the Peninsula displayed far less courage and patriotism than the labouring classes. These last were less contaminated by the vices and corruption of the court; they were less aware of the magnitude of the danger to be braved in opposing the pleasure of Napoleon; and in the end, the bold and honest impulse of their uncalculating determination, swept away like a torrent the prudential reasonings of their more cautious superiors. At first, however, all Madrid breathed submission. Don Antonio, it is said, voluntarily followed the rest of the royal family to Bayonne; Murat took his place in the council of regency, and the several constituted authorities, professing their regret for, and their disapprobation of, the sedition of the 2nd, published exhortations to all Spaniards to submit freely to the will of the great and good Napoleon. A few

days afterwards Murat's appointment as lieutenant-general arrived, then the abdications of Charles and Ferdinand. The latter, prior to giving his signature, had sent full authority and instructions to the council to disregard his public acts, as the result of force, to govern at their own discretion, and to convoke the *Cortes*. These despatches being sent secretly, travelled by a circuitous road, and thence arrived a day or two later than the abdications, when the council deemed itself already dissolved. Murat assumed the government, committed its various offices to Frenchmen, ordered such remaining Spanish troops as he did not incorporate with his own army, to be sent out of the country, and asserted that the 2nd of May had given Spain to Napoleon.

In the provinces the consequences of that day were far different from his anticipations. The slaughter of Madrid, and the treatment of Ferdinand at Bayonne were as the spark of fire to the mine, and the explosion, beginning in the original cradle of Spanish liberty, the Asturias, spread in the course of the month over all Spain. *Juntas*, or councils, composed of the most influential, and generally of the most enlightened persons of their respective neighbourhoods, were formed in every province, and most large towns. These *juntas* governed the several provinces, raised troops, appointed officers, and took such steps as they judged fitting for organizing the resistance against an enemy, whose treachery and violence had provoked a burst of resentment, that would not, perhaps, have been felt against an open foe; at least, had his declaration of war preceded Charles's abdication.

In most places the governors endeavoured to quell these tumultuary risings, but always in vain; and where they persisted in their endeavours, their lives generally paid the forfeit of their submission to foreign usurpation. Amongst these victims was Solano, who had returned from Portugal, and, as captain-general of Andalusia, taken up his abode at Cadiz, where he perished by the hands of the populace. Many other excesses and crimes were committed; many persons fell sacrifices to the suspicions, justly or unjustly excited by their own conduct, of being agents and partizans of the French; and many were pointed out as such by individuals who wished to make the generous passions of the multitude instruments for attaining pri-

vate ends. Such atrocities are but too commonly the fruits of great popular excitement; but this revolutionary state did not last. The Spaniards sought national independence, not exemption from the restraints of law; and when the first effervescence of passion subsided, the people cheerfully submitted to the rule of the *juntas* they had themselves chosen.

These *juntas* were independent of each other, and the circumstance of the capital's being in the hands of the enemy, and the legitimate national government dissolved, threatened to produce a mischievous anarchy. Patriotic zeal for a while prevented or remedied every evil. All co-operated cordially to one end; and when Seville, as next in importance to Madrid and Barcelona, and therefore first of the unsubdued cities of Spain, claimed for her *junta* the title of supreme, and a degree of authority over the others, those other *juntas* frankly acknowledged her pretensions. In the name of Ferdinand VII., the supreme *junta* of Seville, on the 6th of June, declared war against Napoleon and France.

The *juntas* of Asturias and Galicia had already sent envoys to England, who by means of an open fishing-boat got on board an English privateer. Their mission was to communicate the determination of Spain to resist; and to ask for peace with Great Britain, and assistance against the common enemy. This step was approved and sanctioned by the supreme *junta*, and General Castaños, who commanded the camp before Gibraltar, and was appointed by the supreme *junta* to the command of the forces of Andalusia, opened a friendly communication with Sir Hew Dalrymple, governor of that fortress.

The supreme *junta*, over which presided Saavedra, the former minister, made every exertion for carrying on the war thus boldly declared. Orders were issued for enrolling the whole male population of Spain; combined with judicious instructions to the Spanish leaders to avoid risking their raw soldiers in pitched battles against the disciplined veterans of France. Messengers were despatched to Portugal to recall the Spanish troops, announce the general insurrection of Spain, and invite the co-operation of Portugal; and fast-sailing vessels were sent to the colonies, to warn them against the designs of France and claim obedience to the supreme *junta*, as lawfully exercising the authority of Ferdinand.

In Portugal the tidings of the Spanish insurrection were received with enthusiasm. There, as in Spain, a spirit of dissatisfaction and irritation, provoked by the conduct of the French, had for some time been growing; and Junot, like Murat, had thought to repress it by the sanguinary chastisement of a popular tumult, though upon a smaller scale. The higher orders, indeed, had abandoned all idea of resistance; and, deeming themselves absolved from their allegiance by the court's desertion, sent a deputation to Bayonne, to implore that Napoleon would either incorporate them with his own empire, or give them a prince of his family for their king. But they had received only vague answers; and had even been, as they deemed it, insulted by the question, "Would they be Spaniards?" To which the count de Lima, president of the deputation, answered "No!" in a tone so loud and so impressive, as seems to have inspired Napoleon himself with some respect for the old noble.

The wishes expressed by the deputation, however conformable to the French emperor's views, thwarted those of Junot, who himself aspired to the crown of Portugal; and he was further provoked by the proceedings of a *junta* of the three estates, summoned to confirm the wishes expressed by the deputation, and to improve them by asking expressly for Junot as their sovereign; but which occupied itself in preparing a constitution, to be sworn to by the new monarch. The movers of this last scheme were punished by the duke of Abrantes, and the exasperation of the people increased.

Such was the state in which the Spanish emissaries found the sister kingdom. Bellesta, who upon the death of Tarranco had succeeded to the command of his body of troops, prepared to obey the mandate that recalled him to Spain; but ere beginning his march he assisted the inhabitants of Oporto to seize upon the French who were resident or quartered there, and proclaim the house of Braganza. After his departure, indeed, the timidity of the governor prevailed, and he again professed his devotion to Junot. But the news of his first step spread: the example of Oporto was immediately followed throughout the north of Portugal, and a little later in the south. Oporto itself made a new and more successful attempt: the

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governor was thrown into prison; the bishop placed at the head of the Oporto *junta*, which was acknowledged as supreme by all others, and a communication was opened with the English cruisers. Junot disarmed and made prisoners of the Spanish troops in his army; and sent detachments into the disturbed districts, who defeated, and in many places, cruelly massacred the insurgents, but could not everywhere make head against so general an insurrection.

Napoleon was accustomed to wage war against armies, often of mere mercenaries uninterested in the cause for which they fought, and he set no value upon national feeling. Indeed, he seems to have neither understood nor appreciated the higher emotions of man's nature. The universal insurrection of the peninsular nations, was, in his eyes, a mere ebullition of the anger of an idle rabble, altogether absurd and insignificant. He ordered his generals, Murat and Junot, to disperse and chastize the rebels, and proceeded with his political measures.

The crown of Spain he is said to have originally destined for Lucien Buonaparte, the ablest of his brothers. But Lucien was a republican upon principle; he had besides accumulated in the public service a large fortune, which he was enjoying at Rome in the pleasures of taste and literature; and, in addition to the sacrifice of his principles and his tastes, Napoleon required from him that of his affections. Lucien had married a woman of inferior birth and not unimpeached character. But she had been a faithful wife to him, and he would not comply with Napoleon's desire that he should repudiate the mother of his children in order to wed a princess. He is believed to have refused the crown of Spain; and Napoleon assigned it to Joseph, already king of Naples. Joseph would fain have continued to govern his Neapolitan subjects, whose good will he had gained; and though he obeyed the imperial call to Bayonne, he went with the intention of declining the proposed exchange. But Lucien was the only one of the brothers who could resist the supreme will of Napoleon. Joseph submitted, and was received at Bayonne as king of Spain.

A sort of Spanish assembly, meant as a substitute for the *Cortes*, and called by the French name of the *Notables*, was summoned thither, to meet, and ac-

knowledge Joseph, and to accept the new constitution to be conferred upon them with their new king. The archbishops of Seville and Burgos, several bishops, and about twenty of the lower clergy, most of the grandees, and some of the inferior nobles as representatives of the nobility, were invited by name; a few great towns were ordered to elect deputies to represent the commercial interests; and deputies were named for the American governments and viceroalties; about one hundred and fifty in all. Of these some were already at Bayonne, having attended Ferdinand or Charles thither. Many obeyed the call, some from believing resistance to the power of Napoleon impossible; some preferring reforms imposed by the hand of a foreign conqueror to the vices of their late government; and more, it is to be feared, from motives of personal interest. About ninety-one thus assembled on the 15th of June, the day appointed; the others either refused to attend an assembly illegally convoked by a foreign usurper, or were prevented from obeying by the people. Don Joseph Palafox who had accompanied Ferdinand to Bayonne, and was named as one of the *Notables*, made his escape thence into his native province, Aragon, where upon his arrival he was proclaimed captain-general.

The best-intentioned of the *Notables* had flattered themselves that in accepting a new dynasty they should be permitted to do so upon their own terms. But they were ordered to Bayonne to adopt Napoleon's constitution, not to frame one for themselves. That which he gave them was fashioned upon the model of the French, with illusory forms of freedom and representative government, but without any effective check upon the power of the crown. The *Notables* attempted to object to one or two points curtailing their own power, but found it useless, and subscribed the constitution as it was given them.

Joseph then selected his ministers, the great officers of his household, &c. Urquijo, who had succeeded to Saavedra under Charles IV., and been like him displaced by Godoy's jealousy, was appointed secretary of state; Cevallos minister for foreign affairs; Jovellanos for the interior, Cabarrus of finance; Pinuela of justice; Azanza of the Indies; Mazarredo of the marine; O'Farrel of the war department. The duke del Parque was made captain of the body-guards; the duke del Infantado colonel of the

Spanish, and the prince de Castel Franco of the Walloon guards; the duke of Híjar, the marquess of Ariza, and the counts of Fernán-Núñez and Santa Coloma were named to high posts in the household. Of these persons only Jovellanos and Cabarrus were absent; and Jovellanos alone firmly and perseveringly refused to hold office under the intrusive king. But of those present some appear to have accepted the places offered them merely because they saw no other means of getting back to their own side of the Pyrenees.

The Portuguese deputation could neither obtain from Napoleon a decisive answer, nor any information touching their future destiny. Perhaps he reserved their crown for the general who should best merit it by quelling the peninsular insurrection; perhaps he intended to incorporate Portugal with Spain, and felt the moment unpropitious for announcing this purpose. That he looked upon the two peninsular kingdoms in different lights is apparent. The Spanish *Notables* were permitted to return home with Joseph. The Portuguese deputies, who had spontaneously sought him, were sent to Bourdeaux, and there detained as hostages or prisoners.

The affairs of the Peninsula thus settled, the brothers parted. Quitting Bayonne, the emperor returned triumphantly to Paris, and transferred the kingdom of Naples to his brother-in-law, Murat. Then, as though nothing remained to be done in the south, he repaired to Erfurth in Germany, there to meet the emperor Alexander, and decide with him the fate of the rest of Europe. The new king of Spain entered his allotted kingdom on the 9th of July, and

issued proclamations inviting his subjects to submission by the fairest promises of good government. But he found it requisite to pause at Vitoria, until his imperial brother's generals should have compelled those reluctant subjects to make way for his progress to his capital.

This did not seem likely to be an affair of any great difficulty, for the insurgents were as yet unsupported from abroad. Their deputies had indeed been received with enthusiastic sympathy in England; supplies of all they requested, arms, clothing, and money, were literally furnished; military men were sent by government to various points, to consult with the *juntas*, observe the spirit of the people, and

their means of defence, and report the result of their observations for the regulation of future measures; the Spanish prisoners in England were released, clothed, and sent home, and the war between England and Spain was declared to be at an end.

Further, although the Spanish deputies asserted that they needed no auxiliaries, the ministry resolved to send out an army to co-operate with the natives in the liberation of the Peninsula. But the strength of England was then, as usual, frittered away in various remote expeditions; and the only immediately disposable force consisted of about nine thousand men, who had been assembled at Cork for an attack upon South America. All hostile measures against the Spanish colonies were now out of the question; and Sir Arthur Wellesley, to whom the command of this small body of men was given, was directed to proceed with it to the assistance of Spain and Portugal. The indispensable preparations for the sailing of this expedition, however, required some time, and Sir Arthur was still in Ireland when Joseph crossed the Bidassoa.

On the first symptoms of resistance, Murat had fortified the palace of Buen Retiro, nearly adjoining Madrid, made dispositions for defending the capital (which his successor, Savary, followed up), and sent generals of merited reputation, with considerable divisions of the army, in several directions, to suppress the rebellion, as it was termed, and control the country. Dupont, with twelve thousand men, entered Andalusia; Monecy marched with as many against Valencia; Lefebvre was in Aragon; and Bessieres, with forty thousand men, maintained the communication between Madrid and Bayonne. The success of the adverse parties in these different situations had been various.

At Cadiz, notwithstanding the incontestable lukewarmness of Don Thomas Morla, the new governor, a French squadron had been compelled to surrender,—and that, nominally, without the aid of the British fleet, which, however, lying off the mouth of the harbour, prevented Admiral Rosilly from escaping to sea. Monecy had been repulsed with considerable loss from before Valencia, which its inhabitants defended with a bravery calculated to atone, in some measure, for the atrocities committed at their first rising, and far exceeding those that stained any other place.

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Dubesme had failed in an attempt upon Gerona; but Lefebvre had defeated the Aragonese under Palafox, and laid siege to Saragossa; and the generals under Bessieres' command had defeated Cuesta and many of his colleagues, making themselves masters of Valladolid, St. Ander, and other important towns.

But the greatest battle that had yet occurred in this war, was now to be fought for the purpose of opening Joseph's road to Madrid, whither Napoleon had enjoined him to repair with all speed. Cuesta, with the army of Castile, and Blake with that of Galicia, had united at Rio Seco, where their combined forces amounted to thirty thousand men. Bessieres attacked them on the 14th of July with little more than fifteen thousand. The Spaniards fought bravely, but their position was bad, and the superior skill and discipline of the French very soon prevailed over their courage and numbers. They lost five or six thousand men, killed and wounded, and twelve hundred prisoners. The two generals threw the blame on each other, and separated in mutual disgust, Blake retiring upon Galicia, and Cuesta into Leon. This victory cost Bessieres less than four hundred men. Joseph pursued his journey; and on the 20th made his triumphant entry into Madrid.

But if the spirits of the new king were elated by the triumph obtained at Rio Seco, the circumstances of his entrance into his capital were not calculated to confirm his hopes of a long and prosperous reign. Orders had been given that the streets through which the procession was to pass should be decorated, according to Spanish custom, by hanging tapestry, &c., from the windows, and that the church bells should be rung. The inhabitants obeyed; but the tapestry they hung out was old, dirty, and ragged, and the bells tolled as for a funeral. The meanest of the populace scorned to pick up the money scattered amongst them as the king passed, leaving it to the French soldiers; and the theatres, which were opened *gratis* in honour of the day, were filled only by Frenchmen. Lisbon had displayed a similar spirit, when only three houses obeyed the order to illuminate, upon Junot's proclaiming Portugal to be under Napoleon's sceptre. In both instances the demonstration of feeling was so general, that it was impossible to think of immediate punishment. The council of Cas-

tile, which had previously seemed disposed to submit, refused to take the oath required of them to the new sovereign and constitution, alleging that both must first receive the sanction of the nation through the *Cortes*; and the Spanish soldiers who did duty jointly with the French, deserted by whole guards at a time, leaving not a single sentinel at his post. The first tidings received by Joseph at Madrid were in harmony with the character of his reception.

Dupont had advanced prosperously, defeating all who opposed him, as far as Cordova, which he took by storm, but almost without resistance. He there found himself unsupported, whilst Andalusia was in arms all around him, and retreated as far as Andujar, where he fortified himself to await the reinforcements he had solicited from Savary. A body of eight thousand men was sent to him. But Andujar was a badly chosen position, to occupy which he was obliged to scatter his small army in detachments; and it is alleged that anxiety to preserve the immense booty collected in the plunder of Cordova further crippled his movements.

However that were, Castaños, an old soldier, possessed sufficient military skill to take advantage of Dupont's errors. He attacked him with about double his numbers, and gained a victory so complete, that at Baylen, whither four days of engagement had drawn the French main body, and upon the very day of Joseph's entrance into Madrid, Dupont, with nearly twenty thousand men, surrendered upon condition of being sent with his whole corps to France. The terms of the capitulation were afterwards broken by the vindictive rage of the peasantry, whom their generals could not control. Numbers were put to death, and the rest, instead of being sent to France, were confined in the hulks in the Bay of Cadiz, where they suffered every kind of misery, and the greater part perished. This, however, applies to the French only, the Germans, Poles, and Swiss in Dupont's army mostly entering the Spanish service. Morla justified the breach of the convention on two grounds: one, the French having endeavoured to carry off church plate as private baggage, the other, the impossibility of finding vessels to transport so many men.

The effect of the victory of Baylen upon the hopes and fears of both parties was far beyond what would have been its intrinsic value in ordinary wars,

The triumph of any number of undisciplined levies over the dreaded veterans of France was so unexpected, except by Spanish arrogance, that whilst it created in the friends of the Spaniards an unreasonable reliance upon their prowess, it struck Joseph and his partizans with terror, and filled Napoleon himself with rage. Madrid, upon which the victorious Andalusian army could now advance unopposed, was no longer deemed a residence for Joseph; and on the 31st of July, after a residence of ten days, having summoned Bessieres from the pursuit of Blake and Cuesta to protect his retreat, the king and his party evacuated the capital, and withdrew to Vitoria. Before leaving Madrid, Joseph gave free permission to all those who had accepted office under him, in the expectation of the immediate submission of Spain, to leave him if they thought fit. The permission was congenial to the kindly disposition of the man, but in truth he could hardly have compelled any one to stay with him. The dukes del Infantado and del Parque had previously made their escape in disguise, and joined their countrymen. Cevallos and Pinuela, as well as most of the great household officers availed themselves of the king's offer, and remained at Madrid. The other ministers and some courtiers followed Joseph, still believing that Napoleon's brother must, in the end, carry the day.

Another triumph obtained soon afterwards by the Spaniards, raised, and deservedly, yet higher the admiration now felt for them throughout Europe, but unhappily at the same time increased that haughty self-confidence which so nearly caused their ruin, by deceiving themselves and their allies, and counteracting the measures undertaken for their relief. This triumph was the successful defence of Saragossa. Lefebvre had attacked that capital of Aragon on the 15th of June, thinking to carry a town, protected only by a wall, at the first assault. He was repulsed, after some hard fighting, and encamped out of reach of the city guns, to await reinforcements. By the 27th he obtained them, and invested the town.

The resistance of Palafox and the Saragossans shows what determined resolution can effect, under the most disadvantageous circumstances. The French bombarded the town, and the people contrived to place beams endways against the houses, so as to afford some shelter from the shells. As their houses were destroyed, they retired into

their cellars. When the French, by the power of their numbers and their artillery, had forced their way into the city, the Saragossans still defended themselves, street by street and house by house. This lasted nearly two months; during the whole of which time the women, at the suggestion and by the example of the young and beautiful Countess Burita, formed themselves into companies, and, led by the ladies of highest rank, were seen in the midst of the hottest fire, carrying provisions to the combatants, and relief to the wounded, or removing these last to the hospitals. One young woman of low birth gained a celebrity which has eclipsed that of her countrywomen. In the discharge of her appointed and regular female duty she one day chanced to find the battery, to which she was conveying meat and wine, deserted by those serving it; so many had fallen that the survivors had shrunk back. Snatching a match from the hand of a dead artilleryman, she fired a gun, and then vowed never to quit it alive whilst a Frenchman remained before Saragossa. Shamed by her courage the men returned to their post, but she nevertheless faithfully kept her vow, and is known by the name of Augustina of Saragossa.

At length, when the brave citizens hoped little more than to die amidst the ruins of their city, the enemy, discouraged as well by their invincible obstinacy as by tidings of the capitulation of Baylen, and the evacuation of Madrid, resolved to raise the siege. It was on the morning of the 14th of August, that the Saragossans, awaking to their melancholy tasks, were agreeably surprised by seeing the besieging army in full retreat.

CHAPTER IX.

Sir Arthur Wellesley sails with an English army—Lands in Portugal—Battle of Roliza—Battle of Vimero—Convention of Cintra—Junot evacuates Portugal—Re-establishment of the Prince-Regent's authority—Dissensions of the Juntas in Spain—Central Junta elected—Proclaims Ferdinand VII.—Proposed co-operation of Sir John Moore with the Spanish army—Baird lands at Coruña—Napoleon enters Spain—Defeats successively Blake, Belvedere, Castaños,

Palafox, and San Juan—Occupies Madrid—Threatens Spain with annexation to France—Preparations against Portugal and South of Spain—Moore enters Spain—Accomplishes his junction with Baird from Coruña—Marches against Soult—Reaches Sahagun—Napoleon leaves Madrid to attack him—Moore retreats—Napoleon returns to France—Battle of Coruña—Re-embarkation of the English.*

At this period of the war a new actor appeared upon the stage, upon whom, thenceforward, the fortune of the Peninsula mainly depended. Upon the 12th of July the British expedition sailed from Cork; and its commander, sir

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Arthur Wellesley, as soon as the whole was fairly under weigh, pre-

ceeded it in a frigate, in order to gather the information requisite for regulating its destination.

He landed at Coruña on the 20th, and learned the event of the battle of Rio Seco. But although, in consequence of that defeat, Galicia, at the moment of sir Arthur's visit, lay at the mercy of Bessieres, the self-confident *junta* declined the aid of his troops. They still affirmed that they had men enough, and needed only money and arms. Nay, they even undertook to send an army into the north of Portugal, to assist in clearing that country of the French; and they strongly advised the British general to land his forces on the banks of the Douro. At Oporto sir Arthur again held a consultation with the national authorities, and the bishop, who here reigned paramount, declaring himself to be strong enough in the north, urged that the landing should be effected nearer to Lisbon, where the principal body of French lay with Junot; and to Sir

Arthur himself, from all the information he could collect, this appeared to be the most advisable plan. The bishop freely promised the co-operation of a Portuguese corps of five thousand men, under the insurgent commander-in-chief, Don Bernardim Freire de Andrada, and cattle for draught and food.

With these promises General Wellesley returned on board; despatched orders to General Spencer (who having been sent from Gibraltar to support Castaños, was left disposable by the surrender of Dupont), to join him, and proceeded to land in Mondego Bay. The operation was very much facilitated by the students of Coimbra having seized the fortress of Figueiras, that commands the part of the shore most convenient for this purpose. It was the 5th of August before all the troops were on shore. Spencer having arrived during the landing, his junction raised the numbers of the little army to thirteen thousand; and with them sir Arthur began his march towards Lisbon.

The British commander had an early interview with the Portuguese general Freire, when it was at once apparent how little aid he was to expect from the bishop's promises, or in any way from the allies he had come to serve. Freire refused to act in conjunction with Wellesley, unless the latter would undertake to feed the Portuguese troops from his own stores. This, besides its unreasonableness, was impossible upon a coast, the dangers of which make the communication between an army and its ships very uncertain; but sir Arthur's remonstrances were unavailing; and he was glad to accept, by way of compromise, a battalion of infantry and two hundred and fifty horse, whom, as he incorporated them with his own army, he of course undertook to feed; and to dispense with Don Bernardim's co-operation.

The insurrection had compelled Junot to disperse his troops, now amounting to about twenty-five thousand men, through the country, in order to garrison the different fortified towns, and put down various bands of insurgents. He himself still occupied Lisbon with the main body of his army; but the population of the capital had long displayed an inclination to follow the example of their insurgent countrymen, which could only be repressed by a powerful military force; and this temper being of course

* The authorities principally consulted for this chapter are Montey, Napier, Scott, Foy, Bigland, *Annual Register, Narrative of the Peninsular War from 1808 to 1813*, by Lieutenant-General the Marquess of Londonderry, 4to, London, 1828. *Annals of the Peninsular Campaigns from 1808 to 1814*, by the author of *Cyril Thornton*, 3 vols., 12mo., Edinburgh, 1829. *Life of the Most Noble Arthur Duke of Wellington*, from the period of his first achievements in India, down to the invasion of France, and the Peace of Paris in 1814, by G. Elliott, Esq., 8vo., London, 1815. *Military Memoirs of Field Marshal the Duke of Wellington*, by Captain Morley Sberer, for Dr. Lardner's Cabinet Library, 2 vols., 8vo., London, 1838. These works, mostly by eye-witnesses and sharers in the scenes they describe, have been consulted as additional checks upon those already quoted, and upon each other.

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heightened by the appearance of an English armament upon the coast, rendered it inexpedient that he should either take the field in person, or materially weaken his means of coercion. Upon receiving intelligence of sir Arthur's landing, he sent Laborde, one of the ablest of the French generals, from Lisbon, with three thousand foot and five hundred horse to check the progress of the British; and calling in his various detachments, he ordered them severally to effect their junction with Laborde. Under these circumstances, the English commander's object was to prevent the junction of the several detachments,—an object which the skill and celerity of his movements enabled him, in the most important instance, to effect.

Laborde was upon the direct line between the British army and Lisbon, his force having^a been increased by junctions that could not be prevented, to about six thousand men; and Loison, with seven or eight thousand men, was hurrying by forced marches from the south to join him. The rapidity of Wellesley's advance, before which Laborde retired, disconcerted their plans. Loison found Leiria, where he expected to join Laborde, in the possession of the English. He retreated to Santarem; and the exhausted state of his troops compelled him to give them some repose ere he again set forward upon a new line.

Wellesley was thus enabled to attack Laborde at Roliza on the 17th of August, with great numerical superiority. He drove him from his position with comparative facility; but Laborde fell back about a mile to much stronger ground, where he again awaited the English, and here the battle was sanguinary. The corps ordered to turn the French position lost their way; the impetuosity of the troops, and, perhaps, of the general, precipitated the attack without waiting for the delayed flank movement; and the difficulty of the ground allowed not more than four thousand to get into action. Every obstacle was, however, surmounted by the determined courage of the troops; the division that had strayed appeared upon the right flank of the French, and Laborde, after displaying both skill and intrepidity, abandoned the contest, retreating in good order.

After the victory was gained, sir Arthur understood that Loison's division, which Junot himself had now

joined, was not above five miles distant, and that the English fleet, expected with the brigades of generals Anstruther and Acland, was in sight. He, therefore, proceeded to Vimeiro in order to protect their landing; and, thus reinforced to about sixteen thousand men, proposed turning the left flank of the position now occupied by Junot and his united forces,—about fourteen thousand men,—and endeavouring to cut him off from Lisbon. But, unfortunately, sir Arthur Wellesley was no longer commander-in-chief.

The English ministry had not known how to appreciate the man, whose extraordinary talents had as yet only been tried in India,—a military field which it is the fashion to contemn,—and three senior officers had been appointed to supersede him, and, as it proved, each other. The nomination of one of these could not be blamed, for sir John Moore then certainly ranked higher in public estimation as a general than sir Arthur Wellesley; but sir Harry Burrard and sir Hew Dalrymple had never been in situations to display military capacity, if they possessed it, that could be put into competition with either of the two former, who were both, as junior officers, placed under their command.

Sir Harry Burrard arrived on the very day that the reinforcements joined sir Arthur; and with all the caution of old age, and of a military system now obsolete, refused to sanction the advance of an army deficient in cavalry and artillery horses, especially as ten thousand men were daily expected with sir John Moore. The British army accordingly remained at Vimeiro; but sir Harry had not yet landed, and the command, subordinately, remained with the victor of Roliza. The difference produced by the caution of the superior officer was, that the intended assailants were themselves assailed in a position not selected for receiving an attack.

On the morning of the 21st, Junot fell upon the British army, with the impetuosity characterizing his countrymen and Napoleon's warriors. They were, however, repulsed in every attack; the defects of the position, and the almost total want of cavalry, were immediately remedied by the ability of the general, and the loss was far greater on the side of the French, and less on that of the British, than at Roliza. The battle was over by noon; a considerable portion of the army had not been engaged, and sir

Arthur proposed to follow up his victory, pursue the retreating enemy, cut him off from Lisbon, and thus deliver the capital from the French yoke.

Agun Burrard's caution checked the successful general, whose boldness of enterprise alarmed him. He had landed during the battle, but refused to take the direction from him who had so ably begun it. When the day was won, however, the same reasons that previously induced him to forbid the projected advance prevailed to forbid the pursuit, and still the army remained at Vimeiro. The great advantages which might have been derived from the victory were thus lost; but it must be observed, in justification of sir Harry, that his determination was formed upon generally admitted sound military reasoning, and that it is no great depreciation of any officer to say that he was inferior in military genius or judgment to sir Arthur Wellesley. The fault lay in the successive appointments.

Sir Harry Burrard's authority expired almost as soon as he had thus unfortunately used it; and on the 22nd sir Hew Dalrymple landed to take the supreme command. On the evening of the same day, before he could well make himself master of the state of affairs, General Kellerman was sent by Junot to the British camp to propose an armistice, and the evacuation of Portugal by the French troops upon conditions. The favourable moment for advance had now been lost; Junot occupied the strong position of Torres Vedras; another battle, fought on disadvantageous ground, would have been requisite for obtaining possession of Lisbon, and that fair city might probably have been utterly destroyed by the enemy ere they quitted it. Under these circumstances sir Arthur Wellesley himself saw no objection to a convention that, besides delivering the whole kingdom of Portugal from the foes who tyrannized over the unhappy country, and still held all the strongest fortresses, should leave the English army free to proceed to the assistance of Spain.

Whether better terms might have been obtained than those to which Dalrymple agreed, it is not the business of this history to inquire. The great advantages specified were gained; and it is to be remembered that Junot, although defeated, had been allowed time to resume a position incompatible with his submitting to disgraceful conditions. In a

word, that the convention of Cintra was not the result to be expected from the victories of Roliza and Vimeiro cannot be disputed, but the extravagant reprobation it encountered was the offspring, partly, of the equally extravagant elation of spirit produced by Dupont's surrender—in fact, upon similar terms had they been as faithfully executed—and partly of Portuguese clamour. This clamour, again, had a two-fold origin. The people were enraged at being disappointed of their revenge both upon the French troops, by whom, after having received them as friends, they had been oppressed, plundered, and grossly outraged, and upon those of their own countrymen who had joined with the foreign enemy; and the intriguing bishop of Oporto, who aimed at rendering the *junta* he ruled supreme in Portugal, latterly reviled a measure which, by at once emancipating Lisbon, replaced the capital and the provincial city in their natural relative situations.

Such as it was, the convention of Cintra was signed, and Portugal delivered from her conquerors, on the 30th of August, within a month of General Wellesley's landing. Much difficulty and wrangling arose from the attempts of the French to carry away public plunder as their private and lawful property; these attempts were at length resisted and prevented, and the lives of the offenders preserved from the vindictive fury of the Portuguese by the energy of the British officers and soldiers. The Spanish troops that Junot had disarmed and made prisoners were released, their arms were restored to them, and they were sent by sea to Catalonia, at the express desire of Castaños.

The authority of Queen Maria and the prince-regent was now restored throughout Portugal. Sir Hew Dalrymple, disregarding the Oporto cabals, reinstated the council of regency appointed by the prince at his departure, supplying the place of those who had deserted to the French with two persons named by the prince in case of vacancies, and with the bishop of Oporto, whom he hoped thus to conciliate, and the marquess das Minas. Then, committing the government of the country to them, he began his preparations for entering Spain. He was, however, recalled to stand a sort of trial for concluding the convention of Cintra; sir H. Burrard and sir A. Wel-

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lesly returned home to give evidence upon the subject, and the command devolved upon sir John Moore.

Little more than sixty thousand French troops were now left in Spain; and had there been either real energy and union in the Spanish councils, or an English army in the field of the strength that England could, and, in wisdom, ought to have sent thither, under him who was first selected for the command, the Peninsula might even then have been cleared of invaders. But the British army with all its reinforcements did not exceed twenty-five thousand men. Sir John Moore was of a temperament rather desponding than sanguine: although a brave and able officer, he had not the self-reliance characteristic of a master-mind, and the conduct of the Spaniards abundantly justified his mistrust of the allies, in co-operation with whom he was required to risk an army too valuable to be rashly hazarded, but too small singly to engage the French forces now concentrated upon theebro.

The several once unconnected states, constituting the kingdom of Spain, had never been thoroughly blended into one whole

by a uniform free constitution,—a common participation in the blessings of which might have created a common interest and sympathy amongst all Spaniards. Their recollections of liberty were associated with their existence as separate states, and as they started up simultaneously, but without concert, to repel foreign aggression and usurpation, each province stood alone with its own governing *junta*, jealous of every other province; and, from the arrogance and ignorance peculiar to the Spanish character, each deemed itself singly able to vanquish the French armies. The *juntas*, delighted with the novel enjoyment of power, were especially jealous of their authority. All sought to exercise an absurd control over the generals chosen by themselves to command their several armies; and as none would hear of their general being subject to any authority but their own, there could be no commander-in-chief.

During the first burst of national resentment a sense of common danger, and a common detestation of the insidious conqueror had, as we have seen, averted the evil effects of such feelings. But now that Spanish energy had driven the intrusive king and his foreign troops

almost to the foot of the Pyrenees, Spanish pride deemed all accomplished, and the restraints that had compelled union were no more. Provincial ambition, local, and even individual, interests, jealousy, and intrigue tainted the patriotism of the *juntas*. They counteracted each others views, whilst the plans of Castaños, who possessed judgment and experience, were thwarted by generals endowed with courage only, and by commissioners from *juntas* which, keeping out of danger, had not even the merit of boldness, when they urged foolhardy measures. The *junta* of Seville, apprehensive of Madrid's assuming the supremacy naturally belonging to the capital, forbade Castaños from advancing upon that city for upwards of six weeks after the surrender of Dupont, and thus was the opportunity of striking a perhaps decisive blow lost.

Meanwhile discussions were going on as to the mode of government to be adopted. Florida Blanca, the president of the Murcian *junta*, and the council of Castile (which, on the evacuation of Madrid, had there assumed the reins of government) strongly pointed out the necessity of some central executive power, and the evils resulting from the existing anarchy of independent *juntas*. The convocation of the *Cortes*, or the choice of a Sicilian prince as regent, were proposed, amongst other expedients. At length it was agreed that each *junta* should send two deputies from its own body to form a central and sovereign *junta*, each separate *junta*, however, still governing its own province.

This central *junta* consisted of thirty-five members, a body far too numerous for wielding the executive power of the state; and hence even more than the weakness usually inherent in federative governments prevailed in Spain, at a moment when the utmost vigor and unanimity were indispensable to her very existence. The Central *Junta* was installed at Aranjuez on the 26th of September. Florida Blanca, one of the Murcian deputies, was chosen president (Jovellanos was the only other member of much reputation), and its first measure was a solemn proclamation of Ferdinand VII.

During the time that these arrangements had been under discussion or in progress, Castaños had at length obtained leave to advance to Madrid; but his

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most earnest remonstrances, and representations, that every army ought to be considered as national, not provincial, failed to extort the Seville *junta's* permission for his proceeding to the northern provinces. There Blake was prevented from acting against the enemy by want of cavalry, with which the intractable though patriotic Cuesta refused to supply him, in resentment of their previous dissensions. Cuesta was soon afterwards removed from his army in consequence of a quarrel with the Leonese and Central *juntas*, which obliged him to visit Aranjuez in order to justify himself. The auspicious moment was already lost. France was now pouring one hundred thousand additional men into Spain, Ney, duke of Elchingen, temporarily holding the command until the emperor should arrive from Erfurth to rule the war in person.

The French army was, however, still waiting Napoleon's arrival to make a forward movement, when the Spaniards, to the number of one hundred and thirty thousand men, formed in a crescent around them. Blake and Azevedo, with the Galician and Asturian armies, constituted the north-western extremity of the crescent, occupying a line from Bilbao to Burgos. The count of Belvedere with the Estremaduran levies, the Walloon guards, and some volunteer battalions of students from Salamanca, was stationed for the protection of Burgos. Castaños, who, by the superior authority of the Central *Junta*, had, at length, been allowed to join his assembling countrymen with his Andalusian troops, lay at Soria, at the head of what was now termed the central army. And Palafox, with the armies of Aragon and Valencia, extended from Saragossa to Sanguessa, at the north-eastern point of the crescent. The English army was expected from Portugal to join the collected strength of Spain.

The nation, proud of the forces thus brought together, clamoured for a pitched battle, that should drive the enemy and the intrusive king over the Pyrenees. The Central *Junta* shared this unwise impatience, and urged the generals to engage, notwithstanding the remonstrances of Castaños, who was almost accused of treachery for his procrastinating policy,—notwithstanding the English army had not yet crossed the Portuguese frontiers,—notwithstanding la Romana, with ten thousand of the veteran Spanish troops, incorporated by

Napoleon with his own army, was hourly expected upon the coast.

Those troops had been detained in the north of Germany, and were stationed in Denmark, when the English admiral in the Baltic with great difficulty communicated to them the recent events in Spain. La Romana and his men had reluctantly sworn allegiance to Joseph, and upon hearing of the Spanish insurrection, he and they became impatient to return and aid in the deliverance of their country. By seizing the Danish small craft they contrived to possess themselves of one of the many islands lying between Denmark and Sweden, where they maintained themselves until taken off by British vessels. They were intended to land at Santander, and form the *nucleus* of a more disciplined army than any yet in Spain, and Castaños anxiously looked for the arrival and support both of such troops, and of a general of la Romana's experience.

One of sir Arthur Wellesley's reasons for approving the convention of Cintra had been, that it immediately set the English army at liberty to enter Spain. But this advantage was either neglected or lost in the care of investigating the circumstances of that convention. It was not till the beginning of October that sir John Moore received orders to enter Spain, and co-operate with the armies assembled around the French. Sir David Baird was, at the same time, sent to Coruña with ten thousand men, to act under Moore, who appointed Salamanca for their junction. Deceived by false reports as to the condition of the roads leading directly from Lisbon to that town, and which, though very bad, proved not to be impracticable for wheel carriages, he unfortunately sent his artillery and one column of his army round by Badajoz,—thus, of course, materially delaying his operations.

Further obstructions arose from the situation of Baird's corps. Although previous notice had been given of their coming, when they reached Coruña on the 13th of October, they were not suffered to land until leave was obtained from the Central *Junta*, and were thus detained a needless fortnight on board. Neither food nor means of transport had been provided; Baird was unfurnished with pecuniary resources, and Moore's own military chest was reduced so low that he could not afford him more than 8000*l.*, whilst the Galician and Asturian *juntas*, though so abundantly

supplied by the profuse munificence of the English ministry, refused the troops of their benefactors every kind of succour. Indeed, most of the *juntas* appear to have misapplied the money sent by England to their own purposes, and often to have made no use whatever of the arms and stores. It was at length, by a loan from the funds which Mr. Frere, the British plenipotentiary, was bringing over to place at the disposal of the Central *Junta*, and of which he took upon himself thus to appropriate a small portion, that sir David Baird was enabled to begin his march. November was considerably advanced before he could quit Coruña. Moore did not cross the frontiers till the 11th of that month; and the absurd precipitation of the Central *Junta*, and of those inexperienced generals, who were equal in authority to Castaños, had already brought the Spanish forces into collision with the French.

This unfortunate collision began on the part of Blake. Unacquainted with the amount of force opposed to him, and eager to secure Bilbao, and raise Biscay, he, on the 24th of October, began a series of operations intended to cut off Marshal Ney. After many days skirmishing and manœuvring, he was defeated, on the 30th, by Lefebvre, duke of Dantzic, but retreated, rallied his men, and being joined by some of la Romana's troops, who were now landing, he again made head.

But Napoleon himself entered Spain on the 8th of November, and the influence of his genius was immediately apparent. On the 10th Soult, duke of Dalmatia, attacked, defeated, and utterly routed Belvedere. He then turned upon the line of retreat of Blake, whom Victor, duke of Belluno, defeated at Espinosa on the 11th, and Soult finally annihilated at Reynosa on the 13th. The greater part of the veterans brought back from the Baltic were destroyed in Blake's successive defeats,—all having landed during this series of disasters, and joined the Galician army in detachments. Blake fled to the Asturian mountains, where he reunited the relics of his army, and met la Romana, who, though disappointed in all his schemes, assumed the command of these routed troops, and exerted himself strenuously to re-organize and reinforce them.

The emperor now moved his headquarters forward from Vitoria to Burgos. He ascertained that Moore, with

the main body of the British army, had but just arrived at Salamanca, that Baird had advanced no further than Astorga, and that Hope, with the artillery, in consequence of the lengthened road he had followed, was far distant at the Escorial. Then, feeling himself as yet secure on his right, he turned his forces against Castaños and Palafox, whilst his cavalry swept the plains of Leon and Castile. On the 23rd, Lasnes attacked Castaños and Palafox at Tudela, and completely routed them. The latter fled to Saragossa, the former retreated towards Madrid, rallied what troops he could at Calatayud, and marched to defend the pass of the Somosierra. That he was able so to do is ascribed to the three days spent at Soria by Ney, who was ordered to cut off his retreat;—a delay variously attributed to envy of Lasnes, to the desire of plundering Soria, and to ignorance of the value of time in warlike operations. Ney was without sciencè, and is said to have been good for nothing as a general till the balls were whistling about his ears.

Napoleon now advanced upon Madrid, and on the 30th reached and attacked the Somosierra. Castaños had been deprived of the command of his army, which was still distant; but the pass was defended by General San Juan, with the remains of the army of Estremadura. He had posted his troops judiciously, but they fled after firing one volley, and afterwards sought to excuse their panic by accusing their unfortunate commander of treachery, and murdering him. The French crossed the mountains almost unopposed, and appeared before Madrid.

In the moment of danger the inefficiency of the Central *Junta* became apparent. The former energies of Florida Blanca had withered under the chilling influence of extreme old age; and those of Jovellanos were, like his health, somewhat impaired by the effects of his cruel imprisonment. What remained to them were further wasted in the dissensions naturally arising between the able minister of a despotic sovereign, and the philosophic advocate of liberal opinions. On the approach of the French armies the whole body fled towards Badajoz.

During this time sir John Moore was in a state of the most painful uncertainty. The armies with which he had thought to co-operate were no more, and his own was still incomplete. Hope

and the artillery had joined him, but Baird had not yet passed Astorga. His own cautious and desponding temper inclined him to fall back, and secure Portugal. But he was assured by Mr. Frere that Madrid would emulate Saragossa; he was urged to assist the heroic self-devotion of the people, and he was willing to do so as far as he deemed consistent with prudence. He despatched Colonel Graham to ascertain the real state of affairs at Madrid, and awaited his return himself at Salamanca, and Baird at Astorga.

Napoleon had appeared before Madrid on the 2nd of December, and summoned the city to surrender, with fearful threats in case of resistance. The inhabitants and the garrison really were bent upon emulating Saragossa, and had made preparations for defence. But they had no leaders. The Central *Junta* had fled, and Morla, who held the chief command, was, if not a traitor, at least no Palafox. He either despaired of success, or was already preparing to desert his country's cause. He opened a treaty with the French, and checked and chilled the zeal of the people. Resistance soon became evidently hopeless. On the night of the 4th, the marquis of Chastelar with the troops evacuated the town, and retired to join the remnants of the routed armies that were reassembling on the Tagus. On the morning of the 5th Morla surrendered Madrid.

The emperor took possession of the palace of the kings of Spain; and in his proclamations threatened the Spaniards, that, unless by their conduct they earned Joseph's pardon, he would find another kingdom for his brother, and make Spain a French province. Such threats were not adapted to conciliate the haughty Spaniards; and the really beneficial decrees he promulgated, diminishing the exorbitant power of the clergy, and the number of monks and nuns, by exasperating the whole ecclesiastical body, confirmed the nation in its enmity to him and his dynasty. Regardless of this enmity, however, Napoleon prepared to overrun and subjugate Portugal and the south of Spain with his grand army, whilst a division of thirty five thousand men again besieged Saragossa. The Central *Junta* continued its flight to Seville, and the troops, which the different generals had rallied in considerable numbers, prepared to defend the Sierra Morena and the Tagus. Such were

the tidings Colonel Graham brought back to Salamanca on the 9th of December.

Moore's situation was unquestionably one of great difficulty.

The French are stated to have had two hundred thousand men in

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British Expedition,
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Spain; he could not bring into the field above twenty-five thousand; Madrid had fallen; and of the Spanish armies nothing remained within his reach but the few thousands, half clothed and half armed, that la Romana was endeavouring to organize. He had lost all confidence in Spanish professions, and was convinced that Mr. Frere, who still vehemently urged him to attempt something, was deceived by his zeal in the Spanish cause, and his ignorance of the Spanish character. Nevertheless Moore resolved to make such a diversion as should recall Napoleon from the south and from Portugal, and, if possible, to destroy Soult, who was within his reach with inferior numbers, before he could be reinforced. But he undertook this bold and generous enterprise with a heavy heart, and, as appears from his own letters, as sacrificing his own judgment to what he knew were the expectations of the British public. Nay, so convinced was he that he should be compelled, not merely to retreat, but also to evacuate the Peninsula, that he is said to have refused the offered command of the Spanish armies, which would have been most useful had he meant even to defend Galicia.

Moore began his movement on the 11th, effected his junction with Baird, and reached Sahagun on the 21st of December. There he halted two days for his supplies, meaning to attack Soult on the 24th. But on the 23rd he received information from la Romana that Napoleon, upon hearing of his advance, had suspended all his operations in the south and west, and was marching in full force against the English. The projected diversion was thus accomplished; and as twenty-five thousand men could not confront between one and two hundred thousand, who were at the emperor's command, he began his retreat towards Galicia, where he proposed embarking, and carrying his army southwards to join the Spanish forces collecting in Andalusia.

The retreat was most disastrous. Officers and men disliked it; the bonds of discipline were early relaxed, and all

the calamities, only to be prevented by its strict observance, were the consequence. La Romana had promised to defend Leon; and, if obliged to abandon that town, to retreat into the Asturias, avoiding the intended line of the British march. But even la Romana could not control Spanish insurgent troops; they evacuated Leon immediately, and when Moore reached Astorga, where he had considerable magazines, and where he proposed to refresh and re-organize his army, re-establishing its discipline, he found the place occupied by la Romana's six thousand men. A scene of undecipherable disorder ensued. No regular distribution of rations could be made; the troops got possession of the wine-stores; and from this hour the bulk of the army was a mere drunken mob, never resuming any semblance of order or propriety except when there appeared a prospect of a battle. Then all were again found British soldiers.

On the 1st of January, 1809, the day after Moore quitted Astorga, Napoleon entered it at the head of eighty thousand men and two hundred pieces of artillery, and, it is said, was eye-witness to one of those cavalry skirmishes so frequent during this retreat, and in which the British were uniformly successful. Upon the present occasion a corps of English horse defeated a much larger corps of the cavalry of the imperial guard, and took many prisoners, including general Lefebvre. At Astorga Napoleon received tidings that Austria was again arming, and deeming Spain conquered, and the English army in the toils, he judged his own personal exertions no longer necessary. He committed the further pursuit of Moore to the duke of Dalmatia, the ablest of his generals, assisted by the duke of Eichingen, the two divisions amounting to about sixty thousand men, and he himself hastened to Paris.

At Lugo sir John offered Soult battle on the 7th, but the Marshal showed no inclination to engage till he should be joined by Ney; and Moore continued his retreat. On the 11th he reached Coruña, but the transports he expected, detained by adverse winds, did not arrive until the 15th. Their delay gave occasion to the battle of Coruña, wherein the English army, on the 16th, redeemed whatever disgrace had attended their retreat; and sir John Moore, falling in the field, and dying at the very moment his army had gained the victory, ended

his life as a soldier wishes to do, and escaped the bitter censures with which a disappointed public, justly or unjustly, always loads an unfortunate general. The French were completely repulsed, and sir John Hope, upon whom the command had devolved, embarked his troops the next day unmolested. In consequence either of their distressed condition, or of Hope's being unacquainted with Moore's plans and instructions (he was third in command, Baird, the second, having been severely wounded in the battle), they immediately returned to England.

It is painful to censure a brave officer who fell gloriously, and perhaps none but military men are competent to judge of military operations. We will not pretend to criticize Moore's general plan of campaign; but when, at this distance of time, we reflect upon what British troops have done under a different general, it is difficult not to believe that a little more alertness might have enabled Moore to crush Soult; and by thus ridding himself of one enemy, to conduct his retreat more leisurely, and consequently with less suffering,—if not to maintain himself upon the frontiers of Galicia, or at least in Coruña or Ferrol, or both, and thus to save from the French the Spanish squadron lying in the latter harbour.

CHAPTER X.

Second siege of Saragossa—Joseph re-enters Madrid—Saragossa falls—Soult invades Portugal—Command of Portuguese troops given to General Beresford—He remodels the army, appointing British officers—War between France and Austria—Wellington returns to Portugal—Expels Soult from Portugal—Joins Cuesta—Battle of Talavera—Sir Arthur separates from Cuesta—Vaneas and Blake defeated—Battle of Wagram—Peace of Schönbrunn—Walcheren expedition—Aragosa defeated—Fall of Gerona—Guerrillas—Progress of the French—Central Junta flies to Cadiz—Appoints a regency—Their injudicious conduct—Viscount Wellington's measures for the defence of Portugal—Counteracted by Lisbon regency—Fall of Ciudad Rodrigo—Massena invades Portugal—Fall of Almeida—Wellington retreats—Battle of

Busaco—Lines of Torres Vedras—Trant surprises the French hospital at Coimbra—Supreme authority in Portugal given to Wellington—Marsena takes post at Santarem.*

THE Spaniards did not suffer the respite thus dearly purchased for them to pass altogether unprofitably. The south bank of the Tagus was still theirs; and the duke del

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Infantado collected the fragments of some of the dispersed armies at Cuenca, with which he even hoped to recover Madrid. But his lieutenant, Vaneagas, was defeated by their joint rashness and improvidence, and he retreated into Valencia, whence he was summoned to Seville by the *Junta*, deprived of his command, and like Castaños, remained under suspicion. The armies of Cuesta and of the marquis of Palacio were now the chief protection of Andalusia.

In Catalonia an attempt to recover Barcelona was defeated by St. Cyr, who likewise took Rosas. In Aragon Moncey had laid siege to Saragossa. In Galicia la Romana sheltered himself and his little band amidst the mountains, whilst Soult overran the province; Coruña surrendered to him as soon as the English troops were safe on board, and Ferrol followed its example, delivering up the squadron in its port.

On the 22nd of January, Joseph returned to Madrid. His second entrance does not appear to have called forth the same demonstrations of national feeling as the first. The municipality and the several councils received him with loud professions of loyalty, and all the population took the oath of allegiance; trusting, it should seem, to judge by their subsequent conduct, to the power of dispensing with oaths, which ignorant and bigoted Catholics believe that their priests possess. Joseph instituted military tribunals for the immediate and severe punishment of all persons convicted or suspected of disaffection to his government.

* The authorities principally consulted for this chapter are, Southey, Napier, Scott, Marquess of Londonderry, Elliot, Sherer, Bigland, *Annals of the Peninsular Campaigns*, Annual Register, *Memoirs of the late War, comprising the Personal Narrative of Captain Cooke, the Campaign of 1809 in Portugal*, by the Earl of Munster, and the Campaign of 1814, in Holland, by Lieutenant Moodie, 2 vols. 12mo, London, 1831. *Memoires du Maréchal Scherer, Duc d'Albufera, sur ses Campagnes en Espagne, depuis 1805 jusqu'en 1814, écrites par lui-même*, 2 tom., Paris, 1828,—works of the same character as those before referred to.

Saragossa had been invested by Marshals Moncey and Mortier, on the 20th of December, and summoned to surrender; Palafox gave the answer that might be expected from his conduct in the former siege, and with his brave townsmen prepared to stand a second, yet more destructive. They deemed themselves better prepared for it, having raised some fortifications, and being reinforced by numbers of armed peasants and part of the army defeated at Tudela, whilst Palafox's brothers were seeking assistance for the city in every direction. Their efforts to relieve it were unsuccessful; the convoys they collected falling into the enemy's hands. It was only in defending towns that the Spaniards offered effective resistance to the French.

For a while the siege languished; Mortier and his division were recalled, and dissension existed amongst the besieging generals. But, on the 22nd of January, Lasnes assumed the command, and urged on the operations with redoubled vigour. On the 1st of February the besiegers forced their entrance into the town, and for three weeks was the struggle, street by street and house by house, again maintained, with all the circumstances of affecting heroism recorded on the former occasion. But the numbers that had thronged to defend Saragossa were her bane: pestilence was engendered in the crowded cellars, and proved a yet more deadly foe than the French. The posts were manned by hospital patients, sitting, because they could not stand; Palafox was in his bed delirious; and on the 22nd of February the *Junta* capitulated. Lasnes violated the capitulation in many points, and sent Palafox, whose liberty had been stipulated, prisoner to France. The Central *Junta* loaded the city and all its inhabitants and defenders with praises, honour, and rewards.

The re-conquest of Portugal was now the object of the French. Portugal
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Soult was appointed governor of that kingdom, and ordered to invade it from the north, whilst Victor and Lapisse were to co-operate with him, the former in the south, and the latter from Ciudad Rodrigo. Soult proposed to cross the Minho near its mouth, and march straight upon Oporto: this plan was foiled by the bold resistance of the armed peasantry to his passage of the river, on the 15th of February, and he was obliged to take a con-

siderable circuit, defeating la Romana's few troops in his way;—a delay most important at a moment when the weakness of the regency, and the reduced numbers of the British at Lisbon, rendered Portugal little capable of resistance. From these hindrances, it was the 10th of March before Soult entered by the western province of *Tras os Montes*. In his progress to Oporto he experienced sufficient opposition from the peasantry and disorderly regular troops under *Silveira*, to form a plea for a severity of military execution, and an indulgence of military licence and outrage which, if it produced momentary submission, inflamed the Portuguese detestation of the French, to a degree that produced the bloodiest retaliation whenever the fortune of war gave the injurers into the hands of the injured. During this invasion *Bernardim Freire* fell a victim to the unfounded suspicions of the peasantry.

Soult took Oporto by storm on the 29th of March, fixed his head-quarters there, and seems to have meditated becoming king of northern Lusitania, if not of Portugal. With this view, he now sought to conciliate the natives, and obtained many addresses inviting him to assume the sovereignty. But Oporto was the limit of his conquest. Behind him *la Romana*, who had rallied his constantly-increasing army, found Ney full employment, and *Silveira* was again master of *Tras os Montes*. In the south Victor could not invade *Alemtejo* till he should have defeated *Cuesta* and the *Estremaduran* army; and *Laplace* could not make himself master of *Ciudad Rodrigo*, which was defended chiefly by Sir Robert Wilson with his Lusitanian legion.

This legion was the first attempt, in the course of the war, to improve the Portuguese soldiers, by placing them under British officers; it was begun by Sir Robert, with the concurrence of the bishop of Oporto, and proved so successful, that the prince of Brazil was induced to send General Beresford a commission as field-marshal and general-in-chief of the Portuguese army. With this commission, Beresford landed early in March, and immediately proceeded to train the troops, to place over them as many effective English officers as he thought national jealousy would bear, (always however nominally commanded by a native colonel), and to improve the temper and spirit of the army, by re-

forming innumerable abuses, and doing justice impartially between officers and privates. Some reinforcements about this time arrived from England, and Sir J. Cradock, then commanding in Lisbon, had under him about fourteen thousand men. Colonel Trant, who held the command of Coimbra, his very name, probably, inducing in the enemy a belief that he had a body of English there, found means with his battalion of volunteer students, and a medley of militia peasants and two Portuguese regiments, that joined him against the will of their officers, to awe Soult from advancing unsupported by his colleagues from Spain.

Buonaparte is calculated to have had at this time about two hundred and seventy thousand men in the Peninsula. These he deemed amply sufficient for its subjugation, and at the moment could not well reinforce them. His alarms touching Austria had proved just. The Emperor Francis judged the moment favourable for attempting to recover the

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dominions he had lost, and began the war in April, with five hundred and fifty thousand men, in nine different divisions. Of these, six divisions were in Germany under the immediate command of the Archduke Charles; two were destined to invade Italy under the Archduke Jolin; and the Archduke Ferdinand, with one, was stationed in Galicia to oppose any Russian troops that might appear as auxiliaries. Napoleon had not at the moment an equal host to confront the Austrians; but he had turned back the troops marching upon Spain, he called for the contingents of the Rhenish confederates, and he made his skill and rapidity supply the place of numbers.

On the 9th of April the archduke crossed the Inn, and successfully invaded Bavaria. On the 20th the French emperor defeated him at *Abensberg*; again, on the 22nd, at *Eckmühl*, and the next day, drove his troops out of *Ratisbon*. Charles retreated into Bohemia, and Napoleon, instead of following him, advanced upon Vienna. The royal family withdrew into Hungary; and on the 12th of May, Napoleon, for the second time, occupied the capital of Austria. But the war was not thus terminated, and both parties only paused to prepare for the renewal of the contest.

If Napoleon was successful as ever in Germany, his generals were not equally prosperous in the Peninsula.

Victor had, indeed, defeated Cuesta, and subsequently, uniting with Lapisse, threatened to begin his operations in Portugal. But he had allowed Cuesta time to rally his troops, and again the stout-hearted old Spaniard showed too menacing a front to be neglected. And

what was of yet more consequence, on the 22nd of April, sir Arthur Wellesley arrived in the Tagus, bearing the character of general-in-chief of the English and Portuguese troops. The transport of joy with which he was received at Lisbon spoke the nation's sense of his former services.

There was no hesitation in sir Arthur's measures. He resolved first to clear Portugal of invaders, then to assist Spain. On the 6th of May, leaving a body of British and Portuguese on the Tagus to watch Victor, he began his march from Coimbra with about thirteen thousand British troops, three thousand Germans, and nine thousand of Beresford's new levies, to effect the first of these objects. The French troops who had ventured to take post south of the Douro, were everywhere out-manœuvred and driven back. Soult, having broken the bridges and secured the boats upon the Douro, a broad and rapid stream, believed the English could only cross by their ship-boats at the mouth of the river. But on the 12th, Sir Arthur contrived to procure four barges at a point where a wood concealed the river, and a hill his army, from the town, whilst his guns could play on the point at which the men were to land; and before the French suspected so daring an attempt, some companies were passed over who made good their footing, until, the townspeople hastening to carry the boats across from the French side, they were gradually supported by their comrades, and by the cavalry that had similarly passed at a distant ferry.

Soult, after a short contest, evacuated Oporto, and precipitately retreated. The pursuit was continued for five days, till the French marshal, sacrificing his artillery, stores, baggage, and even his sick and wounded, escaped with the remnant of his troops, by mountain paths through which no regularly equipped and appointed army could attempt to follow. Sir Arthur then abandoned the chase, appointed Trant military governor of Oporto, (the bishop had fled to Lisbon, where he was thenceforward a

leading member of the regency), and leaving the protection of the northern provinces to Silveira and his Portuguese, returned southwards, to seek Victor. The behaviour of the Portuguese in Wellesley's army on this expedition already showed that their previous failures had been more the fault of the officers than of the men.

When the troops, who had suffered much from sickness, were refreshed, and a small reinforcement had been received from England, sir Arthur marched into Spain to assist Cuesta against Victor. The utter impracticability of this brave, zealous, and upright, but narrow-minded, prejudiced, and obstinate old man, thwarted every scheme proposed, and thus wasted much valuable time. When at length the British commander, giving up his more enlarged and beneficial views, agreed merely to act with him against Victor, he found it impossible to obtain from his Spanish coadjutor either provisions, or means of transport for his artillery and stores. Notwithstanding all these difficulties, the allied armies came up with Victor whilst he was inferior to them in numbers, and General Wellesley wished to have taken the opportunity of crushing him. But Cuesta objected and delayed, either from natural slowness, or from a religious scruple as to fighting upon a Sunday, until Victor had retreated, and effected his junction with Joseph and Sebastiani, whom, according to the concerted plan, Vanegas, at the head of twenty-five thousand men in La Mancha, was to have occupied by threatening Madrid: a co-operation forbidden by the Central *Junta*, without giving notice to the generals, who relied thereon.

The French now returned with superior numbers, under the command of the king, aided by his major-general, Marshal Jourdan. Upon the 27th and 28th of July they attacked the allies at Talavera. The battle, long, obstinately contested, and sanguinary, ended in the complete defeat of the assailants; but the destitute and exhausted condition of the English troops, who were without provisions for man or horse, prevented their pursuing the discomfited enemy, who was consequently enabled to retreat in good order. The good that should have resulted from the victory was further counteracted by an alarm from the north, and Cuesta's perverse temper.

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La Romana had rallied and increased his little army, and having at length roused the whole population of Galicia, he had so harassed Soult and Ney, that they, considering likewise the greater importance of the transactions then taking place in the south, resolved to evacuate the province. They did so, and Galicia remained thenceforward unmolested by invaders. In their progress southwards the two marshals were joined by Mortier, and Soult received from Napoleon the command of the combined *corps*, with orders to march upon the English and Cuesta. The Spaniards stationed to secure the mountain passes fled; and sir Arthur led the British army against this new foe, intrusting to Cuesta the maintenance of the post of Talavera.

An apprehension of Victor's advancing anew induced Cuesta to evacuate Talavera, and he hastened after Wellesley, leaving fifteen hundred British wounded to the enemy, whilst it is said many of his own carts were removed empty. This step, and Soult's advance in unexpected strength, exposed Sir Arthur to be cut off from Portugal. His troops were starving; and as the protection of Portugal was the point chiefly insisted upon in his instructions, he retreated to a frontier position on the Guadiana. Cuesta's injudicious measures had exposed Vanegas with the army of La Mancha unsupported, and he was defeated at Almonacid. Blake's army of Aragon and Valencia had been beaten and dispersed; and the fall of Spain appeared to be inevitable. Vanegas's repeated defeats had now made him so unpopular, that the command of his army was taken from him; but his servile obedience to the Central *Junta* was rewarded with the viceroyalty of Mexico.

To increase the despondency with which the prospects of Spain were viewed, by all but the Spaniards themselves, the fortunes of Austria, after the

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gleam of hope afforded by the victory which the Archduke Charles had gained at Aspern on the 21st and 22nd of May, were, as it seemed, finally overclouded by the far more decisive victory which Napoleon gained over him at Wagram on the 6th of July. Further contest was abandoned, and an armistice immediately concluded. The negotiations for peace lasted till the 14th of October. New sacrifices were wrested

from Francis, but less than had been anticipated, owing, it is believed, to the arrangement of Napoleon's marriage with the Archduchess Maria Louisa, so soon as he should have repudiated the Empress Josephine.

An English army, larger than had yet taken the field, which in the Peninsula might have rendered sir Arthur independent of Spanish co-operation, was destined at one and the same time to make a division in favour of Austria, and to destroy Napoleon's boasted naval preparations at Antwerp. It did not reach its destination until the 30th of July (when Austria's fate was already decided), entirely failed of its especial object, and was almost destroyed by the marsh fever, peculiar to the unhealthy islands at the mouth of the Scheldt.

Meanwhile the Central *Junta* was neither dismayed by the reverses of the Spanish arms, nor instructed by experience. They exerted themselves to reinforce Cuesta's army, which had been surprised and half destroyed by the enemy since its separation from the English; and they thought of removing the unmanageable general. A paralytic stroke saved them that trouble, by compelling him to resign. But it was in vain sir Arthur Wellesley (created viscount Wellington, in recompense for his victory at Talavera), recommended the duke of Albuquerque, a nobleman of high birth and considerable military talent, in whom the Spanish troops placed unbounded confidence, as his successor. The Central *Junta* was jealous of the duke's popularity, and either kept him in a subordinate situation, or diminished the separate army to which he was appointed. The command of the principal army of fifty thousand men was given to Areizaga, an officer who had been praised by Blake.

The *Junta* ordered Areizaga to march against the French, and free Madrid, before the reinforcements, set at liberty by the end of the Austrian war, could reach Spain; and they assured him of the co-operation of the British, although they knew that the English army was nearly disabled by sickness, and that lord Wellington had positively refused to comply with their entreaties, unless satisfactory arrangements were previously made for the subsistence of his troops. The same peculiarity of the

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Spanish character, namely, assuming as done whatever is promised, or even wished, seems to have convinced the inexperienced statesmen of the Central *Junta* that the general they had sent to conquer could not be beaten, and that a decree, ordering the English army to be well supplied, must answer every purpose, though they took no measures for procuring the provisions or the cattle required. Lord Wellington remained in his cantonments; and on the 17th of November, Arizaga was totally defeated at Ocaña. The French now menaced Portugal: the British general was prepared for its protection.

The French were masters of nearly all Spain north of the Sierra Morena, with the exception of Galicia, Valencia, and Catalonia; and in this last province, although it resisted most stoutly, the French army, under St. Cyr, held the field, and Gerona, one of the most important fortresses not in their hands, fell in December, after emulating the glory of Saragossa during a seven months' siege. But their garrisons were distressed, and their communications were harassed both by the British cruisers on the coast, and by the Catalans themselves, who were almost all in arms, as *miquelets* or *guerrillas*, displaying the same indomitable spirit they had shown in former wars.

In the course of the year 1809, as the regular armies were defeated and dispersed, the example of the Catalans was followed throughout Spain; and bands of *guerrillas*, consisting of peasants, deserters, outlaws,—of individuals, in short, of all classes—were everywhere established, the command of which was assumed by men of talent and resolution, likewise of all classes, officers, monks, physicians, yeomen, or smugglers. This was a mode of warfare to which the climate was favourable, the vindictive Spanish character peculiarly adapted, and habits of discipline unnecessary. They appeared in force wherever a blow was to be struck; when pursued, they dispersed and vanished; and although it is idle to assert that the *guerrillas* alone could have expelled the French from Spain, they probably afforded more useful assistance to the English general than pretended regular armies, which, in fact, only thwarted his measures. The *guerrillas*, amongst other services, harassed the enemy's communications, cut off his convoys and supplies, and, by intercepting couriers, both

procured intelligence, and defeated hostile schemes requiring any concert. They at length compelled the employment of a very considerable portion of the French troops as escorts. A few of the *guerrilla* leaders, as Juan Disz Martin, better known as the *Empecinado*, Julian Sanchez, Juan Diaz Porlier, D. Mariano de Renobalos Longa, and last, and far the greatest, the two Minas, uncle and nephew, acquired a celebrity that renders the record of their names indispensable in Spanish history.

M. Frere, and the marquess Wellesley, who came out as ambassador extraordinary, had earnestly pressed the Central *Junta* to convoke the national *Cortes* as the only legitimate source of authority in the king's absence. Florida Blanca, who loved the despotic power he had so long administered wisely, had opposed this measure; but he was now dead, and Jovellanos had always urged its adoption. Nevertheless, it was only when Joseph announced his intention of assembling the *Cortes*, that the *Junta*, reluctantly yielding, issued a decree convoking the *Cortes*, and appointing them to meet at Cadiz: thus hoping, it should seem, to prevent any appearance of flight from attaching to their own removal to that sea-port, for which they were becoming anxiously impatient, inasmuch as the French had forced the passes of the Sierra Morena; and the Seville populace, growing once more tumultuously unruly, on the approach of danger, fiercely threatened vengeance on the Central *Junta*, whose incapacity they termed treachery.

Previous to quitting Seville, they sent a variety of inconsistent orders to Alburquerque, whose small *corps* was the only disposable force remaining for the defence of Cadiz. They bade him abandon Badajoz, withdrawing its garrison; they bade him march now in one direction, now in another,—neither leading towards Cadiz,—and each order contradicting the last. The duke boldly took upon himself the responsibility of disobeying these futile instructions. He reinforced, instead of weakening the garrison of Badajoz; and by a march of two hundred and sixty miles, as skilful as it was rapid, he reached Cadiz on the 2nd of February, 1810, just in time to anticipate the duke of Belluno, and secure it against a surprise. He was immediately appointed governor of

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Cadiz and president of the Local *Junta*; and with the aid of the British sailors in the harbour, he applied himself diligently to the improvement of the fortifications.

Upon their arrival at Cadiz, the Central *Junta*, opposed by the Local *Junta*, and alarmed at their own unpopularity, were prevailed upon to transfer their authority to a regency of five persons, whom they seem to have selected judiciously and honestly. These were the venerable bishop of Orense, who had refused to attend the Bayonne *Notables*, Castaños, Saavedra, Escano, formerly minister of marine, and Lardizabal, a Creole from New Spain. This last appointment seemed to promise a more liberal and conciliatory system of colonial government, which was earnestly recommended by lord Wellesley, as the only means of securing to Spain a prolonged participation in the wealth of America. And so fair a promise appeared to be confirmed, when the regency issued two decrees, one throwing open the colonial trade, and the other summoning American deputies to the *Cortes*.

In other respects the regency, instead of devoting their time and thoughts to calling forth the resources and energies of the country, or even to the defence of Cadiz, began their administration by a vehement attack upon the measures of the Central *Junta*, accused that body of usurpation and peculation, threw some of the members into prison, and banished even the excellent Jovellanos to his native province, where his conduct was ordered to be watched. In these harsh steps the regents perhaps yielded to popular clamour, difficult in such circumstances to be resisted,—as they did to the violence of the *Junta* of Cadiz, consisting of the wealthy merchants of that flourishing sea-port which had thriven upon the monopoly of colonial trade, when they revoked their decree for throwing that trade open. Alhurquerque, incurring the dislike of this selfish commercial *Junta*, was deprived of the government of Cadiz and sent ambassador to England, where he soon died, of mortification, it is said, at his ill usage. Whilst the regency were persecuting their predecessors, or occupied with commercial interests, Andalusia and Granada submitted at once to the conqueror, who met resistance only from Cadiz.

The war with Austria was now over, and it was generally expected that the

dreaded Napoleon would return to the Peninsula, to bear down all resistance by the energy of his own mighty genius. But he seems to have been temporarily, at least, ingrossed by the plan of dissolving the marriage to which he had been indebted for the first step in his wonderful career, and uniting himself to a daughter of the imperial house of Hapsburg. If he was thus prevented from personally conducting the only war in which he was, for the moment, engaged, he amply reinforced the armies employed in the subjugation of Spain; appointed Soult Joseph's major-general instead of Jourdan; and sent his favourite general, Massena, whom he had surnamed the spoiled child of Victory, to conquer Portugal, drive the English into the sea, and, it was supposed, receive the crown of Portugal as his reward.

The Spaniards had now no army on foot deserving the name, and central Spain, from the Pyrenees to the lines before Cadiz, was nominally in the possession of king Joseph; Galicia and Extremadura, on the western, and Murcia, Valencia, and Catalonia on the eastern side, with a few fortresses, being all that yet remained unconquered; and, in Catalonia, Suchet was slowly making formidable progress. But the temper of the people never was less subdued, and the war had assumed a character of extraordinary ferocity.

Napoleon deemed that professional soldiers only had a right to fight; and instead of respecting the patriotic feeling that roused the whole nation to struggle for independence, he considered the armed peasantry as mere licentious rebels against their lawful king. Hence whilst the ordinary courtesies of war were observed towards the British, nearly all the Spaniards and the irregular Portuguese troops were treated with wanton cruelty, and their women exposed to the grossest outrage from the French soldiery, until almost every individual in the Spanish *guerrilla* bands, and the Portuguese irregulars, had a private injury to revenge; and even sympathy in their resentments can barely palliate the sanguinary temper in which that revenge was sought. And to these personal motives of exasperation was added a deep sense of religious horror, since the French emperor had seized upon the estates of the Church, upon Rome itself, and carried Pope Pius VII.,

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who refused to sanction his unprovoked spoliation, a prisoner to France. From the influence of so many various feelings, the whole of Spain was now overrun by fierce *guerrillas*, and Joseph, in fact, was only master of the places actually occupied by French soldiers.

Eight thousand English and Portuguese troops had been sent to Cadiz, under sir Thomas Graham, and were now gladly received as a welcome addition to the garrison. The siege proceeded but slowly,—it was little more than a blockade, and even thus occupied quite as large a force as could be spared from other objects. For as Cadiz stands in an island (the Isle of Leon) in a considerable bay, the lines of the besiegers were necessarily extended round the whole circuit of that bay, and required great numbers for their defence.

As soon as the French movements threatened Portugal, lord Wellington, quitting his position on the Guadiana, distributed his army within and along the frontier, to await and watch the enemy. But it was not upon the frontier that he could hope, with

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The British commander was even then directing the construction of those military works, known as the lines of Torres Vedras, by which the naturally strong ground covering Lisbon was rendered nearly impregnable; and his main object upon the frontier appears to have been retarding the enemy's advance, until those lines should be perfected, and the harvest gathered in. He intended that the inhabitants should then evacuate the intermediate district, with all their provisions and moveable property; and that he himself retreating to his lines, should draw Massena into a desert country, where the French marshal could not subsist his troops, and would find himself confronted by a strong army, in an impregnable position, whilst his rear and communications were harassed by militia and *ordenanzas*,

the proper name of the Portuguese armed peasantry.

This plan had been communicated by lord Wellington to lord Wellesley (who is supposed to have accepted a seat in the English cabinet, partly to insure his brother efficient support), and it had been submitted to the prince of Brazil as the only feasible mode of defending Portugal; lord Wellington demanding conditionally, in case the prince approved, that his own authority as marshal general should be independent of the local government, and absolute over the Portuguese forces, whether regulars, militia, or *ordenanzas*. The prince did approve, and acceded to his demand, giving corresponding orders to the regency. In virtue of this authority lord Wellington required the regents to enforce more vigorously the old laws, by which every man in Portugal, not in the regular troops or the militia, must bear arms in the *ordenanza*; to command the destruction of mills, the devastation of fields, and the timely removal of families with their property; to provide means of conveyance for the corn, &c.; and to make the indispensable arrangements for the support, as well of the Portuguese army as of the helpless and distressed persons thus to be collected in the neighbourhood of Lisbon.

But the Portuguese Regency was nearly as injudicious and self-willed as the Spanish Central Junta. The bishop of Oporto, now patriarch, and Don Antonio, or Principal Souza, as he is denominated, appear to have aimed at appropriating the whole authority of the body; and they were supported by a strong faction, that bore impatiently the authority of a sovereign, now deemed Brazilian, and by three brothers of Souza's, the eldest, count of Linhares, minister in Brazil, the other two ambassadors in England and at Cadiz. These men, impelled either by a superlative conceit that preferred their own judgment upon military questions to his who had twice delivered their country from its conquerors, or by a criminal ambition that determined them not to hazard their own private ends, by incurring the unpopularity necessarily attending the measures recommended, opposed and thwarted the British commander at every step. The time that should have been employed in executing lord Wellington's directions was wasted in arguing against them, and urging him to defeat Massena, recently.

created by his Imperial master Prince of Essling, upon the frontiers.

The prince of Essling allowed them leisure for both occupations. He dedicated the spring to assembling his army,

and making preparations, nor was it until he began the siege of Ciudad Rodrigo that the line by which he proposed to invade Portugal was ascertained. That town was gallantly defended by its governor, Herrasti, assisted by the *guerrilla* chief, Julian Sanchez, from the 4th of June till the 10th of July. When the place was no longer tenable, Sanchez and his band, breaking through the besiegers, escaped, and Herrasti capitulated. Lord Wellington's plan required that he should hazard no attempt to relieve the besieged, but his menacing position had long kept Massena's usually enterprising temper in check, and continued to do so;—for upwards of a month was suffered to elapse, after the fall of Ciudad Rodrigo, ere the French general proceeded to lay siege to the neighbouring Portuguese fortress, Almeida.

The allied army, falling back as he advanced, offered no interruption. But an English officer commanded the Portuguese garrison in Almeida, and a defence yet longer than Ciudad Rodrigo's was confidently expected. Unfortunately an accident caused the explosion of the principal powder magazine on the 26th of August, when, through the panic of some, and the treachery of others, the garrison flung down their arms, and forced the mortified governor to capitulate. Massena, upon entering the place, compelled the militia to serve him as pioneers, and invited the garrison to enter the French service, through the marquess of Alorne, who accompanied Massena, as one of his generals. To a man they did so, but only, as they alleged, to avoid being sent prisoners into France. Accordingly, upon the first opportunity they all deserted back; and Marshal Beresford had some difficulty in making them understand that such conduct, especially in the officers, was dishonourable. The militia likewise deserted.

Massena now concentrated his forces, and, about the middle of September, prepared to drive, as he hoped, the British to their ships. The country within reach of lord Wellington's control, from Almeida to Coimbra, had been laid

waste, and the helpless part of the population had withdrawn to a distance, or sought concealment in the mountains; and the allied army retreated before the French with an order and deliberation that prevented the loss even of a straggler, or a baggage mule. But lord Wellington was painfully aware that between Coimbra and Lisbon not a step had been taken towards the execution of his designs, and he found himself under the necessity of giving battle in order to gain time for that important object.

With this view he arranged his army upon the ridge of Busaco, and awaited the enemy. Massena, contemning alike the British troops and their general, exulted in the anticipation of certain victory, and ordered the position to be attacked at day-break of the 27th. The French troops scaled the steep ascent with daring alacrity, but British guns and British bayonets met them upon the summit, and after a sharp struggle they were driven down again with heavy loss. The French killed and wounded in this battle are estimated at from five to six thousand, those of the allies at twelve hundred: but perhaps not the least important event of the day was, that the Portuguese troops displayed a steadiness of courage which had scarcely been as yet expected from their training. On the following day Massena, learning that there was a mountain road by which he could turn the left of his adversary's position, filed off his troops in that direction, vainly hoping to reach Coimbra the first. On the 29th lord Wellington prevented him, by retreating upon that city along the direct road.

Even the days thus arduously gained, the perverse folly of the regents suffered to pass unprofitably. Scarcely any progress was made in devastating the country, and Coimbra was unevacuated by either people or provisions. It was not till they actually saw the allied army retreating before the invaders that the inhabitants prepared to obey lord Wellington's proclamation, and forsake their homes. And now it was too late to attain the end for which the order had been given. The provisions were left behind, the mills were scarcely damaged; whilst the helpless and desolate crowds that, flying from the enemy, accompanied the troops, encumbered their march, and gave birth to the usual disorders of a retreat.

Such disorders were, however, re-

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pressed by the vigour with which lord Wellington punished, and the precautions he took to prevent them; whilst Massena's negligence indulged his troops in a licence that rendered the disorder of the pursuing far greater than even now was that of the retreating army. At Coimbra alone the French troops, during the three days they spent there, wasted and destroyed stores that might have supplied two months' subsistence. But at Coimbra the prince of Essling was still ignorant of the existence of the lines of Torres Vedras; and still believing that he was merely chasing the British to their ships, he, probably, saw no need of restraining his troops, or of providing against famine.

On the 10th of October the allied army took up its position within those extraordinary lines, of which one end rested upon the sea, and the other upon the Tagus, extending in length twenty-nine miles, at about thirty-five miles average distance from Lisbon. The utmost skill of the engineer had been exerted to improve the natural strength of this mountain line, and to supply its deficiencies. A second line of fortifications had been prepared some ten miles nearer Lisbon, in case the first should be lost, or prove too extensive for the numbers occupying it; and a third to protect a possible forced embarkation.

But this danger was happily gone by. Reinforcements arrived from England, additional Portuguese corps were assembled, and *la Romana*, at lord Wellington's request, brought in two Spanish divisions. Before the end of the month seventy thousand regular troops were within the lines, ready to be moved, along convenient roads, to whatever points might be threatened, whilst sixty thousand Portuguese militia manned the different forts and redoubts that commanded the approaches. The regency had made no provision for the support of the multitude of troops and of peasants thus brought upon Lisbon. But the wealthy inhabitants, delighted with their security, showed great kindness to the forlorn fugitives; Alemtejo and Algarve were free behind Lisbon; the boats of the British fleet, preserving the command of the Tagus, kept the communication open with those provinces, and copious supplies were poured in by sea. Lisbon was gay and tranquil as in profound peace, and a visit to the lines became the ordinary party of pleasure.

Massena halted in disagreeable sur-

prise before the stupendous fortress; and after an assiduous examination, and various attempts upon its outworks, decided that it was unassailable with the force then under his command, and that he must think only of finding means to feed his army until Soult should come to his assistance from Andalusia, or Napoleon send him another army from France. This, had the regency done its duty, would have been manifestly impossible, since he could not, in that case, have supported his troops even for a week. As it was, he procured provisions, but was obliged to send foraging detachments to great distances in search of them, which were cruelly harassed, and sometimes cut off by the Portuguese militia and *ordenanzas*. Of the efficiency of these irregular troops Massena had an early proof, even before he reached the British lines. On the 7th, Colonel Trant, with a body of militia and *ordenanzas*, surprised, and carried off to Oporto, the French hospital, which had been left at Coimbra, with three thousand five hundred men to guard it.

At length, too late to effect his first purpose, but in time to save Portugal, the remonstrances and threats of lord Wellington, aided by his brother's ministerial influence, overthrew the Souza faction in Brazil. The prince-regent gave Admiral Berkeley, commander of the British fleet in the Tagus, full authority over the Portuguese navy, analogous to Beresford's over the army, added Mr. Stuart, the English envoy, to the council of regency, and empowered lord Wellington to retain or displace any member of that body at his pleasure. Wellington made no use of the power thus intrusted to him; but its possession overawed his adversaries, and gave him the weight he had wanted.

Towards the middle of November, Massena withdrew from before the lines, and took up a strong position at Santarém, upon the Tagus. Wellington, to observe him, stationed himself in advance of his lines, upon which he could fall back at a moment's warning. „

CHAPTER XI.

Desultory warfare between French and Spaniards — Cortes assembled — Their faulty constitution — Injudicious measures — Offend the clergy — And the colonies — The colonies profess loyalty to Ferdinand — Reject the

authority of the Central Junta and the Cortes—Battle of Barrosa—Soult besieges Badajoz—Massena retreats—Wellington pursues—Drives him out of Portugal—Badajoz surrenders—Battle of Fuentes de Oñor—Badajoz invested—Siege raised—Battle of Albuera—Second siege of Badajoz—Raised—Birth of the king of Rome—Holland, and part of northern Germany incorporated with France—Fall of Tarragona—Suchet master of Catalonia and Aragon—Invades Valencia—Defeats Blake—Takes Murviedro and Valencia—Transactions in the Cortes—Colonies assert their independence and equality—Wellington besieges Ciudad Rodrigo—Takes it by storm—Is created a grandee, and duke of Ciudad Rodrigo—Again besieges Badajoz—Takes it by storm—Napoleon sets out on his Russian campaign—Operations of Spanish leaders.*

THROUGHOUT the greater part of Spain meanwhile a desultory warfare had been carried on, in which the French were

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generally successful. Suchet, by a judicious administration of his province, and by mingling a somewhat conciliatory treatment of those who submitted with unrelenting severity towards those who resisted, had given his authority a degree of stability in Aragon. He failed in an attempt upon Valencia, but materially aided his countrymen's progress in Catalonia, where the exploits of O'Donnell had brought discredit upon several successive French generals. Augereau superseded St. Cyr, and was superseded in his turn by Macdonald, who imitated, though with less success, the policy of Suchet. Both these marshals were entirely independent of Joseph, and it was generally conceived that Napoleon meant to detach their provinces from Spain, and unite them to France. Soult was employed in tranquillizing Andalusia, repulsing the still unconquered Murcians, and quelling the insurgent Granadans. Victor was conducting the siege of Cadiz, an operation that proceeded languidly on both sides, from want of numbers on Victor's, and the usual causes on that of the Spaniards.

* The authorities principally consulted for this chapter are, Southey, Napier, Scott, Marquess of Londonderry, Suchet, Sherer, Elliott, Miller, *Annals of the Peninsular Campaigns*, *Memoirs of the Late War*, *Annual Register*,

The assembling of the *Cortes* was looked to as the period, and as the means, of the regeneration of Spain. These hopes were confirmed, and the peculiar character of the Spanish resolution was, at the same time, curiously illustrated, by the mode in which the elections were carried on, even in the provinces most thoroughly occupied by the French. Considerable bodies of armed peasants, or of *guerrillas*, sometimes temporarily drove the French from the town where an election was appointed to take place, sometimes merely held them at bay, whilst the suffrages were collected. And thus, almost everywhere, deputies were elected who, sooner or later, found their way to Cadiz.

On the 24th of September the *Cortes* were solemnly opened, mass being said by the cardinal de Bourbon, archbishop of Toledo, the only male of the royal family left in Spain. The assembly immediately

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decreed a new levy of one hundred and fifty thousand men, together with provision for the support and equipment of all the Spanish armies. But then, as if this decree had sufficed for expelling the enemy, who held the whole country in subjection, they dedicated their whole attention to framing a constitution. Lord Wellesley, when he urged the convocation of the *Cortes*, had advised the immediate passing of a law, analogous to the English bill of rights, drawn up upon liberal and conciliatory principles. But this was too dull and practical a process for the *Cortes*, who proceeded to establish sweeping theories, resembling those adopted by the French National Assembly, and equally democratic in their tenor. The fault lay in their own composition. The measure adopted by Charles V. for increasing the monarchical power by lessening the influence of the nobles and ecclesiastics, as separate Orders, from the assembly of the *Cortes*—namely, the exclusion of the nobles and ecclesiastics,—now renewed its injurious effect, though in a more circuitous fashion.

The *Central Junta*, by the advice of Jovellanos, had intended to balance the popular assembly by a second chamber, composed of grandees and church dignitaries. But since those Orders had ceased to form part of the *Cortes*, they had lost that character of powerful, and therefore useful, restraints upon the arbitrary prerogatives of the crown,

which can alone temper the envy excited in the minds of the lower classes by the sight of superior wealth and splendour. There was no longer any community of feeling between the patrician, and even the higher ranks of the plebeian, portions of the nation: hence the nobles and church dignitaries were considered only as the probable pertinacious defenders of those feudal privileges which, even more than the royal despotism, had provoked whatever desire of reform existed in Spain. The project for a second chamber, resembling the British House of Peers, failed, therefore; and although many nobles and ecclesiastics were chosen as deputies, thus disseminated through a popular assembly, their use, as a check upon the headlong impulse of democratic and speculative innovation, was destroyed. The result might have been foretold from the experience of France.

The *Cortes* proceeded rashly in their career of reform. The spirit of their measures and discussions was offensive to the regency, which endeavoured to control them, by inviting the duke of Orleans, then in Sicily, to visit Spain, and exercise, as a prince of the blood, considerable authority. The duke accepted the invitation; but the jealous *Cortes* compelled him immediately to leave the country again; and the disputes that ensued between the *Cortes* and the regency, ended in the dissolution of the latter body, for whom was substituted an Executive Council of three.

This council was composed of the brave, but always unsuccessful, General Blake, of Cisar, governor of Carthagena, and Agar, a naval officer. But the executive council was as ill-disposed as the regency, to the innovating course of the *Cortes*; and an intrigue was carried on with its members by Souza, the Portuguese ambassador, to procure the acknowledgment of the princess of Brazil, who, according to the old laws of Spain, was next heir to her imprisoned brothers, as of right sole regent of Spain. The success of this cabal is said to have been prevented by the interference of lord Wellington and Mr. Wellesley, who had taken the place of the marquess as ambassador.

The next body whom the *Cortes* offended was the clergy. By attacking the Inquisition, and attempting other ecclesiastical reforms for which the country was unripe, they exasperated

the whole church, and sowed the seeds of the fatal subsequent reaction, that has robbed Spain of all the internal benefits she ought to have derived from the restoration of her representative legislature. If a more immediate evil was not produced, and the unbounded influence exercised by the Spanish clergy over their flocks was not turned against the cause of national independence, the reason is probably to be found in the bitter spirit of individual vengeance, provoked by the brutal conduct of the invaders, and in the detestation entertained by the clergy as well as laity for the professed infidelity of the French.

In another instance the measures of the *Cortes* produced more sudden ill consequences,—an instance in which their conduct does not admit of the excuse of being a mere injudicious application of liberal and rational principles. The evil here resulted from the inconsistent selfishness (unhappily but too common) that impelled them, whilst claiming for themselves a rather extravagant degree of liberty, to tyrannize over others. Although they had allowed the colonies to send deputies to the *Cortes*, they were not willing to treat the colonists as brethren.

The colonies, upon the first intelligence of the seizure of the royal family by Napoleon, and of the consequent insurrection of the universal Spanish nation, had unanimously professed their loyalty to Ferdinand, and their adhesion to the national cause. The emissaries employed by Napoleon and Joseph to seduce them had been everywhere derided and punished; and the American revenues, regularly conveyed to the mother-country by English vessels, ought, if fairly applied, to have done much towards supporting the war. In return for their frank assistance, the colonies expected the relaxation, at least, of those oppressive restrictions under which they had so long laboured; and when they found that, although their rights were theoretically acknowledged, the evils of which they complained were rather increased than diminished, a very general sense of ill usage and resentment was excited. Their loyalty to their captive king remained unshaken, but it was now mingled with irritation against, and jealousy of, the temporary governments that ruled in his name.

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In this temper the American provinces were found by the intelligence of the surrender of Seville, the subjugation of Andalusia, and the flight and dispersion of the Central *Junta*. The province of Caracas now assumed that Spain was conquered; and, declaring that they never would submit to Joseph, cast off the authority of the mother-country whilst proclaiming inviolable fidelity to Ferdinand. This example was followed by the other provinces of Terra Firma, as the north coast of the southern continent was called, and on the 19th of April, 1810, the Venezuela Confederation proclaimed its independent existence under Ferdinand VII. They refused to acknowledge the Cadiz regency and *Cortes*, with whom they carried on a paper war; and those bodies, vehemently resenting this daring assertion of independence, divided the forces that should have been dedicated to the expulsion of the enemy from Spain, in order to compel colonial submission.

At home, whilst the attention of the *Cortes* and the executive was thus distracted by schemes either intrinsically wrong or premature, the same intrigue and negligence that had hitherto lamed all the exertions of the nation were still suffered to prevail. From the injudicious appointment to the chief command of the worst of all the

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Spanish generals, La Peña, and the weakness of the defensive measures adopted by the Cadiz *Junta*, the Executive Council, and the *Cortes*, Cadiz must have fallen, if Soult had not been ordered by Napoleon to quit Andalusia, and co-operate with Massena against Portugal. Graham wished to take advantage of his absence, and, by a movement on the rear of the French lines, force Victor to raise the siege. The plan was approved, and the troops landed in a convenient place. But La Peña, to whom Graham, as a measure of conciliation, gave up the supreme command, after baulking the design by his vacillating folly, stood inactive in a safe and distant post, with eleven thousand Spaniards, whilst at Barrosa, Graham, with little more than four thousand English and Portuguese, fought and defeated nearly nine thousand French. By the Spanish general's refusal even to pursue the beaten enemy, the benefit of this hardly-won success was lost. The Council and *Cortes* approved of La Peña's conduct: he

claimed the merit of the victory, and Graham, in disgust, resigning his command to General Cooke, joined Lord Wellington.

Owing to Spanish procrastination this operation did not take place till the beginning of March, although Soult had, early in January, led his army into Extremadura, and proceeded to secure his rear by reducing the fortresses which the Spaniards still held there, before he should enter Portugal. Those fortresses, notwithstanding Lord Wellington's repeated warnings of their danger, were unprovided for a siege; and La Romana, just as he was going to undertake their defence, upon the plan recommended by the British commander, died on the 24th of January. Olivenza had capitulated on the 22nd, and the French laid siege to Badajoz. La Romana's second in command and successor, Mendizabal, took his own course, and was defeated by Soult; but Don Raphael Menacho, the governor of Badajoz, defended the place stoutly, and Soult remained before it.

In Portugal the winter had passed with little alteration. Wellington and Massena had spent it in watching each other, and strengthening their respective positions; but whilst the English general was improving the discipline of his Portuguese troops, that of the French was almost ruined by the incessant distant marauding expeditions; and the rough handling that the troops employed in them suffered from the Portuguese militia and *ordenanzas*, and from the British cavalry, began to tell upon the numbers of the French. Towards the end of December, Massena had been joined by Drouet, with the corps left behind on entering Portugal; but his losses had been so heavy, that this accession of strength did not enable him to undertake offensive measures. He knew that Soult was besieging Badajoz, but from the difficulty of correspondence, knew not when to expect his advance.

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By the end of February the provisions, which the obstinacy of the regents had left to the French, were exhausted. Massena learned from his partizans in Lisbon that English reinforcements had landed on the 2nd of March, and on the 6th he had evacuated Santarem, and begun his retreat. He conducted it with great skill, stained, however, with as great and wanton cruelty. In fact,

this retreat, though highly honourable to the general's abilities, remains one of the foulest blots upon the moral character of the French army. But the pursuit was conducted by lord Wellington with yet greater ability,—every strong position taken by the French army being immediately turned by the British; and on the 5th of April the prince of Essling was finally driven across the frontiers of Portugal. This retreat cost the French about six thousand men, and the allies a tenth of that number. Massena's previous losses are estimated at twenty-five or thirty thousand men.

Beresford had been detached at the very beginning of this movement to raise the siege of Badajoz, and information of Massena's retreat and the approaching relief had been conveyed to that town. But the brave Menacho had fallen in a sally, and the command had devolved upon a man of a different character, though of previously high reputation, Don José de Imas. He received the important intelligence, and, immediately capitulating, imparted the tidings to Soult. The duke of Dalmatia garrisoned Badajoz, and was now master of Extremadura. But Massena's retreat having, for the present at least, put an end to the scheme arranged for the conquest of Portugal, he hastened back to Andalusia to press forward the siege of Cadiz, and prevent the ill consequences he apprehended from the battle of Barrosa.

Lord Wellington, having now again delivered Portugal, and proved the wisdom of his own views, asked for such reinforcements as might enable him to undertake the deliverance of Spain, without being, as before, dependent upon the obstinate generals and feeble counsels of that country. But to the feasibility of his future schemes, and even to the maintenance of Portugal and of Cadiz, the recovery of Almeida, Ciudad Rodrigo, and Badajoz was indispensable. The first of these fortresses Wellington immediately blockaded, and directed

Marshal Beresford to lay siege to the last, which, from the meanness of the governor, he had been too late to save.

Massena having refreshed, re-equipped and re-organized his army in Spain, marched to relieve Almeida. His advance produced the battle of Fuentes de Onor, fought on the 5th of May, in

which, after an obstinate and sanguinary contest, the prince of Essling was repulsed, and again retreated. Brenner, the governor of Almeida, then despairing of relief, blew up the fortifications of the place, and, by the injudicious arrangement of the officer to whom the conduct of the blockade had been committed, made his way, with little loss, through the British lines, and rejoined Massena. Ciudad Rodrigo was next blockaded, but lord Wellington's numbers were inadequate to the occupation of all the necessary positions. The French easily introduced convoys, and the blockade was abandoned.

Little progress was made in the south. Some smaller places Marshal Beresford recovered; but he had scarcely invested Badajoz when the approach of Soult, with a powerful army, obliged him to raise the siege. Afterwards, yielding to the clamour of his troops, and to the urgency of Blake, who had joined him, he fought a battle at Albuera on the 16th of May, although the only object of engaging could have been to cover the siege that he had already raised. In the battle he and his English troops displayed great personal bravery, and by dint of hard fighting repulsed the duke of Dalmatia. But the victory was purchased by the loss of four thousand five hundred British, killed and wounded, out of six thousand, and of two thousand six hundred Germans, Spaniards, and Portuguese. Lord Wellington arrived in Beresford's camp soon after the battle, and Badajoz was besieged a second time under his own direction.

The British army was, unfortunately, so deficient in all the requisites for sieges, especially soldiers acquainted with the duties of sappers and miners, that its able general never undertook any such operation that could be avoided without detriment to his great objects. Upon the present occasion the deficiency was the more sensibly felt from the necessity of despatch. The army of Portugal, as it was still called, was known to be marching southwards, in order to co-operate with Soult in raising the siege. On the night of the 5th of June, after seven days of open trenches, a breach being reported practicable, an attempt was made to storm. It failed; was repeated two nights later, and again failed, both times with heavy loss. Upon this second repulse, as the combined French armies, to the amount of seventy thousand men, were approaching, lord

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Wellington, who had but fifty-six thousand, and was particularly inferior to his adversaries in cavalry, raised the siege, and withdrew the troops to a strong position, limiting himself, for the present, to the defence of Portugal.

The Portuguese regency had not yet learned the importance of regularity in paying and feeding their troops, and their usual negligence was now, perhaps, increased, from the extreme distress to which Massena's invasion had reduced the country. Partly from the irregularity still prevalent in these matters, and partly from the loss of Beresford's immediate superintendence, since he had held a separate command, the Portuguese troops had retrograded in their discipline. Fortunately General Hill, about this period, returned from England, when the command of the army in Alemtejo was given to him, and Beresford resumed those highly-important duties for which he seemed more particularly qualified.

During the very many months in which the series of military events just narrated were in progress, the arrival of Napoleon in the Peninsula had been anxiously expected, as well by the French armies, bitterly conscious how incapable were his best marshals of supplying his place, as by those who, with opposite wishes, deemed it so impossible for a British general to make head against the mighty master of war, that his presence must needs decide the struggle, and send the English armies discomfited home. The hopes and fears of both parties were alike disappointed. No other war raged to distract the attention of the French emperor; but he did not again take the command of the peninsular armies, and it is difficult to assign a valid reason for his conduct.

During the preceding year it may be supposed that anxiety for an heir, who should blend his blood with that of the house of Austria, might render Napoleon un-

willing to leave his young wife, or to hazard the consequences of her alarms for his personal safety. But on the 20th of March, 1811, Maria Louisa gave birth to a son, who received the proud title of king of Rome—a title that pretty distinctly announced the permanent incorporation of the kingdom of Italy with France, notwithstanding all laws and treaties to the contrary. But though the succession to his throne was now assured, still Napoleon remained in

France, leaving the execution of those military plans, which he sent from Paris, to marshals who, from mutual jealousies and other causes, fulfilled their instructions imperfectly, and offered opportunities to their opponents, of which one, at least, never failed to profit.

It has been conjectured, that the attention of Napoleon was now engrossed by those incipient dissensions with Russia, which originated in Alexander's dissatisfaction at the great additions recently made to the French empire, namely, the incorporation of Holland (consequent upon Lewis's abdication and the transference of his son and heir from the Dutch throne to that of the grand-duchy of Berg) and of great part of the northern coast of Germany,—and in the reluctance of the great land-owners of Russia, to submit to the diminution of their incomes consequent upon the interdiction of commerce with England, the chief purchaser of the hemp and tallow which constitute the principal produce of their estates. These dissensions as yet, however, only threatened hostilities. Napoleon might at once have put an end to them by a trifling relaxation in his continental system with respect to Russian commerce; and if he had resolved against concession, it should seem that his policy was to terminate the Spanish war, if possible, by his own vigorous personal intervention, ere he engaged in a new war with Russia, which, besides requiring the exertion of all his power and resources, must call him out of reach of even directing the peninsular campaigns. He did not adopt this plan, but contented himself with sending reinforcements to the extent of fifty thousand men, naming Marmont, duke of Ragusa, to supersede Massena, whose conduct of the invasion of Portugal he of course blamed; and placing Catalonia, like Aragon, under Suchet's command, and Valencia when he should have conquered that province.

Suchet had deserved this confidence: he had done more than any other French general both to conquer Spain, and to bend her to the yoke. Aragon was tolerably submissive; Tarragona, the last fortress of Catalonia, fell in June; the garrison, after a gallant defence, fled from the assault, and Suchet justified the atrocities of all kinds, of which he seems even to have encouraged the perpetra-

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tion, upon the grounds of his desire, by one dreadful example, to terrify the people from resistance.

Considering his work done in Catalonia, although *guerrilla* bands still occupied the mountain fastnesses, and the bold and able Sarsfield watched every opportunity of directing them upon the French, Suchet next invaded Valencia. He defeated several detachments of the Spanish army, and on the 16th of October laid siege to Murviedro. Here his situation appears to have been critical, had his adversaries known how to use their advantages. Murviedro defended itself valiantly; Blake, who remained at the head of the Valencian and Murcian armies, leaving his duties as a member of the executive council to be discharged by the Marquess of Chastelar as his deputy, Blake lay with a still numerous army in his front; and Mina, the Empecinado, and Duran, another *guerrilla* chief, having entered Aragon, were cutting off French detachments in his rear. But mutual jealousies hindered the *guerrilla* leaders from acting in concert: Blake as usual grew weary of caution and procrastination, gave battle on the 25th of October, and, although the Spaniards fought with more persevering gallantry than they had lately displayed in the field, was defeated.

Upon this disaster, Murviedro capitulated, and Blake took another strong position to protect the capital, Valencia, where Suchet did not attempt to molest him until he had received considerable reinforcements. Then, on the 26th of December, he attacked and again defeated him, driving him with the remainder of his army into Valencia. There Suchet besieged him, and compelled him to capitulate on the 8th of January, 1812. This campaign, the most successful the French had made in Spain since the first, Napoleon rewarded by creating Suchet duke of Albufera, and granting him the royal domain of that name in Valencia, as an inalienable fief of the French empire.

Valencia and Extremadura were thus subdued, in the campaign of 1811; but everywhere the French detachments and communications were more and more harassed by the *guerrillas*. A Spanish army, under Eroles, still held the mountain fastnesses of Catalonia; and even dared to penetrate into France, where it levied contributions. Dorsenne's invasion of Galicia had been prevented by

Lord Wellington's demonstrations against Ciudad Rodrigo, which had compelled Marmont to recall that general. Victor made no progress with the siege of Cadiz; and Ballasteros, at the head of a small army, aided by colonel Skerrett, with a few British, and protected, whenever pressed, by the guns of Gibraltar, so often foiled, and at last so thoroughly defeated a division of Soult's army, that its leader, General Godinet, committed suicide rather than meet the reproaches of his commander.

In Cadiz meanwhile the *Cortes* were almost entirely occupied with metaphysical discussions, the construction of their constitution, and the wrangling in which they were involved with the Executive Council, by their decrees for the abolition of many feudal privileges, most of which, certainly, it was highly desirable to abolish, had the moment been more propitious. The want of a commander-in-chief, who might prevent the ill effects of the squabbles and jealousies of the different generals, was sensibly felt; but those very jealousies increased the difficulty of making such an appointment, and accordingly none was made. A proposition for placing the western provinces under the authority of lord Wellington, made when the British army had reached the frontier in pursuit of Massena, provoked such a tempest of Spanish pride, and such suspicions as to the ultimate designs of England, that Mr. Wellesley was obliged formally to disavow, in the name of his government, any desire of territorial acquisition, and in that of his brother, any desire of exercising authority, save as it was indispensable to the common object of expelling the French from the Peninsula.

The dissensions with the colonies likewise diverted both the attention and the resources of the Spanish government from the vigorous prosecution of the war. Those dissensions were further inflamed by an unseasonable speculatively-liberal decree of the *Cortes*, extending to the aboriginal Americans all the rights and privileges of Creoles, whilst to these last they still refused those of native Spaniards. In every American province insurrection now raged.

In Mexico, after a severe struggle, by the help of some of the best Spanish regiments recently sent over, the Spa-

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niards regained the ascendancy, and the authority of the *Cortes* was acknowledged. In South America the insurgents everywhere prevailed. In Venezuela, where Miranda had now become a leading man, the Spaniards, notwithstanding their reinforcements from home, were completely subdued. Peru and Chili were in a state of revolutionary convulsion. Buenos Ayres had proclaimed its independence, (still, however, acknowledging Ferdinand,) and Elio, the new viceroy, sent out by the *Cortes* with troops to quell the existing disturbances, could proceed no farther than Monte Video, whence he waged war upon the capital of his viceroyalty.

Both parties importuned the British naval officers upon that station for assistance, but they were strictly forbidden to interfere in these internal hostilities amongst the subjects of an ally. Lord Strangford, indeed, now English ambassador at Rio Janeiro, proffered the mediation of England to settle the existing differences, which Buenos Ayres, claiming at least equality with the mother country, declined, as dreading the partiality of England to Spain. The Prince-Regent of Portugal, less scrupulous, and more interested than England in the dispute, sent a body of troops to assist the viceroy. Whilst the Spanish government, painfully feeling the loss of American revenue, and checked in their efforts to enforce the submission of the colonies, by the mutiny of the troops ordered for America, and their refusal to leave Spain, implored the intervention of England, making it, however, a condition of such mediation, that if the colonies could not be induced to own the authority of the *Cortes*, England should break off all intercourse with them.

The only military operation of the British troops of any moment that occurred in the autumn of 1811, was a daring enterprise of Sir Rowland

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Hill's. By an able and rapid march, he surprised, at Arroyo de Molinos, a body of five thousand French, who materially hampered Castaños in his endeavours to re-organize an Estremaduran army; he made great slaughter of them, and completely dispersed the survivors, taking fifteen hundred prisoners, with all their artillery, stores, and baggage.

The year 1812 opened with an exploit, the brilliant rapidity of which seems equally to have confounded the French, and enraptured the Spaniards. Lord Wellington had long been silently forwarding every preparation for the siege of Ciudad Rodrigo; whilst Marmont, lulled into perfect tranquillity with regard to that important place by the ease with which the blockade had been raised in the preceding summer, had taken up his quarters upon the Tagus, made detachments from his army to assist Suchet, and to quell the Biscayan and Asturian insurgents, and seeming to think but little of Lord Wellington, bestowed his chief care upon watching Hill, who was ordered thus to attract his attention.

His means being thus prepared, and his enemy unobservant, Lord Wellington resolved to carry Ciudad Rodrigo before Marmont could even attempt anything for its relief. On the 8th of January, 1812, he suddenly appeared before the place, invested it, carried a principal redoubt by force, and opened his trenches the same evening. By talent, assiduity, and labour, all defects and deficiencies in the besieging troops were obviated; the siege was urged on with the utmost possible vigour; and the cantonments of the different divisions of the army were so arranged, that a powerful covering force could at any moment be drawn together to oppose Marmont, should he present himself. This last precaution proved unnecessary. On the 19th two breaches were reported practicable, and the town was stormed the same night. The plunder and licence incident to taking towns by assault could not be repressed for some hours; but it is averred, to the credit of the British troops, that so immediately did they abstain from the work of slaughter upon the cessation of resistance, that out of a garrison of two thousand seven hundred men, the prisoners amounted to seventeen hundred. The siege cost the allies thirteen hundred men in killed and wounded.

Marmont no sooner heard of the siege, than he made energetic exertions to assemble an army sufficient to raise it; and for this purpose again recalled Dorsenne from the north. The place was taken before his troops were collected; a rapidity of success, of which Marmont, in his official report, speaks as incomprehensible. The northern provinces continued their usual *guerrilla*

course of warfare, but made no effort for the common cause. All Spain was, however, delighted at the recovery of a town, the loss of which had been so bitterly deplored; and the *Cortes* created Lord Wellington a Grandee of the first class by the title of duke of Ciudad Rodrigo; whilst in England he was raised to the dignity of an earl.

The victor meanwhile was again making preparations with the same secrecy that had already so happily succeeded. Estremadura was then nearly free from French troops; and by disguising his designs, lord Wellington hoped to master Badajoz like Ciudad Rodrigo, before Soult and Marmont should have time to hear of the siege, and unite their forces to raise it. The heavy artillery was put on board large ships at Lisbon, with a professed different destination; trans-shipped out at sea, into small craft, and brought up the river Sadao, to a point whence its conveyance through the Alemtejo was likely to escape the enemy's observation. All preliminary measures being conducted with similar caution, the troops broke up from the neighbourhood of Ciudad Rodrigo to march southwards on the 6th of March, and on the 16th, Badajoz was invested, whilst Graham (now second in command) and Hill, with the main body of the army, took up a position to cover the siege.

The works were hurried on with the diligence already practised, and on the 24th an important fort was carried by assault. On the 30th information was received that Soult was advancing with his whole disposable force to raise the siege; that Graham and Hill were retreating before him towards Albuera; that Marmont, taking advantage of the allied army's removal, had crossed the frontier, blockaded Ciudad Rodrigo, masked Almeida, and marched southwards, plundering and ravaging the country, as far as Castel Branco; and that the cavalry and militia, left to observe him, had fallen back, the latter upon the mountains, the former towards the Tagus. In consequence of this threatening intelligence, the siege was pressed with increased ardour; on the 6th of April three sufficient breaches were made; and on the night of that day they were stormed. The gallantry of the garrison, and the obstacles opposed by the skill of the French engineers to the passage of the breaches, rendered the assault difficult and sanguinary.

All the leading officers, including Generals Picton, Colville, Kempt, Walker, and Bowes, were wounded so severely as to be disabled; but the undaunted resolution of the troops finally overpowered all resistance, and Badajoz was taken, the governor, General Philippon, and four thousand men being made prisoners. The fall of Badajoz seems to have surprised the French yet more than that of Ciudad Rodrigo, and as they themselves said, in intercepted letters, disappointed all their calculations.

One result of this triumph was the immediate and final retreat of the French from Estremadura and Portugal. Soult lost no time in returning to Seville, harassed by the cavalry of the allies; and Marmont, retracing his steps, raised the blockade of Ciudad Rodrigo, and fell back to Salamanca. This plundering inroad was the only damage sustained by Portugal after the evacuation of Almeida. That country was already beginning to recover from its sufferings. Agriculture was reviving, and the Regency issued a proclamation, in which the improvements effected were announced; at the same time, that the people were warned to hold themselves in readiness for carrying into execution, in case of necessity, those measures for distressing an invader, which had been so unfortunately neglected previous to Massena's invasion.

The news of the unexpected fall of Ciudad Rodrigo and Badajoz reached the French emperor when his armies were assembling in the duchy of Warsaw, and he was preparing to begin his fatal campaign against Russia.

The tidings seem to have awakened a desire in his breast to leave peace behind him; and he directed pacific overtures to be made to the British court. In these the *uti possidetis* was proposed as the basis of negotiation, of course considering Joseph as the actual king of Spain. The prince of Wales now governed England as regent, in consequence of the confirmed mental derangement of George III. But he had retained his father's ministers, and adopted his father's system of foreign policy. He refused to attend to any treaty that included the abandonment of his Spanish allies.

Napoleon made no further attempt at negotiation; but calculating, probably, that his immense hosts of nearly two

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millions of men, gathered from France and all her subject states, would afford an abundant sufficiency of effective troops to carry on two wars at the south-western and north-eastern extremities of Europe simultaneously, he committed the subjugation of the Peninsula and Lord Wellington to the dukes of Dalmatia, Albufera, and Ragusa, with about one hundred and eighty thousand men, and on the 9th of May left Paris for Dresden. There he held a court attended by his father-in-law, the Emperor of Austria, and all the vassal kings and princes of Germany. But as soon as his armies had reached the Russian frontiers, he quitted a scene that merely flattered his vanity, and hastened to direct in person a new invasion as unjust as it was impolitic.

In Spain, the native leaders meanwhile continued their desultory warfare; Lacy, Sarsfield, Rovira, Mina, and Porlier in the north, the Empecinado and Sanchez in the Castiles, and Ballasteros in the south, gained trifling advantages over the enemy in divers engagements; but for want of concert no material result was obtained from their successes, whilst Suchet, following up his blow, made himself master of the whole kingdom of Valencia, with the single exception of Alicante. That place, with the usual resolution of Spanish towns, repulsed an attack made by Montbrun with a division of the army of Portugal, which Marmont, in the very beginning of January, during the presumed inactivity of his own immediate antagonist, Wellington, had sent to co-operate with the duke of Albufera. In Tarifa, a town defended only by an old wall, eighteen hundred English and Spanish troops, commanded by Colonel Skerrett, repulsed ten thousand French led by the duke of Belluno in person.

CHAPTER XII.

Cortes appoint a new Regency and Council of State—New constitution proclaimed and sworn to—Too democratic—Wellington advances into Spain—Battle of Salamanca—Joseph evacuates Madrid—Wellington enters Madrid—Is appointed Commander-in-Chief of the Spanish armies—Siege of Cadiz raised—Ballasteros refuses to obey a foreigner—Cortes displace and imprison him—Wellington fails before Burgos—Retreats to Portugal—Joseph re-enters Madrid—Napoleon invades Russia—Moscow burnt—Napoleon's disastrous retreat—Colonial War—Wellington's arrangements with Spanish and Portuguese Regencies—Napoleon leads a new army into Germany—His victories—Wellington turns the French position on the Douro—French retreat to the Ebro—Joseph evacuates Madrid, and joins the army—Position on the Ebro turned—Battle of Vitoria—Congress of Prague—Dissolved—Austria declares against France—Battles of the Pyrenees—Storming of St. Sebastian—Passage of the Bidassoa—Pamplona surrenders—Battle of the Nivelle.*

THE *Cortes* were by this time weary of their Executive Council, and proceeded to make a new Regency, or rather, to provide a constant supply of successive regencies. They appointed a Council of State which was to be composed of twenty members; two being *grandees*, two ecclesiastics, and the remainder, persons who had distinguished themselves in the military, diplomatic, magisterial, and financial careers; six were to be natives of the colonies. The deposed regents were named members of this council. The duke del Infantado, then ambassador in England, was recalled to assume the presidency, and O'Donnel, count of Añibal, was named vice-president. From this body, in itself too numerous for the discharge of the executive functions, regencies were to be selected by some established law of rotation. The first regency chosen consisted of four persons, viz. Mosquera y Figueroa, its president, Villavicencio, de Rivas, and Añibal. It proved more vigorous than its predecessors; and upon assuming the government, published two addresses, one to the nation, urging the necessity of great sacrifices to achieve the great end of deliverance from a foreign usurper; the other to the colonies, inviting them to concur in the common cause. But still the main object of the *Cortes* was the new constitution, to framing which

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* The authorities principally consulted for this chapter are, Southey, Scott, Marquess of Londonderry, Elliot, Sherer, Suchet, *Annals of the Peninsular Campaigns*, *Memoirs of the late War*, *Annual Register*.

they devoted nearly all their time and thoughts.

In the month of March this important task was completed, and solemnly sworn to. The reign of this constitution has, however, been so short, that it is needless to enter into any further detail concerning it than to say, that it was a very limited representative monarchy, with the ordinary securities for personal liberty, but destitute of that invaluable balancing power between king and people, a second chamber, or house of Peers; and by not assigning to the great and the affluent their natural and just office and interest in the state, it necessarily alienated them, as a body, from the new form of government, with which only a few zealously patriotic, or selfishly ambitious individuals of the formerly privileged orders were satisfied. The *Cortes* jealously excluded from the succession to the crown, under any possible contingency, the youngest *Infante*, Don Francisco, the queen of Etruria, and their descendants, as being under the influence of the old king and queen and Godoy, and, through them, of Napoleon, as also the French empress, the Archduchess Maria Louisa, and her descendants; and among many liberal decrees, only too liberal, for the most part, to accord with the state of public opinion in Spain, they abolished all the disabilities imposed upon the descendants of Moors.

Whilst the Spanish *Cortes* and government were engrossed by these highly useful, but somewhat inopportune labours, and ere they had produced any powerful and combined effort against the enemy, who still held complete military possession of the country for which they were legislating, the great English commander upon whom the liberation of Spain really depended, had gained new triumphs over the French. He had ordered General Hill to

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drive the French from Almaraz upon the Tagus, which service that officer had gallantly performed, and thus obtained possession of the only place through which, so general had been the destruction of bridges, the enemy's armies of Portugal and of the south could conveniently keep up their communication across the river. The intercourse between Soult and Marmont being thus impeded, and assurance received that an English army, sufficient to effect a

powerful diversion in the eastern provinces, had sailed from Sicily under General Maitland, the earl of Wellington advanced towards Salamanca on the 13th of June. He there, despite the efforts of the duke of Ragusa, reduced several very strong forts before the end of the month.

Marmont retreated to the Douro, whither Wellington followed him, and where the French marshal was joined by a strong corps under Bonnet. A series of masterly manœuvres ensued, in which, during six days, the contending generals displayed all the resources of their art. The advantage in this pure trial of skill remained with the Briton, who, on the 22nd of July, seizing upon an arash movement of Marmont's, instantly attacked him, and gained the splendid victory of Salamanca, in which the French lost seven thousand prisoners, at least as many killed and wounded, including three generals killed and four wounded, amongst whom was Marmont himself, eleven pieces of artillery, and two eagles. The loss of the allies amounted to five thousand two hundred killed and wounded, the former including one general, the latter five.

Clausel, who upon Marmont's being disabled, succeeded to the command, rallied the routed army, and retreated to Burgos. Wellington pursued him as far as Valladolid, and then turning southwards, marched upon Madrid. Joseph had not above twenty thousand men for the defence of his capital; he abandoned it at the approach of the allies; but weakened himself by leaving a garrison of two thousand men in a fortress adjoining the palace of Buen Retiro. They capitulated on the approach of the British army, remaining prisoners of war.

Lord Wellington entered Madrid on the 12th of August, and was received with every demonstration of the most enthusiastic joy and gratitude, as the deliverer of Spain. The new constitution was proclaimed in the capital, and sworn to with eager zeal. And now the exploits and services of the British general had at length so far conquered Spanish jealousy, that the *Cortes* named the duke of Ciudad Rodrigo commander-in-chief of the Spanish forces, during the continuance of the existing war—an appointment which promised to remove many of the impediments that had obstructed the progress of the allied arms, and which was fully warranted

by the results of his recent triumphs. The French marshals now saw with alarm the dissemination of their troops. Soult raised the blockade of Cadiz on the 25th, and collected his forces eastwards, where he could, if necessary, unite with Suchet. He left, however, a garrison in Seville, which fell into the hands of the English and Spanish troops from Cadiz, who stormed that town on the 27th. Joseph, on the advance of Hill, retreated in the same direction, and Andalusia was again freed from the presence of the invaders.

But the position of lord Wellington at Madrid, which had already produced most of the expected advantages, was becoming dangerous. He was disappointed of the diversions upon which he had relied. Maitland's army proved too weak, amounting only to six thousand men, to attempt a landing in Catalonia. It was therefore directed to Alicante; and O'Donnel, with whom alone it could have co-operated in Valencia, having been defeated and driven into Murcia just before Maitland's arrival, the Anglo-Sicilian army necessarily remained in garrison at Alicante, where at the utmost it checked Suchet's advance upon Madrid. And Ballasteros, who had the most efficient army in Andalusia, refused to obey lord Wellington's orders, alleging that it was disgraceful to the national character for a Spaniard to receive orders from a foreigner.

The Regency energetically supported their own authority. Ballasteros was arrested in the midst of his army, and sent to the African fortress of Ceuta; the command was transferred to Virues, and the most precise orders were issued to all Spanish officers to obey the duke of Ciudad Rodrigo. But the opportunity was lost. Soult had concentrated his forces, and in conjunction with Joseph was advancing upon Madrid. And the only prospect of co-operation for Wellington appeared to be in the north, where a Gallician army of twenty-five thousand men was said to be ready to act against Clausef's troops, now reinforced and reorganized, provided they were put in possession of Burgos. Thus situated, the British leader quitted Madrid on the 1st of September, to march against Burgos, leaving half his army under Hill to observe Soult, and if possible defend Madrid. The English troops that had garrisoned Cadiz now joined the army.

The French retreated as the allies advanced, and at Palencia the Gallician army effected its junction, but consisted only of ten thousand new levies. On the 19th lord Wellington occupied Burgos, and laid siege to the castle. Here the deficiency of means already described proved more detrimental than ever, rendering it impossible to conquer the science and courage displayed in the defence. A month was spent in daring but unsuccessful attempts to storm the fortifications, during which neither Spaniards nor the Anglo-Sicilian army could effect a diversion to prevent the approach of Souham with all the disposable French force in the north of Spain. Lord Wellington, on the 22nd of October, judged it expedient to raise the siege, and take up his winter-quarters on the Portuguese frontier, trusting to make arrangements during the season of inaction, in virtue of his new authority, by which a character of more efficiency might be given to the exertions of the Spaniards, against the next campaign.

About the same time Joseph and Soult advancing upon Madrid, and threatening to turn the position Hill had taken to cover the capital, that general, in obedience to his instructions, retreated to Salamanca, where, on the 3rd of November, he joined lord Wellington. On the 24th, the troops went into cantonments along the frontier line, headquarters being fixed at Freynada. It is mortifying to be compelled to add, that leisurely as was this retreat, and untroubled by aught save very wet weather, the troops, dispirited by their failure before Burgos, discovered much of the disorder and insubordination that had marked sir John Moore's retreat to Coruña.

The year 1812 saw everywhere the beginning of the reverses which overthrew the colossal empire of Buonaparte. The Russians, imitating, perhaps, lord Wellington's mode of defending Portugal, retreated before the invading hosts.

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Napoleon, relying upon the daring system of striking at his enemy's metropolis, by which he had gained so many triumphs, paused not to organize a powerful support in his rear; rejected the earnest prayers of the Poles and Lithuanians to re-establish their independence, which in itself would have been a support equally firm and glorious; and pressed on to Moscow, gaining the brilliant but sanguinary victory of

Borodino in his way. Moscow was burnt, either accidentally or by the self-sacrificing patriotism of its inhabitants; but Napoleon pertinaciously remained there in the persuasion that his occupation of the capital would compel Alexander to accept any peace he should dictate.

The Russian armies, commanded by the veteran Kutusow, and augmented by all the troops previously employed against Turkey, (with which power Russia had now made peace under English mediation,) were gathering around Moscow during the whole of Napoleon's imprudently protracted stay. At length, disappointed by Alexander's refusal to treat with an enemy occupying one of his capitals, the French emperor began his retreat on the 19th of October; and then the Russians, by their overpowering numbers, forced him to follow the very road he had himself devastated upon his advance. Hence the usual disorders and consequent disasters incident to a retreat were multiplied an hundred fold; and they were yet further enhanced by the marauding and licentious habits of French soldiers, and by Napoleon's genius not being of that self-controlling character which shines equally in stemming adversity, as in gaining and improving success. Their rear and flanks were incessantly harassed by the Russians, especially by the Cossacks; and on the 6th of November they were overtaken, though they could hardly be surprised, by the setting in of the rigorous winter of northern climates.

The sick and wounded had already been left behind as the horses of the army sank under their privations; then artillery, ammunition, baggage, and even the spoils of Moscow were abandoned. The rear-guard was constantly engaged with superior numbers, and as the divisions relieved each other in that arduous post, one after another was cut to pieces. Discipline and order were no more; the army became a mere armed rabble; and had it not been met by reinforcements in a better condition, which took the office of rear-guard, not a man could have escaped. As it was, not above fifty thousand men out of the five hundred thousand whom Napoleon had either led into Russia, or summoned thither as reinforcements, recrossed its borders. Two hundred and fifty thousand men had perished in different ways, two hundred thousand were prisoners.

The king of Prussia took the opportunity of throwing off the French yoke. Herenewd his alliance with Alexander; and as their united armies advanced into Germany, the attachment of many other states to their conqueror appeared doubtful.

There was nothing to counterbalance the exultation excited in Spain by these frightful reverses of her unrelenting foe, except the continuance of the dissensions with the colonies.

Spanish Colonies
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All efforts at conciliation had come too late. Civil war raged throughout the whole of Spanish America, as yet with fluctuating success. In Buenos Ayres the independents retained the ascendancy, although the royalists kept possession of Monte Video, whence Elío had been recalled, Vigodet being sent out in his stead; and their allies the Portuguese had established themselves in their neighbourhood at Maldonado, which they were only induced to evacuate by the earnest intervention of the British ambassador at Rio Janeiro. In Venezuela the royalists had regained the upper hand. A dreadful earthquake that desolated Caraccas, seemed to have shaken the constancy of all the provinces; they were moreover distracted by factions; and Miranda was delivered up by his own party to his adversaries, and sent to Spain, where he was thrown into a dungeon. All the other colonies, with the exception of Cuba, Porto Rico, and the Philippines, were in a state of general convulsion and disorganization, which rendered useless to the mother-country, even those that were not positively inimical to her.

When his troops were stationed in their cantonments, lord Wellington repaired to Cadiz, to concert measures with the regency for improving the discipline and efficiency of the Spanish forces. He was Spain
A.D. 1812. assured that vigorous exertions should be made throughout the kingdom, to take advantage of the opportunity offered by Napoleon's present difficulties; that the authority of generals of armies should be defined, distinguished from that of civil governors, and confirmed; and that at least fifty thousand men, fully equipped and amply provisioned, should early take the field. A large section of the Spanish staff was assigned him as his means of communication with the different Spanish commanders.

From Cadiz lord Wellington went to Lisbon, and upon his road through Portugal the different towns vied with each other in the display of their gratitude and admiration; Lisbon being yet more enthusiastic than the rest. Besides the various honours paid him by the government and municipality, the city was generally and spontaneously illuminated for three following nights. All difficulties with the regency were now of course at an end, and every arrangement desired by the liberator of the kingdom was promptly made. The prince of Brazil, who had previously created lord Wellington count of Vimeiro and marquess of Torres Vedras, now conferred upon him the title of duke of Victoria, in commemoration of his many victories; and it might also have seemed in anticipation of the most decisive of his Peninsular battles. England had already raised her general to the rank of a marquess, and added a liberal grant for the purchase of estates to support the dignity of the peerage. From Lisbon the marquess of Wellington returned to Freynada to make his final preparations for the opening of the next campaign.

The allied armies were now, for the first time, about to take the field under favourable circumstances; and he, whose genius had hitherto been severely tried in contending with, and surmounting, every species of obstacle, might hope to pursue that more dazzling career of glory, which silences the cavils of envy and of ignorance. The resources of the Peninsula, such as they were, were placed at his disposal; the Anglo-Sicilian army was augmented to the number of sixteen thousand men, with whom, in conjunction with the Spanish army under Elio, sir John Murray gained some advantages over Suchet, in Valencia, and fully occupied his attention: and what was of more consequence, the French emperor, instead of constantly pouring reinforcements into Spain in numbers that almost seemed to render lord Wellington's victories barren triumphs, was compelled to withdraw thence as many troops as he deemed more than were necessary for the destruction of the British army; after which the submission of the Peninsula would, he expected, follow as a matter of course.

It has been remarked that Napoleon was deficient in the self-regulating moral energy, which, stemming the tide of misfortune, lessens the evils that cannot

be averted. The observation was not intended to describe him as fitted only to shine in prosperity, for never were

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the inexhaustible resources of his wonderful abilities more astonishingly displayed, than in the power with which he repaired the disasters of the Russian campaign. The conscription of 1814 was anticipated; the most active class of the national guards was converted into troops of the line; Soult, with thirty thousand veterans, was recalled from Spain; and towards the end of April, Napoleon had again three hundred and fifty thousand men in arms.

The northern allies had hitherto been almost uninterruptedly successful. They had been joined by an army of Swedes, under their crown prince, Bernadotte. This French general had been voluntarily raised to that dignity by Sweden, under the idea of conciliating France; but, provoked by the insulting treatment of Napoleon, by his increasing demands that every interest of Sweden should be sacrificed to his pleasure—that she should act, in short, as a vassal province of France—he had broken all old ties to unite with Russia, Prussia, and England, against the tyrant of Europe. The armies of the allied powers had penetrated beyond the Elbe; many of the Prussian fortresses were recovered; Hanover was partially evacuated, and its population rising against the French; and the Hanse towns gladly received the allies as their deliverers.

The appearance of Napoleon at the head of about one hundred and fifty thousand men changed the aspect of affairs, and it seemed as though he must again reign paramount over Europe. He defeated the allies in a hard-fought battle at Lützen on the 2nd of May, and again at Bautzen on the 20th and 21st. But his victories now produced no important results. The allies upon both occasions retreated in good order, and his own loss was very heavy: the Saxons, however, who had previously been wavering, now supported their king in adhering to France. Napoleon, on the 4th of June, agreed to allow Austria to mediate a peace, and he concluded an armistice in order to afford the negotiations the better chance of success.

The complicated arrangements requisite to bring so variously composed an army into activity, delayed lord Wellington's opening the campaign until the middle of May; when he took the

field at the head of nearly seventy thousand men, English and Portuguese, independently of the Spanish army of Galicia under Castaños on his left, and another on his right under Don Carlos de España. The French had still one hundred and sixty thousand men in Spain; and as many of these as were not engaged in the eastern provinces under Suchet, or employed in garrison duty, were stationed around Madrid and between the capital and the Douro, where they evidently contemplated making a stand; and, from the rugged character of the banks of that river, and the skill and labour that had been employed in fortifying them, they deemed it impossible they should be forced.

Lord Wellington ordered General Murray to remove his troops by sea to Catalonia, in order both to relieve Valencia by drawing Suchet northwards, and to be nearer the scene of the principal operations; and sent sir T. Graham, with the left wing of the army, to cross the Douro within the limits of Portugal, and thus turn a perhaps impregnable position, whilst he himself with the centre, and sir R. Hill with the right, advanced towards it in front, driving before them all detachments from the army of Portugal, as it was still termed, that were stationed south of the Douro. The manœuvre seems to have confounded the enemy. The army of Portugal retreated. Joseph, and Jourdan who had been sent back to him instead of Soult, collected the army of the centre, and evacuating Madrid, hastened to join the army of Portugal near Burgos. Here a battle was expected; but the French armies, though now estimated at seventy or eighty thousand men, continued their retreat, destroying as far as possible the defences of Burgos, and taking with them the garrisons of all the fortified towns they left behind them.

Joseph and Jourdan now proposed defending the passage of the Ebro, and, from the natural and artificial strength of the ground, with every prospect of success. Wellington has been usually contemned by French generals for his great economy of his soldiers' lives; and, again, upon this occasion, he did not attempt to force a passage that must have cost him dear. Graham was again sent to the left, through a country conceived to be impassable for wheel-car-

riages; he crossed the Ebro near its source, and returning along its northern bank, Joseph for the second time found the position, on the strength of which he relied, turned. He fell back to Vitoria, the principal *dépot* of the French in the northern provinces; there he halted, drew up his army in battle array, and prepared to make a last struggle for his crown. It is said that the French occupied the very ground on which, in the fourteenth century, the Black Prince had defeated du Guesclin, and recovered the Castilian crown for Don Pedro.

Lord Wellington called in his scattered divisions, intermixed several brigades of Spanish troops with the British and Portuguese, and on the 21st of June, attacked king Joseph. The Spaniards fought with a courage that proved their former panics and failures to have been mainly attributable to want of confidence in their commanders and their comrades. The French wings were first assailed and driven back. Then, when their formidably posted centre had been weakened to support the wings, and was, besides, threatened on the flanks, that too was assailed and carried. The French had never before been so utterly routed. The whole army dispersed and fled; Joseph narrowly escaped being taken prisoner; artillery, baggage, everything upon which the existence of an army depends, fell into the hands of the victors, as well as the wives of many of the French superior officers, and Jourdan's marshal's staff.

The victory was actively followed up; most of the French garrisons were taken, or surrendered upon being summoned; the remaining French detachments, by a series of nearly bloodless manœuvres, were driven across the Pyrenees; and by the 7th of July no part of Joseph's army remained in Spain except the garrisons of Pamplona and St. Sebastian. The former of these places was understood to be ill provisioned; it was therefore blockaded, and that service was assigned to Abisbal, who had now brought up the Andalusian army of reserve. Graham was directed to besiege St. Sebastian in form; and the allied army took up an extended position in the Pyrenees, to guard the passes of those mountains, and cover the two sieges.

Suchet's was now the only French army in Spain, and his force remained unbroken in the eastern provinces, op-

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posed to sir John Murray. That general was conveyed with his troops by a British fleet from Alicant to the Catalonian coast, and landing, on the 3rd of June, near Tarragona, immediately invested that town. He had made little progress with the siege when Suchet's advance from Valencia was announced. The object of relieving Valencia by drawing Suchet into Catalonia was now accomplished, and it had never been contemplated that Murray with his small and heterogeneous army, of mixed English and Sicilian troops, should actually give battle to the French general with his collected forces. That the siege should be raised was now inevitable; but Murray rather abandoned than raised it; re-embarking his troops with such precipitation, although Suchet was some marches distant, that he left his artillery and stores behind.

On the 17th, the general originally appointed, lord William Bentinck, who had been till then unavoidably detained in Sicily, arrived, and took the command. He determined, according to his original instructions, upon returning to Alicant, and, in conjunction with the duke del Parque, attacking the French garrisons in Valencia. Suchet returned thither to oppose them; but the news of the battle of Vitoria and its consequences determined the marshal to abandon that province and concentrate his troops in Catalonia. No affair of moment ensued. Suchet was too strong for lord William, but contented himself with remaining on the defensive: and in Catalonia, alone, with the exception of St. Sebastian and Pamplona, was even defence attempted. Aragon was freed, and Mina, the uncle, had the gratification of recovering the heroic Saragossa from her conquerors.

Napoleon received the tidings of the battle of Vitoria and its disastrous results to his brother's hopes, during the negotiations for peace; and it was thought to create in him some disposition to settle the affairs of the north.

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He certainly did propose greater concessions to the separate interests of each of his enemies, than might have been anticipated; and tried by large offers to tempt his imperial father-in-law to persevere in his alliance. But his amplest concessions were clogged with conditions that prodigiously lessened their value; and he obstinately resisted all idea of such mutual guarantee as should

authorize one state to support another against his encroachments. In fact, the very essence of his policy was to insulate the different powers of Europe, in order to facilitate his dealing with, and subduing, each singly. The sovereigns of Europe felt the advantages even now resulting from their union, and would not accept peace upon terms that should dissolve it. On the 10th of August the armistice was broken off, and Austria joined the grand alliance against France.

Prior to this event the French emperor had sent back Soult to resume the command from which he had taken him; to collect reinforcements, re-organize the fugitive army, raise the sieges of Pamplona

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and St. Sebastian, and, in conjunction with Suchet, drive the British out of Spain. To enable him to effect these objects, he named him imperial lieutenant in Spain, giving him authority far beyond what had ever before been intrusted to any marshal. The duke of Dalmatia took the field at the head of nearly one hundred thousand men; and with the immense advantage of being able to concentrate his whole force upon any point that he should please to select, whilst the allied troops, in order to cover two sieges, were unavoidably outspread upon an extensive line, and from the nature of the ground they occupied, (the Pyrenean mountains,) the different divisions of the army were stationed in strong and commanding positions, but cut off from direct communication with each other, by abrupt precipices, inaccessible rocks, and impassable ravines.

The siege of St. Sebastian was further advanced than that of Pamplona, and the British commander was personally superintending the progress of operations in that quarter, when he was called away by the information that Soult was endeavouring to break through the other extremity of the British line, in order to relieve Pamplona. The French marshal's first measures seemed to promise him success. On the 25th of July, with about fifty thousand men, he attacked two separate posts held by divisions of the right wing under sir Rowland Hill. The assailants were of course greatly superior in numbers, as the points attacked could not well be much reinforced without dangerously weakening others of equal consequence.

The allies fought obstinately, but were obliged to give way. On the 26th lord Wellington arrived on the scene of action, and immediately resolving to give battle for the protection of the blockade of Pamploña, he ordered Hill to retreat to a position that covered the besieging division, and brought up the centre of his army to strengthen the right wing. On the 28th Soult vigorously and perseveringly attacked the troops opposed to him. The struggle was obstinate, and in one point he gained a momentary advantage over a body of Portuguese. It was immediately wrested from him, and he was in the end completely repulsed.

The duke of Dalmatia now changed his plan of operations; and manœuvring upon his right, he effected a junction with Drouot, and endeavoured to gain the rear of the left wing of the allies, and thus to relieve St. Sebastian. His scheme was penetrated, and foiled by the discernment and alertness of lord Wellington. In this quarter, likewise, troops were ready to oppose him. The French were defeated in two successive engagements on the 30th and 31st, after which Soult abandoned the attempt, and leaving the besieged towns, for the present, to their fate, retreated into France. On the 1st of August the allied troops resumed their former positions amidst the Pyrenees.

The two sieges proceeded; but the provisions in Pamploña still held out: the fortifications of St. Sebastian were admirable, the approaches difficult, and the garrison defended itself pertinaciously. One attempt to storm had been repulsed with great loss; and it was not till the 31st of August that another breach was reported practicable. Such judicious means had been employed for defending this breach, that the assault was again upon the point of failing, when Graham adopted the bold measure of ordering the artillery to fire close over the heads of his own men. The precision of the English gunners' aim rendered this safe; the breach was cleared of its defenders, the storming party rushed forwards, and the town was taken. The siege, and especially the assault, had cost great numbers of lives, nearly four thousand; and the troops, infuriated by the loss of their comrades and their own danger, could not be restrained by the few surviving officers of the storming party within any bounds, or even taught to discrimi-

nate between friends and foes, Spaniards and French. Greater outrages are said to have been committed upon the inhabitants of St. Sebastian than in any other town taken by the allies; and it was longer ere the exertions of the generals could restore order.

Upon the very day of St. Sebastian's fall, Soult made another attempt to relieve it. He endeavoured to force the extreme left of the allied army, where three Spanish divisions were stationed immediately behind the Bidassoa, upon the heights of St. Marcial. They were advantageously posted; received the attack with firmness, and repulsed, but did not pursue the French. The attack was renewed with greatly increased numbers; and whilst the enemies were ascending the heights, lord Wellington unexpectedly appeared in front of the Spanish line. The Spaniards received him with shouts of triumph, and as though his mere presence brought them assured victory, charged the French with the bayonet, drove them down the hill, and pursued them across the river. The duke of Dalmatia, confounded at this discomfiture from troops so long despised, withdrew; and the Spaniards, who had upon the present occasion been entirely without British assistance, received the highest commendations from lord Wellington.

Until Pamploña should fall it was impossible for the allied army to advance in force into France; but after a period of constrained inaction, lord Wellington resolved at least to make good his footing in that country. On the 7th of October, therefore, sir T. Graham, with the whole left wing, including the Spanish divisions that had distinguished themselves upon the heights of St. Marcial, forced the passage of the Bidassoa, and, after a sharp engagement, driving back the French opposed to them, took possession of the mountain posts and passes previously held by the enemy, and firmly established his camp in a commanding situation upon French ground; the inviolability of which had been the subject of so much national vaunting.

Both armies remained in their positions until the end of the month of October, when the surrender of Pamploña set the allied forces at liberty, and lord Wellington immediately determined to advance into France, leaving Suchet and his corps to the care of the Catalonians, assisted by the Anglo-

Sicilian army. In beginning his operations upon the enemy's territory, one of

the first cares of the British commander was, to repress the ferociously vindictive temper of his Spanish and Portuguese troops, who longed to retaliate upon the French nation the injuries and outrages they had suffered from the French soldiery. At first it was found impossible altogether to control this disposition, in which the native officers but too much sympathized with their men. But the firmness and severity with which such offences were punished, the example of the strict discipline enforced amongst the British regiments, and the friendly intercourse soon established with the peasantry, who, being well paid by their enemies for those provisions which their own countrymen took by force, freely and abundantly supplied the invading army, soon introduced a better temper. This Wellington encouraged, by complimenting the peninsular troops upon their superiority to the French, as well in moral conduct as in military excellence.

Since his failure in the Pyrenees, Soult had been engaged in fortifying a line of defence upon the river Nivelle, and in training the many thousands of conscripts included in his hundred thousand men. The delay occasioned by the long-protracted resistance of Pamplona had been very useful to him for both these purposes, and he gained yet more time from the violent rains that set in as the place surrendered, and prevented lord Wellington from putting his troops in motion. On the 10th of November, however, Soult's line of defence was attacked, and notwithstanding the great pains bestowed upon strengthening it, was forced; fifteen hundred prisoners and fifty guns fell into the victor's hands, besides quantities of stores, &c. Soult withdrew to the river Nive, where he again took up a strong position, covering Bayonne, and the allied army went into cantonments upon the Nivelle, in which, on account of the excessive inclemency of the weather, they remained for a month.

On the 9th of December hostilities were renewed. The allied armies drove the French back into the intrenched camp they had prepared close to Bayonne, and Soult afterwards endeavoured to take advantage of their extended line of operation by attacking

single posts with overwhelming numbers. Everywhere the steadiness and the invincible bravery of the allied troops, and the celerity with which other divisions were moved up to strengthen each assailed point, foiled his utmost exertions, and after five days of almost incessant fighting, in which the loss was necessarily great (five thousand of the allies, and far more of the French were killed or wounded), Soult retreated into his intrenched camp. The weather was still very severe, and lord Wellington therefore again cantoned his troops, but upon a more advanced line, and both armies passed the remainder of the month in repose. At the conclusion of these five days of hostility, a German, and part of a Dutch regiment deserted to the allies.

CHAPTER XIII.

Battle of Dresden—Battle of Leipzig—Subject states throw off Napoleon's yoke—Napoleon negotiates with Ferdinand—Internal dissensions in Spain—Colonial affairs—Correspondence between Ferdinand and the Cortes—France invaded on the eastern side—Negotiations at Châtillon—Duke of Angoulême in Lord Wellington's camp—Battle of Orthez—Passage of the Adour—Occupation of Bourdeaux—Operations on the Adour—Ferdinand released—Returns to Spain—Battle of Toulouse—Negotiations at Châtillon broken off—Napoleon's able manœuvres—Paris taken—Negotiations at Fontainebleau—Napoleon abdicates—Louis XVIII. king of France—General peace—Condition of Portugal—Condition of Spain—Ferdinand abrogates the new constitution—Satisfaction of almost all Spain—Colonies proclaim their entire independence—Conclusion.*

WHILST lord Wellington with those forces, for whom, as for their leader, Napoleon had professed such superlative disdain, was thus penetrating into France, the situation of the French emperor had

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undergone many changes. When the armistice was broken off, on the 10th of August, he had assembled

* The authorities principally consulted for this chapter, are Southey, Scott, Elliott, Sherr, Suchet, Quin, *Annals of the Peninsular Campaigns*, *Memoirs of the late War*, *Queen of Etruria*, *Annual Register*.

two hundred and fifty thousand men in Saxony and Silesia, besides great numbers employed in various garrisons. But Austria had now joined the coalition against him: Schwartzenberg brought an army of a hundred and twenty thousand men to co-operate with the forces threatening Dresden, where Napoleon had fixed his head-quarters; and General Moreau came from his exile in America, to take the direction of a war waged against his own personal enemy, whom he likewise deemed the tyrant of his native land. On the first renewal of hostilities Napoleon's star seemed to be again in the ascendant. In the battle of Dresden, fought on the 26th and 27th of August, he gained a decisive victory; his most formidable opponent, Moreau, fell in the action, the allies retreated in all directions, and were vigorously pursued. But this was his last triumph; and even in this triumphant pursuit occurred the first of the disasters that thenceforward incessantly harassed him.

Vandamme, with a *corps d'armée* of about thirty thousand men, was contending with, and getting the better of, a body of Russians in Silesia, when a division of Prussians, under General Kleist, retreating from the defeat before Dresden, suddenly appeared upon the field, and Vandamme, inclosed between two enemies, was completely overpowered. He himself was made prisoner with seven thousand men, and all the rest of his army were either slain or put to flight. The crown prince of Sweden and Blücher severally gained victories over the French marshals Oudinot, Macdonald, and Ney. Napoleon's own plans were repeatedly foiled by the unwonted activity and the numbers of his enemies, and their progress at length compelled him to leave Dresden. It was, however, still in Saxony, at Leipzig, that the battle, fatal to his hopes of maintaining his sovereignty over Germany, was fought.

Napoleon had collected the greater part of his disposable force at Leipzig, but the allied sovereigns were superior to him in numbers by eighty or a hundred thousand men. The battle began on the 16th of October, and, notwithstanding the desperate valour of the French troops, and the skill of their emperor, the allied sovereigns so decidedly had the advantage, that Napoleon determined again to have recourse to negotiation. He released

an Austrian prisoner of rank, and despatched him to the allied sovereigns with offers to give up the duchy of Warsaw, the Hanse Towns, Holland, and Spain. During the congress at Prague far less would have insured peace. Now the sovereigns refused to treat until the soil of Germany was cleared of French troops, and on the 18th the battle was renewed.

The French were again unsuccessful; the Saxon troops deserted during the engagement, and though the French held their ground upon most points, Napoleon saw that to defend Leipzig was impossible. He immediately began his retreat. Like all his retreats it was disastrous, and that from the very beginning. The allies pressed hard upon the French. The single bridge, over which lay the army's road, was blown up too early, in consequence, it is alleged, of a panic of the officer there stationed. Immense numbers were slain or drowned in striving to pass the river, and twenty-five thousand men, with all the artillery, were taken, in the immediate neighbourhood of Leipzig. Other German states now declared against Napoleon; the troops that should have protected, harassed the retreating columns; the remaining Germans in his army deserted, and on the 1st of November he re-crossed the Rhine with little more than seventy thousand men, leaving about eighty thousand distributed in several garrisons. Of these the greater part capitulated before the end of the year.

Every German state, including the whole Confederation of the Rhine, had now thrown off their allegiance to Napoleon. The kingdom of Westphalia was dissolved, and the fragments of which it had been put together, resuming their original forms and names, recalled their ancient rulers. Holland hoisted the Orange flag, and invited her exiled princes to resume the sovereignty: Eugene Beauharnais was obliged to evacuate the Venetian territories: Murat, offended at the slights he had endured from his imperial brother-in-law, entered into treaty with the allied sovereigns, and these potentates advanced to the banks of the Rhine. There they halted for the remainder of the year, satisfied with their achievements, and willing to give Napoleon, whom they still feared, another opportunity for negotiation. Wellington and his army alone, of the hostile forces, wintered in France.

But Napoleon was willing to negotiate only when he could dictate his own terms. He now aroused the whole energy of his nature to renew the contest, and at no period of his life was he so truly admirable, though our admiration is chilled and repressed by the reflection, that even now he might have concluded peace, leaving France far larger and more powerful than she had ever been under the proudest of her ancient kings; and that it was not to the real interests of his people, or even of his family, but to the insatiable thirst of conquest, domination, and glory, to the overweening arrogance and self-confidence, to the invincible obstinacy of his own character, that Napoleon sacrificed all the blood shed on either side during the remainder, as well as the beginning, of this war.

These defects of his disposition could but partially dim the piercing clearness of the French emperor's glance. He saw that to recover all he had lost, or even to keep all he yet retained, was, for the moment, at least, impossible; and he resolved to relax his grasp in that quarter, where renunciation of his now vain pretensions not only need not induce the abandonment of real power, but might even tend to embarrass the triumphant career of his enemies. He opened a negotiation with the prince, to whom, as he believed, he could still dictate the terms of the treaty to be concluded—namely, the captive of Valençay, Ferdinand VII.

Since the seizure of the Spanish royal family at Bayonne, they had pretty much vanished from public view. The old king and queen, with their favourite, Godoy, had been transferred to Rome, where they vegetated contentedly upon the ample pension assigned them. The queen of Etruria, whose feelings appear to have been somewhat livelier than those of her kindred, had incurred Napoleon's anger by an abortive attempt at escaping to England, and was strictly immured in a convent at Rome, with her daughter; her son, the dethroned king, being taken from her, and committed to the care of her parents.

Ferdinand remained at Valençay with his uncle and brother, the *Infantes* Antonio and Charles. His conduct during his captivity had not been such as to deserve the intense affection borne him by his subjects, or the commisera-

ting sympathy felt for him by the great hulk of mankind. He had written a letter of congratulation to Joseph Buonaparte upon his accession to the Spanish throne. He repeatedly addressed to Napoleon congratulations on his victories. When a scheme for his liberation was devised by the British cabinet, partly through compassion, but chiefly under an idea that the presence of an acknowledged king would put an end to the factions and jealousies that distracted the Spanish councils, thwarted lord Wellington's designs, and impeded his progress, Ferdinand not only refused to escape, but denounced the attempt to Napoleon, and took the opportunity to renew his often rejected request, that he might be adopted into the imperial family, by receiving the hand of a Buonaparte princess. He was further said to employ his time in embroidering a robe for some image of the Blessed Virgin. But Napoleon and his agents were well known not to be scrupulous observers of truth when they had any object in view. The letters were believed to be forgeries; the stories were regarded as calumnious inventions, propagated for the purpose of lowering Ferdinand's character in general estimation; and the imprisoned king remained as before, an object of loyal veneration, of esteem, and pity.

Immediately upon reaching Paris, after his calamitous retreat from Leipzig, Napoleon addressed a letter to Ferdinand, telling him that England was endeavouring to overthrow the monarchy and nobility of Spain, in order to establish a republic in that country, and offering him his liberty, together with the alliance of France, that he might return to Spain, and put an end to the disorders now convulsing the kingdom and further menacing it. Even Ferdinand, defective as his understanding appears to be, and insensible as he had shown himself to his captivity, easily discerned that this letter, so inconsistent with past events, was the fruit of Napoleon's embarrassments, not of his good will. He seems to have apprehended some snare, and requested permission to send one of his attendants to Spain to procure correct information upon the actual state of affairs, advising Napoleon to treat with the Regency and Cortes then governing the kingdom.

Such measures would not have answered the emperor's purpose of detaching Spain from England; and after a

Spanish Royal Family
from A. D.
1808—1813.

little delay and negotiation Ferdinand yielded. On the 11th of December a treaty was signed at Valençay by the count of la Forest on behalf of Napoleon, and the duke of San Carlos on Ferdinand's, by which that unjustly dethroned monarch was recognized as king of Spain and the Indies, all old treaties and alliances between France and Spain were revived and confirmed, and Ferdinand undertook for the immediate evacuation of Spain and her dependencies by the English. Even this treaty, however, Ferdinand referred to the approbation and sanction of the Regency and the *Cortes*; and San Carlos was despatched with a copy of it to Madrid, whither the seat of government was now transferred from Cadiz.

It was fortunate for the success of the allied arms that Napoleon did not earlier resort to this measure; for the over-liberal spirit of the *Cortes* (over-liberal more especially in reference to the temper of the Spanish nation) had provoked such fierce opposition from the clergy, and consequently such bitter factions, as were already sufficiently detrimental to the public service, and might have been rendered yet more seriously so, by the presence of a bigoted and narrow-minded king. The *Cortes* had abolished the inquisition, and ordered the decree of abolition to be read in church by the clergy at the celebration of mass. Many ecclesiastics disobeyed, and some church dignitaries published reasons for this disobedience. The Regency transmitted the clerical memorials to the *Cortes*, but took no step for punishing the memorialists; and the *Cortes*, resenting their supineness, deposed the Regency, and appointed a new one of three members drawn from the council of state by seniority. They were, the cardinal de Bourbon, and the former Regents, Agar and Cisgar. The papal nuncio, Cardinal Gravina, who, from the beginning of the war, had attached himself to the national government, was discovered to be the instigator of this ecclesiastical rebellion against the legislative body, and upon his perseverance in his opposition, he was respectfully sent out of the country.

The battle of Vitoria called forth a general burst of delight throughout the nation. The *Cortes* decreed that a monument should be erected upon the field of battle whenever the finances of the country should allow such an expense

to be incurred. They conferred the title of duke of Vitoria upon Lord Wellington, and offered him his choice of three estates. He inquired their value, and selected that which yielded the least income, and also happened to possess the greatest natural beauties. It lies in the kingdom of Granada, and was formally bestowed upon him. But the gratitude of the Spanish government did not prevent their constantly interfering with his authority to an offensive and very inconvenient degree. At one time they even recalled from the army the generals in whom he placed the greatest confidence, Castaños (requiring that he should take his seat as a counsellor of state) and Giron. An indignant remonstrance from Wellington, accompanied with a menace of throwing up the command of the Spanish troops, checked, at least, their annoying measures.

The extraordinary *Cortes* which had framed the constitution, had appointed the autumn of 1813 for the assembling of the ordinary *Cortes*, and their own preliminary dissolution. They had, likewise, followed the example of the French National Assembly in passing a divested law, that had proved fatal to the welfare of France, but was not allowed time to produce either mischievous or beneficial effects in Spain—that is to say, they decreed their own ineligibility to the next *Cortes*.

During this year the cause of American independence had made considerable progress. In Buenos Ayres, the insurgents, who had always had the advantage, so decidedly prevailed, that they were enabled to conclude a truce with the viceroy, in which their pretensions were partially, at least, admitted; and they merited their emancipation, by hestning upon others some share in the liberty they claimed for themselves. They passed a law, that the children of slaves, born after a certain date, should be free. In Venezuela the struggle was renewed with increased energy: Bolivar, since known as the Liberator, came forward as a leader, and recovered most of what the Spaniards had gained the year before. Chili declared her independence, and opened her ports to all nations; and in Peru the Spaniards were losing ground. Mexico, however, they had pretty nearly recovered; Cuba remained faithful, and in Porto Rico the regency tried the experiment of conciliation. They sent thither a new in-

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tendant-general, with orders to abolish every monopoly and restriction, even such as are usually imposed upon colonies by mother-countries more liberal than Spain. The trade of the island was thrown open to all friendly and neutral nations, the export of even the precious metals being allowed, subject only to a duty.

The new or ordinary, *Cortes* assembled on the 25th of September, and removed themselves and the Regency to Madrid,

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a removal that had been some time in contemplation, but delayed on account of the violent opposition of the inhabitants of Cadiz. It was to this ordinary *Cortes*, after their domiciliation at Madrid, that the Regency referred the treaty of Valençay, and a letter from Ferdinand upon the subject. The treaty was invalid, according to a decree of the extraordinary *Cortes*, passed as far back as the 1st of January, 1811, by which every act of the king during his captivity was declared to be invalid; and Spain was, moreover, bound by her treaty with England, not to conclude a separate peace with France.

On the 8th of January, 1814, the Regency, through its president, the Cardinal de Bourbon, addressed a respectful answer to the king, in which they assured him of their joy at the prospect of his majesty's approaching liberation, but confessed their wish that so happy an event should be brought about rather by the arms of his loyal subjects and faithful allies than by negotiation. They returned the treaty unratified, and transmitted copies of the law, and of the treaty with England, which prevented its ratification. San Carlos had scarcely departed with this letter when Palafox, now first released from French captivity, arrived with another despatch from Ferdinand, written in consequence of Napoleon's urgency to extort the ratification of the treaty. This second communication produced no change in the decision of the regency, who, in their answer, merely informed the king that an ambassador was sent to the general congress authorized to treat in his name. The *Cortes* now proceeded to deliberate upon the measures to be adopted for obtaining the king's irrevocable confirmation of the new constitution upon his liberation. After much discussion it was decreed that he should not be deemed at liberty, or, consequently, entitled to assume the

government, or claim obedience, until he should have solemnly taken the oath prescribed by the constitution; and that neither foreign troops nor Spanish partizans of Joseph should be suffered to accompany him into Spain.

Napoleon, meanwhile, had weakened Suchet to reinforce himself and Augereau, and he did not as yet feel the want of the remainder of the Catalanian army so urgently as to be induced either to relinquish his last hold upon Spain by recalling Suchet, or to release Ferdinand without securing some especial benefit to himself. The negotiation with the captive at Valençay, though not abandoned, was suffered to languish, whilst the emperor's thoughts were engrossed by subjects of more immediately pressing consequence.

Napoleon had demanded the support of the nation against the coalesced sovereigns, whom he represented as seeking to dis-

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member France, because they reclaimed part of the spoils torn from themselves and their feebler allies, though they still offered to recognize the Rhine as her boundary, thus sanctioning her acquisition of the Netherlands, of part of Holland, and of the Ecclesiastical Electorates; and were willing, it is said, not only to acknowledge Joachim Murat as king of Naples, but to bestow northern Italy as a separate kingdom upon Eugene Beauharnais. The conservative senate, with its accustomed servility, adopted the imperial statements, and ordered a new levy of three hundred thousand men. The legislative body, which had always been found equally submissive, now ventured, in its character of the representatives of the nation, to remonstrate against the continued schemes of external conquest that provoked the just and eternal enmity of Europe, and likewise to solicit such a portion of internal liberty as might give the people a feeling of common interest with their sovereign in the war, and thus, awakening their zeal and sympathies, render them more willing to endure this immense additional drain upon the population. The emperor, indignant at such an attempt to take advantage of his necessities, and limit his power, spurned from his presence the deputation that presented the address, and immediately prorogued the legislative body.

The decree of three hundred thousand men was no longer effective to produce the numbers required, and it was

at the head of seventy or eighty thousand men only that Napoleon, leaving Paris on the 25th of January, prepared to fight for his crown. The allies were already in France. Two distinct armies, under Blücher and Schwarzenberg (with the last of whom were the two emperors of Russia and Austria), amounting to one hundred and thirty-seven thousand men, were endeavouring to advance upon Paris. But they were acting separately; and Napoleon, pursuing, with wonderful ability, his old plan of pouring his concentrated force upon detached bodies, gained battles, long checked their progress, and even alarmed them with fears of being cut off from Germany.

Before leaving Paris the emperor had freed himself from one enemy, whose hostility, although entirely passive, injured him grievously in public opinion, if it did not bring armies into the field against him. This was the pope, who had been five years a prisoner, and whom he now released, sending him with an honourable escort to Rome, thus virtually relinquishing his pretensions to a city which he had termed the second of the empire. In conformity with this apparently spontaneous concession, Napoleon professed an earnest desire for a general peace.

During the greater part of the short but eventful campaign of 1814, conferences were carried on at Châtillon between his minister Caulaincourt, duke of Vicenza, and the ambassadors of England, Austria, Russia, and Prussia. The allies, now that their armies were in France, without encountering any formidable demonstration of national hostility, and that the whole of the Netherlands were actually recovered, refused to grant the same terms they had offered whilst still on the right bank of the Rhine. They now insisted upon reducing France to her limits under Lewis XVI., and Napoleon advanced or receded in his concessions as the fortune of his arms varied. After a defeat in the beginning of February, he agreed to the basis of negotiation proposed by the allies; after defeating Blücher a few days later, he revoked that consent. The ministers of the allied powers remonstrated, and Austria anxiously urged his compliance; alike in vain, whilst fortune smiled. And thus the negotiations proceeded step by step with the war.

In the south-eastern provinces of

France, Augereau, reinforced by a part of Suchet's troops, was contending unsuccessfully against another army of Austrians and Russians. In Italy, Murat had made peace with the allied sovereigns, upon condition of being recognized by them as king of Naples. In Spain, Suchet yet held a few fortresses. In the south-west of France, the allied troops, under Lord Wellington, were detained some weeks in their cantonments by the inclemency of the weather. During this season of repose they were joined by the duke of Angoulême, the eldest nephew of Lewis XVIII., but he was received only as a volunteer of princely birth. The treaty at Châtillon was still pending; a little less obstinacy in Napoleon would have insured his recognition as emperor of France; and whilst the slightest probability existed of his retaining the sovereignty, the English ministry would not commit the country by any step in favour of the exiled princes: and Lord Wellington's humanity repressed the ardent zeal of some old Vendéan royalists who were labouring to organize an insurrection in behalf of the Bourbons, and, as he feared, might thus be unprofitably exposing themselves to the future vengeance of Napoleon.

Towards the middle of February the weather improved, and Lord Wellington drew his troops from their cantonments.

South of France,
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By a series of able manœuvres, and of engagements ending with the well-contested and brilliant victory of Orthez, gained on the 27th of February, he drove Soult successively, from post to post, through a country of peculiar difficulty, and abounding in strong defensive positions, of which the French marshal skillfully endeavoured to avail himself, but was uniformly foiled by the superior skill of his British competitor. After his defeat at Orthez, Soult retreated up the Adour to Tarbes, hoping by this movement to deliver France from the invaders, by drawing Lord Wellington back towards the Pyrenees, and to effect his own junction either with Suchet himself, or with some portion of his troops.

Whilst Lord Wellington with the main body of his army was attacking Soult, Sir J. Hope lay before Bayonne with the left wing, and proceeded to execute the instructions he had received for the complete investment of that town. By the help of an English squadron, under

Admiral Penrose, a bridge of boats was thrown across the Adour below the town, where, deeming the river impassable for troops from its width and current, and inaccessible to hostile ships from the difficulties of the bar and the channel, the French had taken no measures of precaution. This bridge, besides facilitating the close investment of Bayonne, laid open the direct road to Bourdeaux, and on the 8th of March Wellington sent Beresford with fifteen thousand men to make himself master of that town. Beresford was accompanied by the Duke of Angoulême, as a royalist party, with the mayor at their head, were well known to be anxiously expecting the prince. The French garrison evacuated the town as the allied troops approached, and the inhabitants, assuming the white cockade, and receiving the prince with enthusiastic loyalty, proclaimed Lewis XVIII.

The detachment sent to Bourdeaux encouraged Soult to resume the offensive against a weakened adversary. But he was speedily repulsed; and Lord Wellington, recalling Beresford with two divisions (one was left to garrison Bourdeaux), and summoning the Spanish corps that had hitherto remained upon the frontier, re-commenced his operations against the duke of Dalmatia. On the 18th, all being united, they began their movement up the Adour, the French retiring before them. On the 19th Soult was driven from Vic de Bigorre, and on the 20th from Tarbes, when he retreated upon Toulouse, whither Lord Wellington followed him.

Whilst Ferdinand's allies and subjects were thus progressively triumphing over his oppressor, the captive prince had regained his liberty. Napoleon, finding that no treaty concluded with the king of Spain, whilst his prisoner, would be acknowledged by the nation as valid,

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on the 14th of March released him unconditionally, as the only remaining chance of detaching Spain from England, and recovering his former influence over that country. Of course the liberated monarch's journey through France was so regulated as to prevent any intercourse between him and the deliverer of his kingdom, Wellington, or the Spanish generals fighting under him in the same cause. Ferdinand was conducted to Perpignan, and there, on the 19th of March, delivered over to the care of Suchet, who was to make arrangements,

under the royal guarantee, for the safe return of the different French garrisons, spread over the eastern coast of Spain, to his army, upon their surrendering to the king the fortresses they still held.

This was now a matter of pressing importance to Napoleon. He wanted the aid of the duke of Albufera, with all the troops he could muster; and having already so much weakened that marshal's army as to render it impossible he should fetch off his distant garrisons, he had ordered him to make a convention with the Spanish general, Copons, for their surrendering the fortresses, and rejoining him in safety. But the *Cortes* would not, for the sake of a little earlier recovering fortresses that, being virtually cut off, must sooner or later fall, sanction any convention for setting French troops at liberty to reinforce the common enemy. Some of these fortresses Suchet had already lost, together with their garrisons, by the stratagem of a Spanish officer named Vanhalen, (a Belgian by descent,) who, having joined the French party when it promised to triumph, now, when simply deserting them was a small men, sought to efface his treason by the not very honourable service of forging Suchet's signature to orders addressed to the different commandants, enjoining them to surrender, in compliance with a supposed convention. Upon these orders Lerida, Monzon, and Mequinenza were surrendered, and the garrisons made prisoners.

Ferdinand, either ignorant of the real interest of the country, or regardless of all but his own emancipation from the control of the French, and perhaps also from the authority of the *Cortes*, readily signed whatever agreement Suchet desired. He was then escorted by the French marshal to Figueras, where he took leave of his gaolers, and crossing the river Fluvia on the 24th, was received by Copons and throngs of his native subjects, who had flocked from every place within reach, to greet the return of their beloved sovereign. Ferdinand's signature having, however, by the then law of the land, no authority until he should have taken the oath prescribed by the constitution, Suchet's object was unattained. The surrender of the fortresses, and the safe passage of the garrisons still remained to be negotiated betwixt him and Copons; and before they had brought it to a conclusion, the progress of events in France rendered

all arrangements of the kind unnecessary.

Lord Wellington had not allowed Soult time to receive the accession of strength he expected from the result of Suchet's negotiations. He followed him

to Toulouse, forced the passage of the Garonne, and on the 10th of April, under

the walls of the city, gained the last victory of this war, in the battle of Toulouse. Soult retired into the town, which, upon Wellington's preparing to invest it, he evacuated on the night of the 12th, the allied army permitting him to withdraw unmolested. The next day they took possession of the city, where they were received with every demonstration of joy, and the inhabitants proclaimed Lewis XVIII. It was the last occasion upon which the act could have the grace of a spontaneous impulse of the people.

The congress at Châtillon had been dissolved, in consequence of the exorbitant demands, contained in a draught of a treaty, which Napoleon ordered to be presented, after he had defeated Blücher at Craonne on the 7th of March. In this paper he required the Netherlands, and part of Holland for France, Northern Italy for Eugene Beauharnais, and indemnities for Joseph, Jerome, and Lewis's son, the young duke of Berg. A subsequent defeat by Blücher induced him to order Caulaincourt to sign upon the terms of the allies. This concession, like his others, came too late; the congress had been declared dissolved, and the ministers composing it were dispersed.

Never was Napoleon's military genius more powerfully exhibited than in the variety of rapid movements and bold attacks, by which, with his small force, he still held in check the numerous hosts arrayed against him; but he at length lost himself by too bold a measure. On the 22nd of March, trusting to the well-known feverish anxiety of the Austrians about their line of communication, he took the daring resolution of throwing himself upon their rear, leaving Marmont and Mortier between them and Paris, as he hoped rather to harass their retreat (which he expected they would immediately commence on finding that he was between them and the Rhine) than to oppose their advance.

But the allied sovereigns were too

conscious of their vast superiority in numbers, to be easily betrayed upon the present occasion into the abandonment of their objects. Besides, Alexander, who elated with success was little disposed to conceive alarm, had the chief voice in their councils; and they were materially influenced by Lord Castlereagh, upon whose approbation or disapprobation of their measures the pecuniary assistance of England depended, and who strenuously urged their taking advantage of their most dreaded antagonist's absence, to press forward upon Paris. They did so. The two marshals were defeated and driven back, and the allied armies appeared before the French capital.

Maria Louisa, with her son, and the ministry, had fled to Blois. Joseph and Marmont prepared for defence. The remainder of the small corps of Marmont and Mortier, with some battalions of national guards, and numbers of volunteers, were drawn up upon the heights north-east of the town. The position is very good, and for some hours on the morning of the 30th of March, the troops there stationed gallantly opposed the attacking party. But Alexander had released a prisoner to make him the bearer of an offer of favourable terms; Marmont, who had already lost four thousand men, saw that a prolonged defence was impossible; Joseph followed the empress, and Paris capitulated.

On the 31st Alexander and Frederic William entered the city at the head of their troops. The Parisians assembled in their gayest attire, to be amused by the spectacle of their own humiliating subjugation, as by any other of the military shows to which they were accustomed: and they received their conquerors, to the utter astonishment, it may be presumed, of the allied sovereigns, who were the objects of their enthusiasm, with joyous acclamations, and shouts of 'Long live the Emperor Alexander!' 'Long live the king of Prussia!' intermingled with others of 'Long live Lewis XVIII.' The emperor of Austria, it should be observed, had left to his allies the assault of his son-in-law's capital; and the crown-prince of Sweden, after he had frankly assisted in driving the French out of Germany and the Netherlands, took little further part in the war, unwilling, probably, to join in the invasion of his native land.

But the fate of the war was not yet

actually decided. Napoleon, still at the head of an army, was flattering himself with the success of his plans, when informed that the Russians and Prussians were advancing upon Paris. He hurried after them by forced marches, convinced that he should still be in time to save his capital, and deaf to every proposal for abandoning an evidently hopeless attempt, leaving Paris to its fate, and concentrating the troops dispersed in various quarters, in order to continue the contest in the south. At Troyes, on the 30th, he left his army to follow, and hastened forward with post-horses, to take in person the command of Paris. He had already passed Fontainebleau, when in the night he met General Belliard, retreating to that royal residence with his cavalry in obedience to the terms of the capitulation. The allies had not yet entered Paris, and still Napoleon would have gone on to renew the defence. Belliard's refusal to violate the convention by accompanying him, and his representations of the utter impossibility of further resistance without more troops, at length turned him from his purpose. But with Paris he seems somewhat unaccountably to have abandoned all thoughts of continuing the struggle. He returned to Fontainebleau, and sent Caulaincourt to treat with the allied sovereigns.

Again he was too late. Those victorious monarchs had now determined against treating with Napoleon. Talleyrand had induced even the long-inthralled senate to decree that the emperor had forfeited the throne by his despotic government, and his violations of the constitution, and to appoint a provisional government, consisting of Talleyrand himself, Bourmonville, Jaucourt, Dalberg, and the Abbé Montesquieu. The Duke of Vicenza carried back this intelligence to Fontainebleau, and again Napoleon, whose troops had now come up, would have marched upon Paris. But the marshals then with him refused to continue the war for his individual interest, much more to expose Paris to the destruction that must have resulted from attacking an enemy in possession of the town.

Overpowered by the remonstrances of those on whom he most relied, Napoleon, on the 4th of April, abdicated in favour of his son. Caulaincourt, Ney, and Macdonald, repaired to Paris with the act of abdication. As before, the offered concession came too late. Most

of the marshals near Paris had submitted to the provisional government. The fickle populace were shouting for Lewis XVIII.; Francis, who must have wished to preserve the crown to his grandson, was absent; and the other sovereigns had decided to admit nothing short of the restoration of the Bourbons. Napoleon gave way; and abdicated unconditionally. The title and rank of emperor were, in return, confirmed to him, although his empire was limited to the tiny island of Elba, in the Mediterranean sea, containing about twenty square leagues, and twelve hundred inhabitants. But ridiculously diminutive as was this empire, Napoleon seems to have preferred it to a dignified privacy. He was to be recognized as one of the sovereigns of Europe; and in addition to the revenues of Elba, a pension was assigned him from the revenues of France, far larger than the income any King of England ever enjoyed, and all the members of his family were to be provided for by France.

The Bourbons were now restored to their long lost throne;

Foreign Politics
A.D. 1814.

and peace was re-established throughout Europe; most of its sovereigns recovering the dominions of which they had been despoiled, with such alterations, however, as, in some instances, were required by the ambition of the conquerors, in others, were judged indispensable to the preservation of the balance of power. The principal of the exchanges were, that Austria regained the Venetian territories in exchange for the Netherlands, which were once more united with Holland, in order jointly to constitute a state of some little territorial extent; that Russia acquired all the portion of Poland which, formerly allotted to Prussia, had latterly constituted Napoleon's Duchy of Warsaw; and that some small provinces upon the Rhine were given to Prussia in exchange, as well as part of Saxony; the king of Saxony forfeiting so much of his dominions, in punishment for his attachment to Buonaparte; that Genoa was given to the king of Sardinia; and that Sweden acquired Norway instead of Finland, of which Russia had robbed her, Norway being the property of the king of Denmark, who, like the king of Saxony, had persevered in his alliance with Napoleon.

Lord Wellington, like the rest of the allies, now of course evacuated the French territory, and dissolved his mixed army, the British, Spanish, and Portu-

guese troops severally returning home. In Portugal no change was produced by

Portugal
A.D.
1813—1814.
Napoleon's fall. That kingdom had long been freed from invaders; the authority of the lawful queen, or rather of her son the prince-regent, acknowledged, and the government administered as before the invasion. The island of Madeira, temporarily occupied by England, had as long been restored. No alteration, for better or for worse, had been made in the constitution of the country, which remained the absolute monarchy it had gradually become since the assembling of the *Cortes* had been discontinued. After their subjection to Spain, independence had become the only national object of the Portuguese. The intimate alliance with England continued; and the only perceptible change was, that the royal family showing no inclination to quit their extensive, wealthy, and beautiful Brazilian empire it was now the mother-country instead of the colony, that was governed by delegated powers; a circumstance, however, always rendering despotic sovereignty more oppressive and offensive.

In Spain the case was very different.

Spain
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There the captivity of the royal family having overthrown the existing forms of government, the long discontinued *Cortes* had taken the opportunity of establishing a new and far more liberal constitution; but which, being fashioned upon French, not English, principles, had disgusted the two most powerful bodies in the state, the nobility and the clergy. During the greater part of the time that had elapsed since the promulgation of this constitution, almost the whole country had been occupied by the enemy; so that the great mass of the people, who were not enlightened enough to feel the want, or appreciate the blessings, of political liberty, had not sufficient experience of the benefits which the new institutions were calculated to confer, to have conceived any value for them; and the troops, who, from their intercourse with the English army, might have learned some respect for liberty and equal laws, were hostile to the *Cortes* on account of the neglect and injustice with which they had frequently been treated.

Such was the state in which Ferdinand found his kingdom. He himself had, at Valençay, known nothing of any of the transactions occurring in Spain,

beyond what the French newspapers were permitted to publish; and a copy of the constitution was first brought him by Palafox, on his return from his mission to Madrid. A narrow-minded and ill-educated prince naturally resented the limitations imposed by the *Cortes* upon the absolute power which his predecessors of the Bourbon and Austrian lines had so long possessed; and, though he does not seem to have taken any positive resolution, he avoided early committing himself, as the *Cortes* had designed that he should, by quitting the road they had prescribed for his journey through Spain, and by which the cardinal de Bourbon, with a deputation of the *Cortes*, was proceeding to meet him, for the purpose of receiving his constitutional oath. He went by the way of Saragossa to Valencia. Wherever he passed, the populace, excited by the priests, tore down the tablets upon which the word Constitution was engraved, shouting 'Down with the *Cortes*!' and 'Long live the absolute King!' whilst the grandees hastened to pay their court to him, and to express their detestation of a constitution that deprived them of their objectionable feudal privileges, without giving them instead a natural and legitimate influence in the state.

His own inclination thus encouraged by high and low, Ferdinand received his kinsman, the cardinal de Bourbon, who followed him to Valencia, with marked coldness, and immediately deprived him of his archbishopric of Toledo, which he bestowed upon one of the fiercest of the anti-constitutional clergy. He refused to take the prescribed oath; and, although, by referring the treaty of Valençay to them, he had virtually acknowledged and sanctioned the authority of both the *Cortes* and the Regency, he now resolved to disavow them. On the 4th of May he published a decree, declaring that the *Cortes* had been illegally convoked, or, rather, illegally constituted, from the exclusion of the nobility and clergy, and that all their acts were consequently null and void. He forthwith dissolved the *Cortes*, and abrogated their constitution; but he promised the redress of all grievances, and the convocation of a lawful *Cortes*, in which any reforms that might appear necessary should be made.

On the 13th Ferdinand proceeded to Madrid, where he was received, it should seem, with the more enthusiasm

for his late measures. He proceeded to acts for which no such palliation can be found, namely, inflicting punishments upon those who had defended his cause when he himself had abandoned it, but had, in his opinion, forfeited all claim to his gratitude, by seeking to limit the power they preserved for him. Fortunately, however, Sir Henry Wellesley (the English ambassador had been honoured with the Order of the Bath) had, at Valencia, extorted from the king, who durst not disown his obligations to England and the Wellesleys, a solemn promise that no blood should be shed for political opinions. No lives were taken therefore. But the cardinal de Bourbon was banished to Rome, his colleagues, Cisgar and Agar, to provincial towns, and of the more influential members of both the *Cortes*, some were thrown into prison, and others condemned to serve as common soldiers. The inquisition was re-established, though not with the power of capital punishment, and every old abuse was restored. The only symptom of gratitude shown by Ferdinand to those who had so zealously served him, was his confirming to Lord Wellington the honours and rewards conferred upon him by the *Cortes*.

In America the long-pending dispute with the United States respecting the boundaries of Louisiana and West Florida was finally settled by the sale

America
A.D. 1814.

of both the Floridas to that power. The war with the colonies continued, but altered in character. Ferdinand there took part with the *Cortes* he had condemned, pertinaciously refused to acknowledge the equality, the sort of federal connexion with the mother-country that the colonies claimed, and lavished the resources of Spain by sending his best troops across the Atlantic to assert the old Spanish monopoly.

The colonies, exasperated by this return for their loyalty, and accustomed to the licence inseparable from civil war, now disowned the authority of Ferdinand, and proclaimed their entire and absolute independence. Ferdinand resisted these pretensions yet more vehemently than the former, but it was evident from the beginning that his efforts to recover the sovereignty of the American provinces were altogether futile, and that Spain had finally lost her Transatlantic empire, a just retribution for the assistance she had given the North American colonies against Great Britain. Cuba, Porto Rico, and the Philippines were her only remaining colonies.

And here, with the expulsion of the invaders, and the restoration of the independence of the Peninsula, together with all the abuses, by promising the abolition of which Buonaparte had lured those who supported his usurpation from honest, although mistaken patriotism, the history of Spain and Portugal must, for the present, close. Subsequent events in the two kingdoms, however important, are as yet too recent to belong to the province of history. And although the short convulsion which followed Napoleon's return from Elba in the following spring, and was terminated by the dreadful as glorious battle of Waterloo, by finally sealing Buonaparte's fall, seems to mark the peace of Paris in 1815, and the ex-Emperor's exile to St. Helena, as the proper period for a pause in European history; yet, as those occurrences produced no other effect in the Peninsula than an order to arm, a detail of them would be out of its place here, and would occasion the inconvenience of involving us in beginning the account of new, and yet imperfect, transactions in Spain and Portugal.

RECAPITULATION OF THE AUTHORITIES CONSULTED FOR THE HISTORY OF SPAIN AND PORTUGAL.

TITI Livii Patavini Historiarum ab Urbe conditâ libri qui supersunt, &c
Tho. Ruddimanno, A.M. 4 tom. 12mo. Edinburgi, 1772.

Plutarchi Vitæ. 9 vols. 12mo. Leipzig, 1813.

The laborious research and perhaps over-refining subtlety of German critics have of late thrown some discredit upon Livy; but this relates chiefly to early Roman tradition, and he is still one of our best authorities, at least, for the history of Roman wars and conquests. Plutarch wrote considerably later; but drew his historical information from authentic sources. From these authors the account of the Roman wars in Spain is taken. The condition of Spain, as a Roman province, and her earlier transactions with the Carthaginians, are derived from the *Ancient Universal History*, 20 vols. 8vo. This work, as well as the *Modern Universal History*, 44 vols. 8vo., is compiled with great industry, and is useful as a book of reference.

Compendio de la Historia de España, por Don Tomas Yriarte. 8vo. Lond. 1822.

This is little more than the skeleton of a history; but it embraces the whole period of authentic history, down to the death of Ferdinand VI., and has value, as giving the judgment of a well-educated Spaniard of the present day, upon dates and facts, respecting which conflicting opinions have been entertained.

Compendio Historial de las Crónicas y Universal Historia de todos los Reynos de España, por Estevan de Garibay y Camalhoa. 4 tom. fol. Barcelona, 1629.

Historia General de España, compuesta, enmendada, y añadida por el Padre Juan de Mariana. 2 tom. fol. Madrid, 1678.

Synopsis Historica Chronologica de España, por Don Juan de Ferreras. 16 tom. 4to. Madrid, 1700—1727.

Of these three histories, Mariana's is the most generally known, and by far the most agreeable to read. It is extremely well written, but cannot be confidently relied upon, as the learned Jesuit's Spanish pride induced him to adopt every story and tradition that could exalt the fame of his countrymen. He begins with the peopling of Spain by Tubal, the grandson of Noah, and concludes his history with the death of Ferdinand V. He afterwards added a summary of events until the death of Philip III., which his editors have continued to the death of Philip IV. From his dubious authority, Mariana, though frequently consulted, has seldom been quoted in the present history. Garibay, whose history extends from the Creation to the death of Ferdinand V., has all Mariana's faults without his eloquence. It is scarce necessary to add that he is very little to be depended upon, and would hardly have been quoted, but that, whilst most Spanish historians seem to hold the other peninsular kingdoms wholly subordinate to Castile and Leon, Garibay's nationality,—he calls himself a Cantabrian,—induces him to place Navarre at least upon an equality with them. The early annals of that kingdom have, with due caution, been chiefly taken from him. But Ferreras is the author to whom we may look for information with the fullest confidence of its correctness. He likewise begins his history from the Creation, and he brings it down to the death of Philip II.; but even in his accounts of the earliest and most fabulous period of Spanish tradi-

tion, we perceive the critical judgment with which he has throughout investigated the statements and the chronology of his predecessors. His work is, however, rather instructive than entertaining. It is written in the form of annals, is dry, and destitute of all the charm of continuous narrative.

Historia de la Dominacion de los Arabes en España, sacada de varios Manuscritos y Memorias Arabigas, por el Doctor Don Josef A. Conde. 3 tom. 4to. Madrid, 1820-1.

This history was undertaken, as the author tells us, to counteract the partiality of Spanish historians; who rarely mention the Moorish masters of Spain, except to celebrate their defeats. The present volumes are compiled from various Arabic MSS. in the Royal Libraries of Madrid and the Escorial,—rather translating than extracting the matter of the several documents. It has consequently all the prolixity, and other faults, of oriental writing, and is unpleasant reading; but those very faults appear to stamp its authenticity; and, for the history of the Moors, it is more to be relied on than any English or French work. It embraces, according to its title, the whole period of Arab sovereignty in the Peninsula.

Histoire de la Domination des Arabes et des Maures en Espagne, et en Portugal, depuis l'Invasion de ces Peuples, jusqu'à leur Expulsion définitive, rédigée sur l'Histoire traduite de l'Arabe en Espagnol par M. J. Condé. Par M. de Marlés. 3 tom. 8vo. Paris, 1825.

This book is only mentioned because the language renders it accessible to more readers than the Spanish original, and because its style is more agreeable. Unfortunately the French author occasionally deviates from his original, and by so doing materially lessens the value of his version.

The History of Spain, from the Earliest Period to the close of the year 1809, by J. Bigland. 2 vols. 8vo. London, 1810.

A work of no great research, and less talent or judgment, which would not have been quoted but that it professes to give the history of periods respecting which there is a great dearth of information—namely, the latter part of the reign of Philip IV., and the whole reigns of Charles II. and Charles IV. The author's strange appreciation of the relative importance of events may be exemplified from the single fact of his omitting the expulsion of the Jesuits in the reign of Charles III.

Gibbon's Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire. 12 vols. 8vo. London, 1807.

Of the character of this celebrated work, cited merely for its statements relative to Spain during the early period of this history, it is unnecessary to speak.

Historia de Portugal, por J. La Costa. 3 vols. 8vo.

Histoire Générale du Portugal, par M. de la Ciede. 2 vols. 4to. Paris, 1735.

General histories of Portugal are very scarce commodities; and these are the only two which the writer of the present history could meet with. The first, written by a Portuguese, then, if not still, domiciliated in London, is chiefly taken from the Modern Universal History. Some few additions he has, however, made, one of which is important—namely, an account of the reign of Maria, down to the time of her son's assuming the regency. La Ciede's book, which only comes down to the deposal of Alfonso VI., is one of much greater research: it is well written, and is esteemed, by Portuguese scholars, the best extant. But this is no great praise; and the French author, whilst he quotes French, and some Peninsular writers, seems to have been little acquainted with the treasures of national historical information that Portuguese literature affords. These are her Chronicles.

Collecção de Livros ineditos de Historia Portugueza, publicados de ordem da Academia de Sciencias de Lisboa. 5 tom. fol. Lisboa, 1790, 93-1816.

This collection contains chronicles of the kings of Portugal, from Pedro I. down to John II., besides other curious historical documents. The authors of the earlier chronicles are uncertain; but the later ones are written by men appointed by subsequent kings to the office, and consequently freely supplied with all materials that the national archives could furnish. Of course the works of such *chronista mors*, or royal historiographers, are written with a strong bias in favour of the monarchs they celebrate; but as they aim at no philosophical or political theories, that bias very little affects the authenticity of their simple, straightforward narrations. The same character applies to the other chronicles quoted in the present history; to wit:—

Cronicas dos Reis de Portugal. Cronica del Rey Dom Joam de gloriosa memoria, 1 deste Nome, e dos Reis de Portugal, o 10., e dos Reis Dom Duarte e Dom Affonso 5. Tiradas a luz por ordem de Dom Rodrigo da Cunha, Arcebispo de Lisboa. fol. Lisboa, 1649.

Cronica do Serenissimo Senhor Rey, Dom Manuel, por Damiaõ de Goes. fol. Lisboa, 1749.

Cronica do muito alto e muito poderoso Rey destes Reynos de Portugal, Joam 3 desta Nome, por Francisco d'Andrade, seu Conselheiro e Cronista Mor. fol. Lisboa, 1613.

Cronica de Dom Sebastião.

The writer has no means of referring to this chronicle for the name of its author, of which no note was made.

Da Asia, de Joam de Barros e Diogo de Couto. 17 tom. 8vo. Lisboa, 1778.

This book is esteemed one of the brightest gems of Portuguese literature. The history of the adventurous voyages, and of the heroic feats of the Portuguese against the warlike Mahometan conquerors of India, is in itself highly interesting. It was begun by Barros at the request of John III., under whom he filled various offices, chiefly relative to India; all government documents were, therefore, at his command; and his style is very good, though we may perhaps hardly agree with his countrymen in comparing him to Livy. The work was continued, at the desire of Philip II., by Couto, who passed his life in India, and had been an actor in many of the wars he describes. It is to be regretted that the latter decades have never been published.

History of America, by Dr. Robertson. 3 vols. 8vo. London, 1780.

History of Brazil, by Robert Southey. 3 vols. 4to. London, 1810 and 1816.

Life of Christopher Columbus, by Washington Irving. 4 vols. 8vo. London, 1828.

Of works so generally known and admired, it seems superfluous to add anything to their titles; but it may be observed cursorily, that Robertson's is still the best general history of the conquest of America extant; that the abundant materials of the History of Brazil, which gives a lively picture of the aboriginal Indians, are chiefly drawn from sources accessible only by unwearied exertion and great interest; and that for the Life of Columbus numbers of previously unknown authorities have been consulted; not to speak of the charm of Southey's style, or of the harmony of Irving's periods.

Vidas de Españoles Cebres, por Don Manuel Josef Quintana. 2 tom. 8vo. Madrid, 1807, 1830.

These volumes contain the lives of the Cid, Alfonso Perez de Guzman, Roger de Lauria, Charles, Prince of Viana, the Great Captain, Balboa, and Pizarro. They appear to have been carefully taken from all accessible sources, often MS., and are written in a style very superior to most modern Spanish works.

History of Charles V., by Dr. Robertson. 4 vols. 8vo. London, 1777.

What has been said of Robertson's *History of America*, will equally apply to this work. Its excellence and authority are generally acknowledged.

History of the Reign of Philip II., King of Spain, by Robert Watson. 3 vols. 8vo. London, 1779.

Vita del Re Filippo II. Monarca delle Spagne, di Gregorio Leti. 2 tom. 4to. Coligni, 1679.

Of these lives of Philip II. the English is decidedly the best; although it betrays too much of the bitterness of Protestant resentment against the most bigoted and persecuting of Catholics. Leti is likewise strongly biassed against his hero, who is praised only by Spanish authors; and the Italo-Genevese biographer renders his work heavy by filling it with supposititious speeches.

Geschichte des Abfalls der Vereinigten Niederlande von der Spanischen Regierung, von Friedrich von Schiller — Schiller's Sämmtliche Werke. 12 bände, 8vo. Stuttgart and Tübingen, 1813.

Schiller was excited to undertake this history by the fervent sympathy of a Protestant with his persecuted brethren, heightened by a generous delight in the successful resistance of the weak to the powerful. He collected his materials with diligence and care; and the narrative he compiled from them displays the powers of his philosophic, lofty, and elegant mind. It is only to be regretted that he did not complete his self-allotted task, but paused at the resignation of Margaret;—a period which he himself justly describes as merely introductory to the revolution.

Historia Crítica de la Inquisicion de España, Obra original conforme à lo que resulta de los Archivos del Consejo de la Suprema, y de los Tribunales de Provincias, por J. A. Llorente. 10 tom. 12mo. Madrid, 1822.

Llorente was secretary to the Inquisition, and in that situation appears to have conceived a horror of its arbitrary, insidious, and cruel proceedings; whilst his free access to all archives and records afforded him the means of venting that horror in the form of an authentic history of the tribunal. The only check to the full confidence he is entitled to claim, arises from the constant affectation of philosophy and sentiment, and the number of marks of admiration—rather inconsistent with the sober character of history—that swarm in his little volumes. With respect, however, to the inquisitorial proceedings of bishops and dominican monks, before the establishment of the tribunal, and to matters unconnected with the tribunal, as the fate of Don Carlos, his authority cannot be considered superior to that of other historians. Llorente seems to have attached himself to Joseph Buonaparte, and published his book during his exile in France.

History of Philip III., by R. Watson. 2 vols. 8vo. London, 1786.

Justa Expulsion de los Moriscos de España, &c., del M. F. Damian Fonseca. 8vo. Rom., 1612.

Historia de Felipe IV., Rey de España, por Gonçalo de Cespedes y Meneses. Folio. Barcelona, 1634.

Historia de los Movimientos, Separacion, y Guerra de Cataluña, en tiempo de Felipe IV., por Don Francisco Manuel de Melo. 8vo. Madrid, 1808.

These, with the additional summaries in Mariana, are the chief sources of information respecting the son and grandson of Philip II. Watson's book resembles in character his history of Philip II., but it is necessarily less interesting; and, moreover, though the materials were prepared by him, he died when he had written about one-half, and his labours were continued by other hands. Cespedes is a heavy writer and a courtier; his work must be read with due allowances for his desire to flatter his master, but is valuable in the dearth of historians of that disgraceful portion of Spanish history. He gives a

brief account of Philip III.'s reign; and we have to regret that he died at an early period of the reign of his more especial hero, Philip IV. The volumes of Fonseca and Melo give minute accounts of periods so short that it is needless to add anything to what was said of them in the notes of pages 139 and 147.

Historia de Portugal restaurado, por Dom Luis de Menezes, Conde de Ericeyra. 2 tom. folio. Lisboa, 1679.

But if this was an era of decline that excited no Spaniard to record its events, the case was different in Portugal; and we have here an excellent history of her recovered independence. The Conde de Ericeyra was a Portuguese patriot and soldier who ranked high in the service of the restored national kings, and in the latter part of his work describes scenes in which he was an actor. His history begins with a short account of his country's falling into the hands of Philip II., and of her unfair treatment by the Spanish kings; ending with the deposition of Alfonso VI. Its dedication to Pedro II. might excite some distrust of his condemnation of the dethroned prince, were not his statements corroborated by unexceptionable authority.

An Account of the Court of Portugal under his present Majesty Don Pedro, with some Discourses on the Interests of Portugal with regard to other Sovereigns. 8vo. London, 1700.

History of the Revolutions of Portugal from the foundation of the kingdom to the year 1667; with Letters of Sir Robert Southwell, during his Embassy there, to the Duke of Ormond. 8vo. London, 1740.

The letters of the sagacious and impartial English ambassador, and the statements in the former volume, of which he was the author, abundantly confirm Ericeyra's account of Alfonso VI.'s unfitness to govern.

Memoirs of the Kings of Spain, of the House of Bourbon, from the accession of Philip V. to the death of Charles III., by Archdeacon Coxe. 3 vols. 4to. London, 1813.

History of the War of the Succession in Spain, by Lord Mahon. 8vo. London, 1832.

Mémoires Politiques et Militaires pour servir à l'Histoire de Louis XIV. et de Louis XV. Composés sur les pièces originales, recueillies par Adrien Maurice, Duc de Noailles, Maréchal de France, et Ministre d'Etat; par M. l'Abbé Millot, des Académies de Lyon et de Nanci. 6 tom. 12mo. Paris, 1777.

Mémoires du Maréchal de Berwick, écrits par lui-même. 2 tom. 8vo. Suisse, 1778.

Memoirs of Captain George Carleton, an English Officer; including Anecdotes of the War in Spain under the Earl of Peterborough; written by himself. 8vo. Edinburgh, 1808.

Memoirs of the Affairs of Europe from the Peace of Utrecht, by Lord John Russell. 2 vols. 4to. London, 1824, 1829.

Coxe is the standard authority for Spanish history during the period of which he treats; and, in fact, for a period rather longer than that mentioned in the title of his work, since he has given an introductory chapter upon Charles II.'s unfortunate reign. He has consulted all the historians and memoir writers who have preceded him, and immense numbers of MS. documents, especially the letters of ambassadors; and his book affords nearly as much information as the general reader can desire. Lord Mahon's volume is, however, a valuable accessory for the short period of which it treats—that of the Succession War, and of the intrigues which led to Charles II.'s will. The correspondence of his ancestors during embassies to the courts of Charles II. and the Archduke, as well as whilst in command of the English troops under the latter, affording matter unknown to Coxe, and used with great talent and judgment. Noailles, Berwick, and Lord John Russell, being quoted only for the small portion of their

volumes that refer to Spain, and Carleton, writing but of so short a period, it may suffice to refer to what has been said of their works when first cited, pages 160, 166, 180.

The same may be said respecting

Mémoires de Sébastien Joseph de Carvalho e Melo, Comte d'Oeyras, Marquis de Pombal, Secrétaire d'Etat et Premier Ministre du Roi de Portugal, Joseph I. 4 tom. 12mo. Paris, 1784—

The General Biographical Dictionary, by A. Chalmers. 32 vols. 8vo. London, 1812, 14, 17—

which, the first from its unfairness, and the second from its necessary brevity, are only quoted in the great dearth of information upon this period of Portuguese history.—See page 194.

The reign of Charles IV., till within a few months of its close, has been taken chiefly from Annual Registers. Of that useful publication nothing need be said; and of the other works consulted,—

Memoir of the Queen of Etruria, written by herself, and translated from the Italian. 8vo. London, 1814—

Letters from Spain, by Don Leucadio Doblado. 8vo. London, 1822—

Memoirs of Ferdinand VII., King of Spain, by Don * * * * *, Advocate of the Spanish Tribunals, translated from the original Spanish MS. by Michael Quin. 8vo. London, 1824—

it is enough to refer to pages 234, 248.

Histoire de la Guerre de la Péninsule sous Napoléon, précédée d'un Tableau politique et militaire des Puissances Belligérentes, par le Général Foy. Publiée par Mme. la Comtesse Foy. 4 tom. 8vo. Paris, 1827.

History of the Peninsular War, by Robert Southey. 3 vols. 4to. London, 1823, &c.

History of the War in the Peninsula and the South of France, from the year 1807 to the year 1814, by W. F. P. Napier, C. B., Lieutenant-Colonel, half-pay, 43rd Regiment. 3 vols. 8vo. London, 1828, &c.

Observations on some Passages in Lieutenant-Colonel Napier's History of the Peninsular War, by Percy, Viscount Strangford. 8vo. London, 1828.

Narrative of the Peninsular War from 1808 to 1813, by Lieutenant-General the Marquess of Londonderry. 4to. London, 1828.

Annals of the Peninsular Campaigns from 1808 to 1814, by the Author of Cyril Thornton. 3 vols. 12mo. Edinburgh, 1829.

Life of the Most Noble Arthur Duke of Wellington, &c. &c., by G. Elliott, Esq. 8vo. London, 1818.

Military Memoirs of Field-Marshal the Duke of Wellington, by Captain Moyle Sherer, for Dr. Lardner's Cabinet Library. 2 vols. 8vo. London, 1830.

Memoirs of the late War, comprising the personal Narrative of Captain Cooke, the Campaign of 1809 by the Earl of Munster, &c. 2 vols. 12mo. London, 1831.

Mémoires du Maréchal Suchet, Duc d'Albufera, sur ses Campagnes en Espagne, écrites par lui-même. 2 tom. Paris, 1828.

General Foy's preliminary *tableau* takes in the state of Spain and Portugal from the peace of Utrecht, and affords some information respecting the reigns of Charles IV. and Maria I., and even the administration of Pombal. The only drawback to the value both of that information and of the subsequent history, is the inveteracy of Foy's hatred to England, which so distorts his otherwise clear judgment, that he can in one page allow courage to be the characteristic of the English nation, and in another assert that English soldiers cannot fight unless gorged with beef and intoxicated. Making due allowance for his prejudices, the work is so good that his not having lived to complete it is much to be regretted.

The Portuguese campaign of 1808 closes his account of the Peninsular war. Of the other books quoted, Southey's is that which most especially concerns the historian of the Peninsula, since the author's, perhaps excessive, enthusiasm for the insurgent nations induces him to give in detail all their operations, civil and military, whilst the other authors concern themselves chiefly with the regular armies; and Napier condemns the insurgents, perhaps, as unreasonably as Southey admires them. For those other writers it may again suffice to refer to the pages where they are first quoted,—namely, 267, 283, 291.

Considérations sur les Causes de la Grandeur et de la Décadence de la Monarchie Espagnole, par M. Sempéré, Ancien Magistrat Espagnol. 2 tom. 12mo. Paris, 1826.

Tableau de l'Espagne Moderne, par J. Fr. Bourgoing. 4me edit., avec quelques corrections et des augmentations qui conduisent le tableau de l'Espagne jusqu'à l'année 1806. 3 tom. 8vo. Paris, 1807.

Mémoires Espagnols sobre el Origen y Consecucion de los Males actuales, hasta los Años de 1810, por Don Geronimo Martin de Bernardo. 8vo. Londres.

These works have afforded the little of statistical and political information for which the narrow compass of the present history allowed room. The first is the most valuable. It gives us the views of a well-educated Spaniard, placed in a situation to command all existing information upon the subject, respecting the political condition of his country from the time of the Visigothic monarchy down to the insurrection of 1820. It is tinged with the prejudices of a Spaniard, the minister of despotic sovereigns, and those sovereigns the Bourbon kings of Spain, but abounds nevertheless with important information. Bourgoing's book offers, in many respects, a different view, being written in the spirit of a French philosopher and republican, and moreover of a personal friend of Godoy's. His picture represents Spain from the year 1777, when he first went thither as secretary to the French embassy, down to the year 1806; and though somewhat superficial as well as prejudiced, will furnish most readers with a material increase of knowledge, statistical, political, and moral, with regard to Spain. The *Mémoires Espagnols* are directly opposed in political views to the *Tableau*. They touch slightly upon the earlier state of Spain, but relate chiefly to the reigns of Charles III. and IV. The author is a Spaniard of the old school, who reprobates the innovations of Florida-Blanca as bitterly as the profligacy of Godoy, whom he represents as the creature of France. His volume requires to be read with a constant reference to his national character and prejudices; but affords useful information with regard to the state of Spain, the nature of her misgovernment, and the causes, reasonable and unreasonable, of the general discontent under Charles IV.

Memoirs of General Miller, in the service of the Republic of Peru, by John Miller. 2 vols. 8vo. London, 1828.

Journal of a Residence in Columbia during the years 1823 and 1824, by Captain Charles Stuart Cochrane, R.N. 2 vols. 8vo. 1825.

For the character of these books, quoted relatively to the misgovernment and insurrection of Spanish America, the reader is referred to page 212.

Histoire des Français, par Sismondi. 12 vols. 8vo. Paris, 1820, 1831.

Geschichte der Deutschen, von M. I. Schmidt. 12 bände 8vo. Ulm, 1786.

Geschichte der Hohenstauffen und ihrer Zeit, von Friedrich von Raumer. 6 bände 8vo. Leipzig, 1825.

Istoria civile del Regno di Napoli, di Pietro Giannone. 4 tom. 4to. Palmyra, 1762.

History of the House of Austria, by Archdeacon Coxe, 3 vols. 4to. London, 1807.

Essai sur les Mœurs et sur l'Esprit des Nations, et sur les principaux faits de l'Histoire, depuis Charlemagne jusqu'à Louis XIII.; Siècle de Louis XIV.; Précis du Siècle de Louis XV.; par M. de Voltaire—(Œuvres complètes de M. de Voltaire. 100 tom. 12mo. Basle, 1792.

History of England, by David Hume. 8 vols. 8vo. London, 1807.

Istoria del Gran Ducato di Toscana, sotto il Governo della Casa Medici, di R. Galluzzo. 8 tom. 8vo. Livorno, 1781.

Foreign Quarterly Review, No. 8; London, 1829; Article 1; Revolutions of Naples in 1647, 1648.

History of Great Britain, from the Revolution of 1688 to the conclusion of the Treaty of Amiens, 1802, by W. Belsham. 12 vols. 8vo. London, 1805.

Life of Napoleon Bonaparte, Emperor of the French, with a Preliminary View of the French Revolution, by the Author of the Waverley Novels. 9 vols. 8vo. London, 1827.

Souvenirs sur Mirabeau et sur les deux premières Assemblées Législatives, par Etienne Dumont de Genève. Ouvrage posthume, publié par M. J. L. Duval, Membre du Conseil Représentatif du Canton de Genève. 8vo. Paris, 1832.

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These works being only quoted for the history of other countries in relation to Spain, the reader is referred to the notes respecting them, in pages 35, 42, 91, 97, 159, 173, 186, 227. It is needless to praise Hume and Sismondi.

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THE END.

London: W. Clowes, Stamford Street.





